THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF TAROT

Stuart R. Kaplan

Tarot cards from the fifteenth to nineteenth centuries.
Includes the earliest known cards, histories of the families who commissioned them and of the artists who painted them.
A treasury of more than 3600 different cards from 300 tarot and tarock decks, fully identified and described.
A monumental compilation of tarot symbolism and imagery.

Volume II

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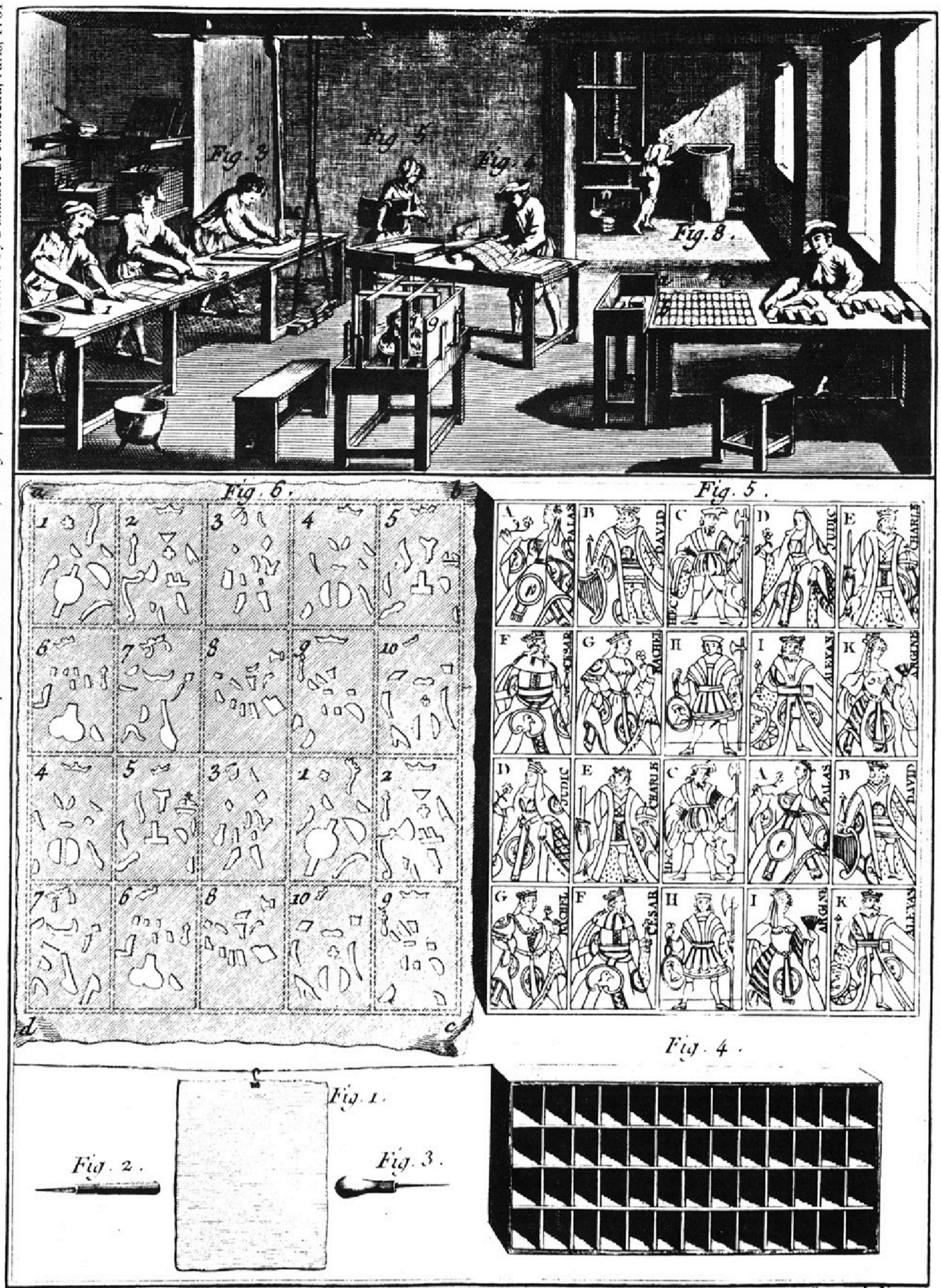

Eighteenth Century Workshop of French Cardmakers *Workers are shown in an atelier, and at the bottom of the page are closeups of some of the materials used, including stencil sheet (fig. 6) for coloring court cards*

THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF TAROT

Stuart R. Kaplan

VOLUME II

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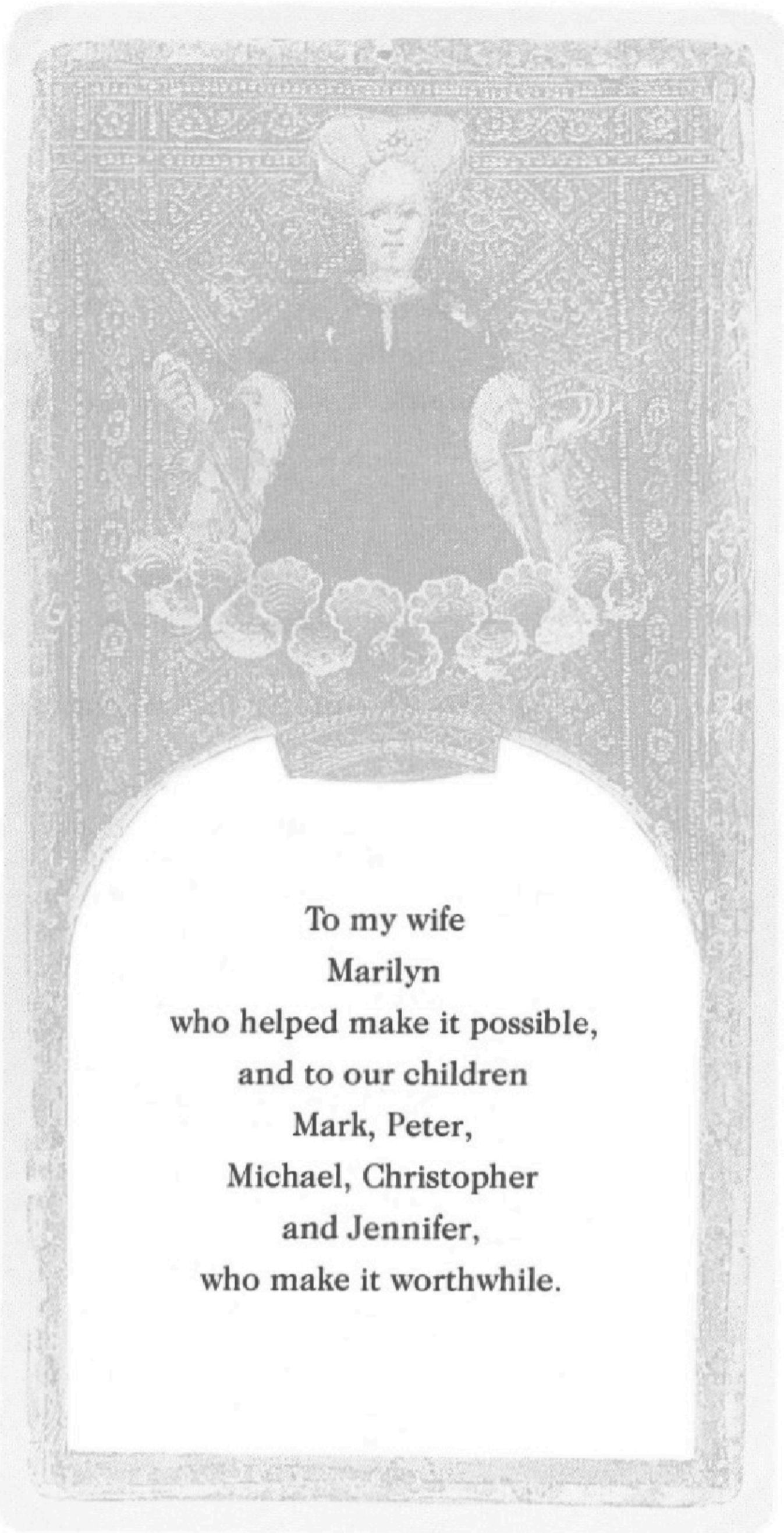

To my wife
Marilyn
who helped make it possible,
and to our children
Mark, Peter,
Michael, Christopher
and Jennifer,
who make it worthwhile.

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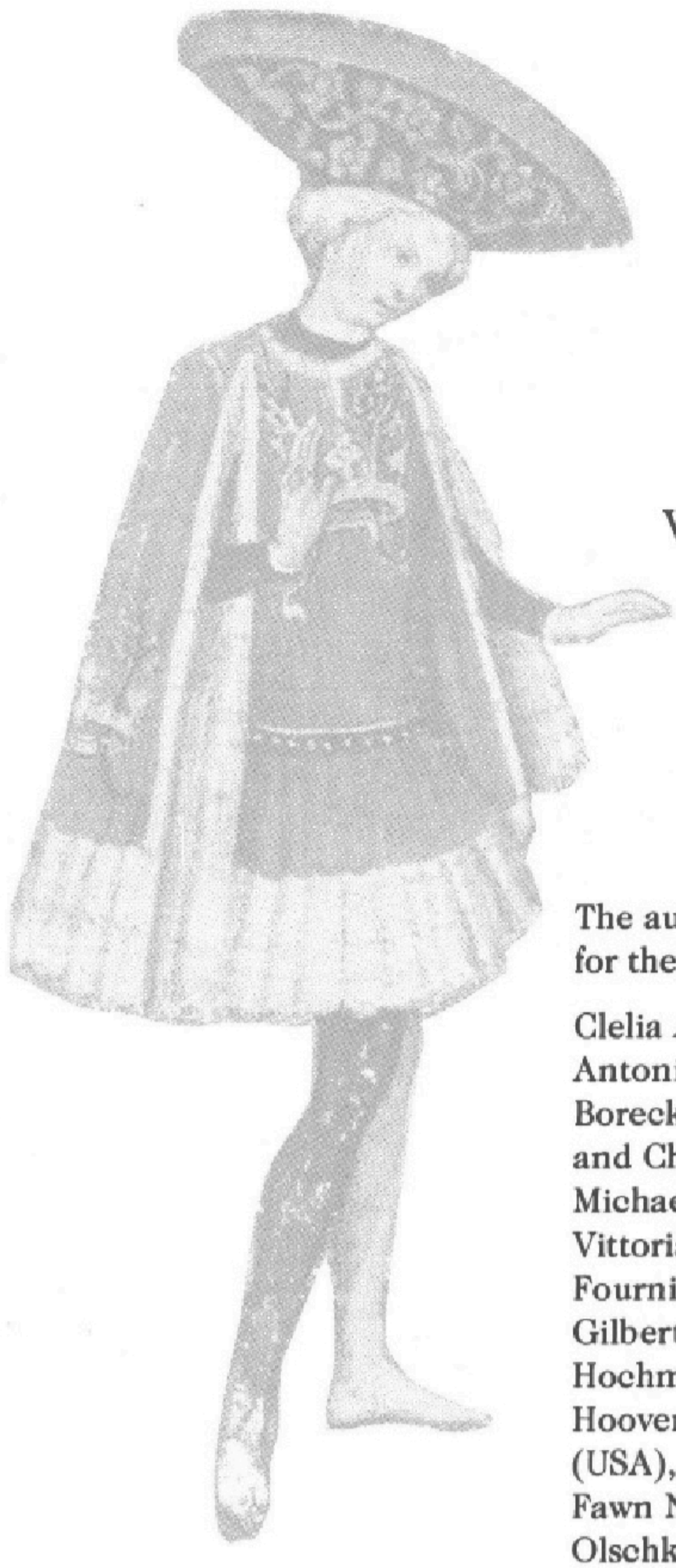

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PREFACE

When Volume I of *The Encyclopedia of Tarot* appeared in 1978, it was my hope that the book might generate interest in further research that would lead to the eventual discovery and identification of additional Visconti and Visconti-Sforza tarocchi cards.

Some months after publication of Volume I, a reader called to my attention the existence of a private collection in Europe that held an unknown quantity of hand-painted Italian cards believed to date from the fifteenth century. Shortly thereafter my wife, Marilyn, and I arranged to meet with the owners and, much to our pleasant surprise, we found ourselves viewing twenty-seven illuminated tarocchi cards. These cards are divided into two groups: an incomplete set of twenty-three cards and another set of four cards.

In 1980, an unsolicited but most welcome letter that arrived at my office described a single Visconti-Sforza tarocchi card, the page of coins. In the same year, the Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, Milan, held an exhibition of Milanese playing cards from the fifteenth to twentieth centuries which included four Visconti-Sforza tarocchi cards: Justice, The World, the king of cups and the eight of coins. The four cards are illustrated in the exhibition's catalog, *Carte da Gioco Milanesi dal XV al XX Sec.*, prepared by Dr. Alberto Milano, a leading Italian collector and researcher.

Thus, the total of the known extant Visconti and Visconti-Sforza tarocchi cards has expanded from 239 cards in eleven different groups to 271 cards in fifteen different groups. Some cards are "originals" and others perhaps are early copies of originals, but all are interesting and important in their own right. With the "discovery," so to speak, of thirty-two more Visconti and Visconti-Sforza tarocchi cards, it is hoped that more cards eventually will surface from hidden sanctuaries. The elusive Devil and Tower cards, of which actual fifteenth-century examples have yet to be found, would be especially welcome.

Volume II covers the fifteenth to nineteenth centuries and, for the most part, avoids duplication of material already appearing in Volume I, but in a few instances new material is combined with information from Volume I. For example, the chart locating the Visconti-Sforza tarocchi decks shows all 271 cards, facilitating comparison between groups.

Wherever it has seemed desirable, I have provided cross-references between volumes so that readers may readily refer to related material. I believe the combined volumes of *The Encyclopedia of Tarot* form the most complete and exhaustive record of tarot from the standpoints of origin, history, development, iconography, interpretation and pack identification. Many cards are illustrated, and much of the material appears in print for the first time. For the most part each volume is intended to be self-contained and thus each volume stands by itself as a reference source.

Chapter I provides early references to playing cards and tarocchi cards. This chapter includes what appears to be the earliest written evidence linking the ducal family of Milan to tarocchi cards: a letter dated December 11, 1450, from Duke Francesco Sforza to his treasurer requesting two decks of *carte de triumphi*. Chapter I also reproduces and describes early frescoes depicting Italian nobility at play with cards. A translation into English is given for a series of sonnets published in 1527 by Merlini Cocai that uses the *trionphi* images for divination.

Chapter II "Visconti-Sforza Cards Rediscovered and Recreated" presents a detailed description and analysis of the newly discovered thirty-two Visconti and Visconti-Sforza cards. Some observations are offered about the Devil and the Tower cards conspicuously lacking from fifteenth-century packs. Forty-nine Cary-Yale Visconti-Sforza Tarocchi cards not shown in Volume I of *The Encyclopedia of Tarot* are illustrated in Chapter II, along with nineteen cards recently recreated by Luigi Scapini to form a complete deck of eighty-six cards. An unusual engraving of the female knight of coins is also reproduced.

Chapter III "Locating and Identifying the Visconti and Visconti-Sforza Tarocchi Cards" contains observations on the 271 Visconti-Sforza tarocchi cards including the early provenance of the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck, the twenty-six cards traded by Count Alessandro Colleoni at the end of the nineteenth century for a painting of his relative, and the mysterious disappearance of the three of swords. Some opinions are offered about the tack holes found at the top of some cards. Possible locations are given for the cliff edges that are rendered at the bottom of certain cards. This chapter also contains considerable information on the heraldic devices found on the cards.

The story of the Visconti and Sforza families, patrons of the early Visconti and Visconti-Sforza tarocchi cards, provides a fascinating background to the time when the original illuminated tarocchi cards were commissioned and the game of *triumphi* was enjoyed by the nobility of Northern Italy. Milanese lords and dukes, their wives, and the many personages who left their mark during the Italian Renaissance are described in chapters IV "The Visconti Family" and V "The Sforza Family."

Bonifacio Bembo, the Cremonese artist believed to have painted many of the Visconti-Sforza tarocchi cards, has generally been obscured by greater talents such as Giotto, Botticelli, Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo, to name but a few. Chapter VI "Bonifacio Bembo and the Fifteenth-Century Tarocchi Artists" provides considerable information about Bembo and includes illustrations of other works attributed to him, including works containing figures strikingly similar to the images on the Major Arcana and court cards. Many contemporary artists associated directly or indirectly with Bembo are acknowledged, since they were probably aware of the existence of tarocchi and playing cards and may have even contributed to the preparation of the cards. Recent research suggests that the Zavattari brothers may have been more involved in the tarocchi cards than previously believed.

Chapter VII "A Poet, a Scribe, a Condottiere and a Lady" presents some interesting persons and ideas associated in some manner with early tarocchi cards. Francesco Petrarch, the famous fourteenth-century poet, wrote in *I Trionphi* about his great love for Laura; Marziano da Tortona, who served as secretary to Duke Filippo Maria Visconti, allegedly was paid fifteen hundred gold pieces for a pack of cards decorated with unusual images; and Bartolomeo Colleoni, the powerful condottiere, fought in the service of Duke Filippo Maria Visconti and Duke Francesco Sforza and his descendants came into possession of the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo Visconti-Sforza Tarocchi pack. Appropriate material about the Gonzaga

family of Mantua and the Este family of Ferrara concludes the chapter.

Chapter VIII "Early Symbolism of the Major Arcana" provides a diversity of thoughts on the symbolism of the Major Arcana. Contributions on iconography were made by Peter McDonald. A study of the symbolism on XVI The House of God (The Tower) and XXI The World was researched and prepared by Professor George Wald of Harvard University, and an analysis was prepared by R. V. O'Neill on the Renaissance interpretations of the twenty-two Major Arcana cards.

One of the uncertainties about the early tarocchi or *triumphi* cards is their original sequence and the names used for the twenty-two Major Arcana cards. Chapter IX "Sequence and Titles of the Major Arcana Cards" compares titles and numbers in the Tarot of Marseilles pack to the numbering and titles for the Major Arcana as they developed in a variety of sources, such as early printed and/or handwritten lists of the cards. The works studied include the late-fifteenth-century manuscript *Sermones de Ludo Cum Aliis,* uncut sheets from the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries, poetry by Pomeran, Bertoni, Susio and Garzoni, and extant cards such as the Catelin Geofroy pack, the Colonna sheets and numerous seventeenth- and eighteenth-century packs.

There are many ways to approach the task of identifying antique tarot cards. Sometimes the cardmaker's name, city and date of publication appear on one of the cards, usually the two of coins or the two of cups. It is often helpful to give consideration to the designs, the style of costumes, the language used for the card titles, the methods of production and coloring, watermarks, and so on, and these factors are discussed in Chapter X "Identifying Tarot Cards."

Some of the most important methods of identifying and dating antique playing cards are by the names of the cardmakers and the known dates that they published cards, and by tax stamps, which appear mostly on cards from packs made in Austria, France, Germany and Italy. One of the criteria used in selecting material to appear in this book has been a desire to provide the reader with access to source material which, time after time, has proved invaluable in my own research. The compilation of cardmakers from fourteen countries, gleaned from some fifty different published sources plus antique decks, is a handy reference for dating and identifying decks. Sylvia Mann (*Collecting Playing Cards,* 1966) pointed out the need for a complete listing of all cardmakers and their dates, and I believe the specialized listing for tarot and tarock cardmakers that appears in Chapter XI "Five Centuries of Tarot Cardmakers" is a start in the right direction. It is hoped that readers with additional information will contact the publisher for future revisions of this chapter.

For many years, research on playing card tax stamps was not undertaken in earnest because of the great difficulty in obtaining and studying the applicable decrees and regulations from the past several centuries. The hesitancy to publish findings flawed by obvious omissions also has been a deterrent. Yet it seems to me that it is better to begin somewhere, especially so that subsequent research can enlarge the findings and correct the work as the case may be. Chapter XII, titled "Tax Stamps on Playing Cards," is an international collaboration of tax stamp research. In large measure the chapter is based on the work of Fred Taylor and Klaus Reisinger for Austrian tax stamps, K. Frank Jensen for Denmark, Albert Field for France, Detlef Hoffmann and Margot Dietrich for Germany, Alberto Milano for Italy, Rafal Prinke for Poland and Balz Eberhard for Switzerland. Each of these scholars is to be commended for their efforts to bring systematic order to the chaos of information on tax stamps, hitherto not available in a form suitable for practical application.

Chapter XIII "Minchiate Cards and Tarocco Siciliano Cards" describes and illustrates the ninety-seven-card minchiate and sixty-four-card tarocco Siciliano decks, which are frequently misunderstood and confused with seventy-eight-card tarocchi decks. The application of a deck of cards to history is amply illustrated in the description of the unusual Ancient History Minchiate pack.

The fifteenth to seventeenth centuries were a fertile period in the development and evolution of tarot, yet few extant packs remain today. Chapter XIV "Fifteenth- to Seventeenth-Century Tarot Cards," presents fragments of uncut sheets from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Budapest Museum of Fine Arts and the Cary Collection of Playing Cards at Yale University. Interestingly, sheets from the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Budapest Museum were pulled from the same woodblocks. In the early twentieth century, the remains of another group of early playing cards, including tarots, were discovered when the tanks and wells at the Sforza Castle in Milan were emptied. In February 1981, Dr. Clelia Alberici, director of the A. Bertarelli Collection of Playing Cards at the Sforza Castle, kindly permitted me and my wife, Marilyn, to inspect the fifty-eight cards and fragments of cards and they are fully described and illustrated in this chapter. The Sola-Busca cards are especially interesting in view of their apparent use as design models by Pamela Colman Smith when she painted the Rider-Waite Tarot pack in 1909. The Labyrinth Game by Andrea Ghisi offers tangible evidence from the early seventeenth century of the use of Tarocchi of Mantegna images in a game not played with cards.

One of the most popular features in Volume I of *The Encyclopedia of Tarot* is the reproduction and description of some 250 tarot decks, many of which were previously unpublished. Continuing this important compilation, over 3000 different tarot and tarock cards from some 150 decks are illustrated and described in Chapter XV "Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Tarot Cards," and Chapter XVI "Tarock Packs," forming a kaleidoscope of cultures. I am especially grateful for the tarock packs loaned to me by Albert Field, Gene Hochman, K. Frank Jensen, Patrick Olgiati, Agnes and Allan Ryan, Fred Taylor, Samjac and Ben Zsoldos.

Some of the most colorful and historically interesting playing cards were prepared for use in the European game of tarock, and it is not surprising that tarock designs are quite diverse and attractive, since artists were not confined to traditional tarot imagery for the trump cards.

Because of the large number of twentieth-century tarot decks and designs both readily and not readily available, it became necessary to illustrate and describe these decks in a separate volume. Volume III of *The Encyclopedia of Tarot* covers the twentieth century and publication is expected in early 1987.

More than 1300 annotated entries in the bibliography to Volume II of *The Encyclopedia of Tarot* serve to enhance the extensive bibliography in Volume I. It is hoped that the sources given for books, magazine articles, manuscripts and research papers from the past 500 years will prove helpful to tarot and playing card collectors and researchers engaged in their own research.

Since I was first introduced to tarot in 1968, I have been most fortunate to have assembled an important library of rare books and cards on the subject. While this library is probably the largest collection of its kind in existence, each book and card remains very special to me. Collectors who

know the joy and satisfaction of acquiring cards and books—or any collectible—will understand the excitement and pleasure of each new find. There is always a bit of trepidation when buying an item obviously overpriced, but which is sorely desired because it is lacking in my collection. Then there are the times when one stumbles on a lucky find in an antique store or an old book shop, or receives a fortuitous offer from a fellow collector. On balance, I like to think it evens out.

Many books are difficult to locate. Sometimes the most valuable find is an unassuming book in a tiny, cluttered shop in any of the half-dozen European cities where my wife and I have found ourselves rushing from one antiquarian bookstore to the next. My favorite cities for books are Paris, London, Milan and Rome and it's rare to come away from a visit to any of these cities, especially Paris, without some worthwhile find. Numerous books have turned up in rare book catalogs which book dealers worldwide have generously sent to me once they became aware I am a viable customer. Gene Hochman of Full House, an important and reputable dealer, has consistently been helpful. The odds and ends picked up by friends at antique stores, tag sales and flea markets have also been most appreciated.

Regardless of a book's total number of pages, whether beautifully leather-bound with gold tooling, or falling apart at the spine, whether devoid of prints or profusely illustrated, each book has a special meaning, and usually a special story surrounds its purchase. Marilyn and I will always remember the time when a Paris book dealer specializing in fine bindings showed us a beautifully bound copy of Duchesne's *Jeux de Cartes Tarots et de Cartes Numerales* (1844) and inside were many colored plates of tarot and playing cards.

Most of the books contain a treasury of ideas and it's always fun to sort out fact from fiction as it relates to tarot and the history of playing cards. Some books are one of a kind and most unusual, such as Abner Doubleday's handwritten manuscript of 257 pages that delves into the tarot. Other books are definitive works of research that I have freely used, such as Boiteau's *Les Cartes a Jouer et La Cartomancie* (1854 and 1859), the British Museum's *Playing Cards of Various Ages and Countries, Selected from the Collection of Lady Charlotte Schreiber* (1892–1895), Chatto's *Facts and Speculations on the Origin and History of Playing Cards* (1848), D'Allemagne's *Les Cartes à Jouer du Quatorzieme au Vingtieme Siècle* (1906), Duchesne's *Jeux de Cartes Tarots et de Cartes Numerales, du quatorzieme au dix-huitieme siècle* (1844), Hargrave's *A History of Playing Cards and a Bibliography of Cards and Gaming* (1930), Knight's *A Practical Guide to Qabalistic Symbolism* (1965), Merlin's *Origine des Cartes à Jouer . . .* (1869), Moakley's *The Tarot Cards Painted by Bonifacio Bembo for the Visconti-Sforza Family* (1966), Morley's *Old and Curious Playing Cards . . .* (1931), O'Donoghue's *Catalogue of the Collection of Playing Cards Bequeathed to the Trustees of the British Museum by the Late Lady Charlotte Schreiber* (1901), and Singer's *Researches into the History of Playing Cards with Illustrations of the Origin of Printing and Engraving on Wood* (1816).

Two books, published in the past decade and of great importance, are *The Game of Tarot* (1980) and *Twelve Tarot Games* (1980) both authored by Michael Dummett. In addition, I am much indebted to recent exhibition catalogs such as Alberto Milano's *Carte da Gioco Milanesi dal XV al XX Sec.* (1980) and newsletters such as Tracey Hoover's *The Winged Chariot* and *The Tarot Network News* edited by Gary Ross, both originating in California, and *L'As de Trefle,* published in Paris. These publications often introduce new tarot artists. Vito Arienti of Italy is an infatigable source of information on new Italian tarocchi decks. Lastly, acknowledgement must be given to the important quarterly, *The Playing Card: Journal of the International Playing-Card Society,* published in Great Britain. Consistently over the years, *The Playing Card* has sought to disseminate scholarly research on the history and development of playing cards and several important articles dealing with tarot have been published in its pages.

All the books and tarot decks in the Stuart and Marilyn R. Kaplan Playing Card Collection have contributed in some measure to the material contained in the volumes of *The Encyclopedia of Tarot.* Additionally, many persons from all over the world have sent me information that has proven most helpful and I wish to express my gratitude for their generous assistance. Sometimes the casual mention of the existence of an old tarot deck is enough to start the relentless search in pursuit of the deck's location and identity, so that it can eventually be included in the encyclopedia.

During the past 500 years the imagery of tarot has found its place in many different countries and cultures. The broad range of research on tarot has resulted in an astonishing proliferation of published and unpublished works that reveal the tarot as facets of such diverse studies as art and political history, iconography, mythology, folklore, local customs, social games, and occult practices.

When I purchased my first book about tarot in 1968, I imagined that perhaps a few more published items eventually would come to my attention. I had no idea then, and it remains a constant source of amazement to me, that in the next eighteen years I would manage to compile more than 3300 annotated entries on tarot and the history of playing cards. It is a source of personal satisfaction that today many of these books are safely ensconced in my personal library, yet I feel a deep responsibility to share the contents with tarot scholars and this I have tried to accomplish in *The Encyclopedia of Tarot.*

The many hundreds of different tarot designs illustrated in *The Encyclopedia of Tarot* give testament to the talented artists—some famous, but most destined to remain obscure—who undertook the arduous task of studying tarot to enrich their lives while preparing new tarot iconography and symbolism as expressed through their own interpretive genius.

Tarot cards are like the far-distant stars that long ago illuminated sacred paths. Today these same cards shine brightly in a thousand directions for those who wish to see their presence and are willing to be inspired by their light.

I am especially grateful for the favorable reception to Volume I of *The Encyclopedia of Tarot* and it is my sincere hope that Volume II, and eventually Volume III, will prove helpful and interesting to my readers. Already, before the ink is dry, my thoughts turn to the eventual possibility of Volume IV. Recognizing that there probably is no limit to the existing information and expanding ideas about tarot and the history of playing cards, it is reasonable to expect that additional important books and hitherto "unknown" tarocchi cards will be located. If such is the case, perhaps Volume IV will someday become a reality. I look forward with enthusiasm to the task of bringing it together.

Stuart R. Kaplan

New York

ODE TO THE FOOL

The origin of tarot remains obscure.

The earliest tarot card
appeared before recorded history,
drawn with a stick
across a mound of soft earth
near a precipice
around the outline of a young man.
A dog barks at his heels and
the figures shimmer across the ground,
long shadows cast by the late afternoon sun
in the rectangular shape of a card.

The Fool

Collection of Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan

Bianca Sforza *It is not difficult to imagine the beautiful lady and her entourage enjoying the game of* trionfi *with hand-painted cards in fifteenth-century Milan. Bianca Sforza was the daughter of Duke Lodovico "Il Moro" Sforza by his mistress, but she was treated as a true daughter by Beatrice d'Este, Lodovico's wife. Portrait attributed to Leonardo da Vinci or Ambrogio de Predis.*

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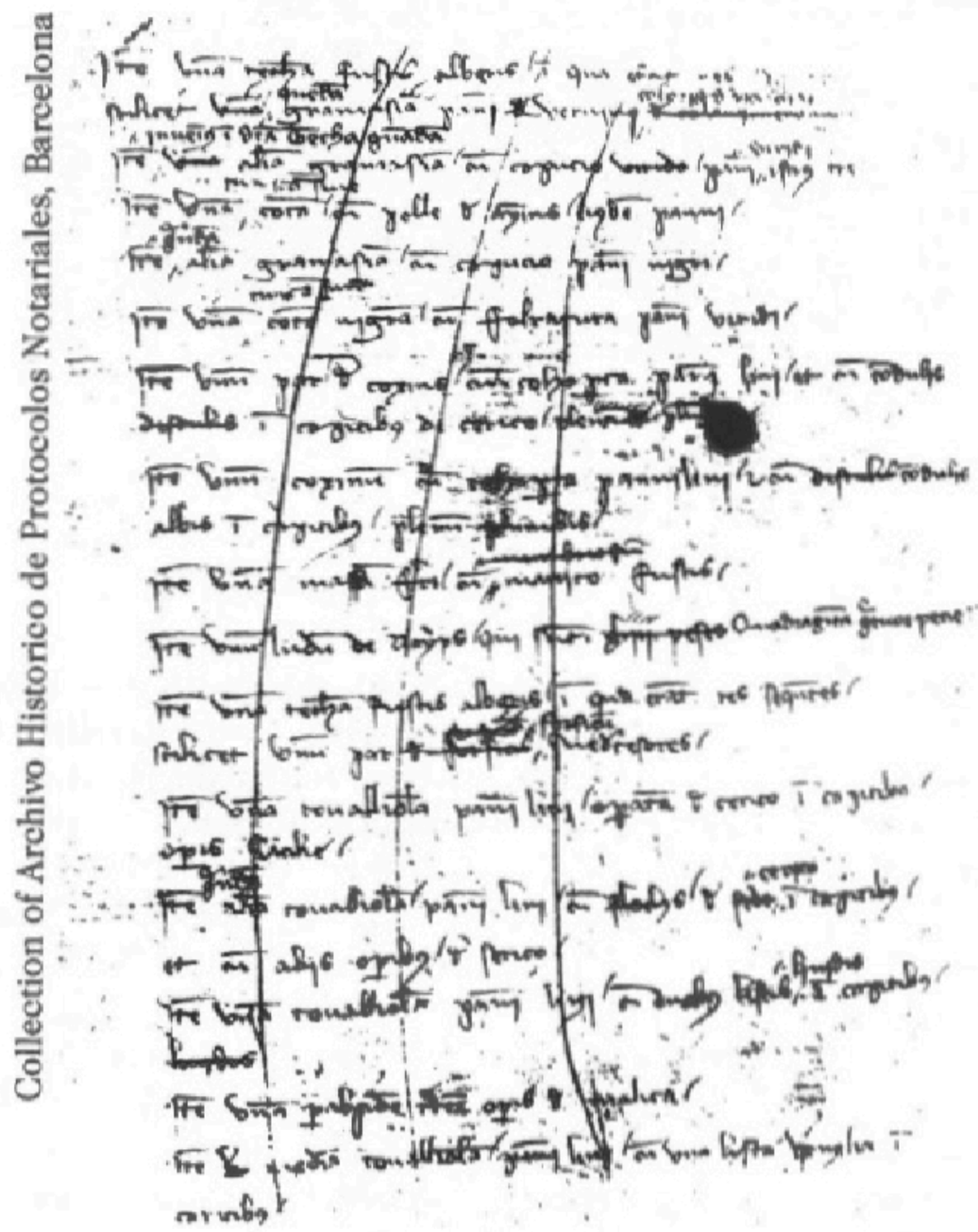
I

EARLY REFERENCES TO PLAYING CARDS AND TAROCCHI

THE EARLY REFERENCES to playing cards provide evidence that cards were known in Europe during the second half of the fourteenth century. Ten documents from the fourteenth century, commencing with the prohibition of playing cards at Bern in 1367, are described in Volume I of *The Encyclopedia of Tarot,* and are followed by twenty-five entries from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Additional references from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries presented in this chapter include several important frescoes that broaden our perspective of early playing cards.

Barcelona, 1380 An inventory prepared on October 26, 1380, of goods owned by Nicholas Sarmona includes, on line 12, the wording, *unum ludum de nayps qui sunt quadrazinte quatuor pecie,* "a game of cards comprising forty-four [pieces]." The word *pecie* is not entirely clear but probably can be translated as "pieces," meaning "cards." The number forty-four is first written in Roman numerals, crossed off, and then written out in script. The document is presently housed at Archivo Historico de Protocolos Notariales, Barcelona.

Barcelona, 1382 A decree to prevent different forms of gambling, including card games, is housed at the Archivo Historico of the city of Barcelona. The decree was read by the town crier in the streets of Barcelona: *Uno gos jugar a nengun joch de daus, ni de taules, ni de naips . . .* The word *naips* is an early Spanish word for playing cards.



Collection of Archivo Historico de Protocolos Notariales, Barcelona

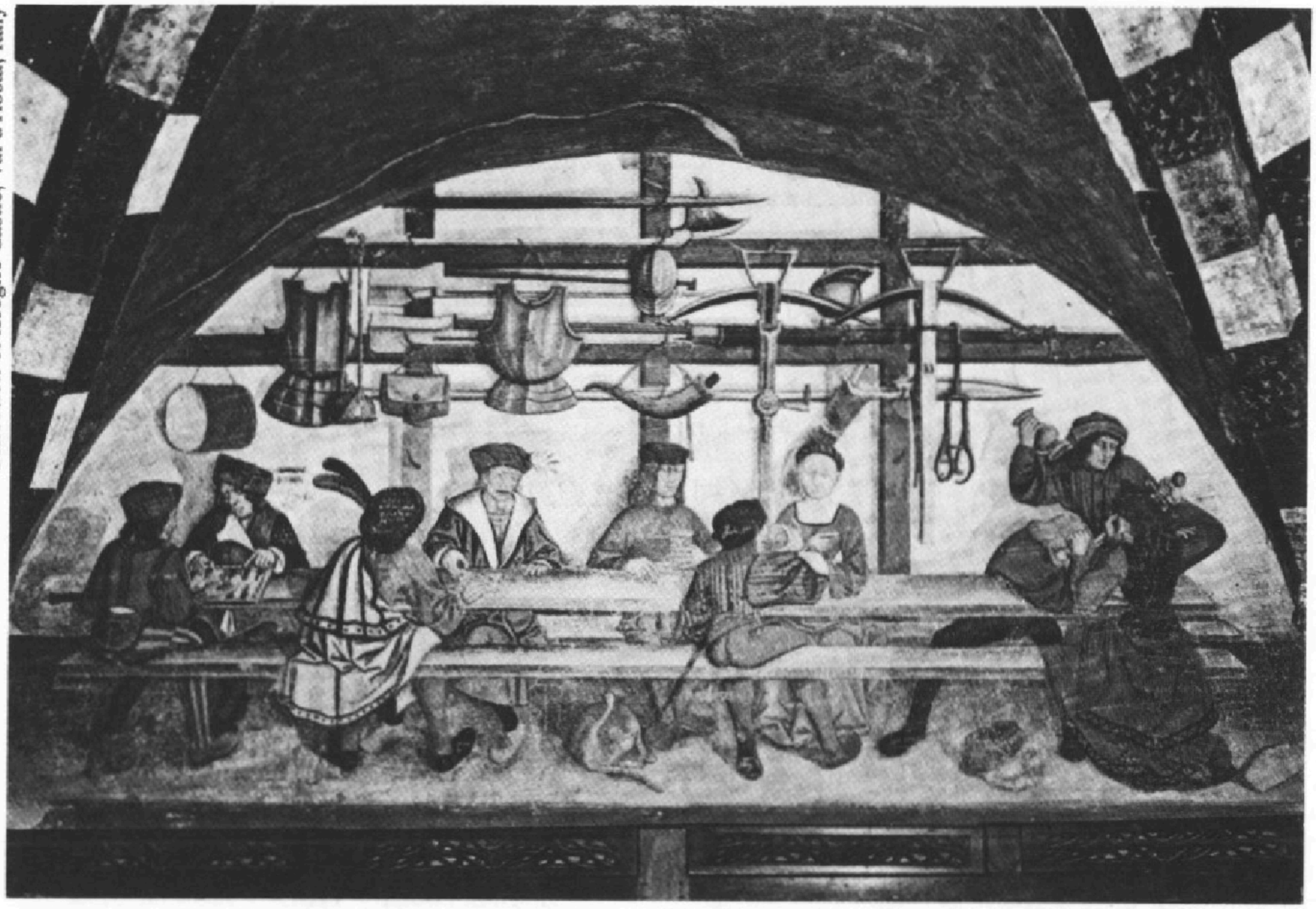
← ***Barcelona, 1380*** *Inventory that lists as an item "a game of cards"*

Collection of Serenari family, Bologna

Portrait of Prince Fibbia *Painting with inscription crediting Prince Fibbia with the invention of the Tarocchini of Bologna*

Tarocchini of Bologna and Prince Fibbia, circa 1400
According to Count Leopoldo Cicognara, the Tarocchini of Bologna pack was invented by Francesco Antelminelli Castracani Fibbia, prince of Pisa. Cicognara based his claim on a portrait of Fibbia that contains an inscription in a wide panel across the bottom. The lengthy inscription, previously transcribed in Volume I of *The Encyclopedia of Tarot,* credits Fibbia with the invention and purports to record the privilege granted to Fibbia of placing his arms and those of his wife on the queen of batons and the queen of coins, respectively. For many years the portrait of Prince Francesco Fibbia was thought to have been lost. Robert Steele, writing in 1901 in "Early Playing Cards, Their Design and Decoration," concludes that the portrait inscription must have been painted long after the death of the prince, and Michael Dummett (1980) indicates the portrait probably dates from the latter half of the seventeenth century. Since the shortened sixty-two-card Tarocchini of Bologna deck undoubtedly evolved from the seventy-eight-card tarocchi deck, and since the earliest extant sixty-two-card decks date from the sixteenth century, it naturally follows that Fibbia, who died in 1419, could not have invented the game. The Fibbia portrait is presently located at the Palazzo Fibbia in Bologna and the present owners, the Serenari family, have graciously authorized its reproduction. The inscription describes Prince Fibbia as the son of Giovanni, born of Castruccia, duke of Lucca, etc. Thus it seems that Fibbia, born in 1360, was a descendant of Castruccia of Lucca, who helped Galeazzo Visconti gain liberty from prison in 1328.

Collection of Issogne Castle, Val d'Aosta, Italy

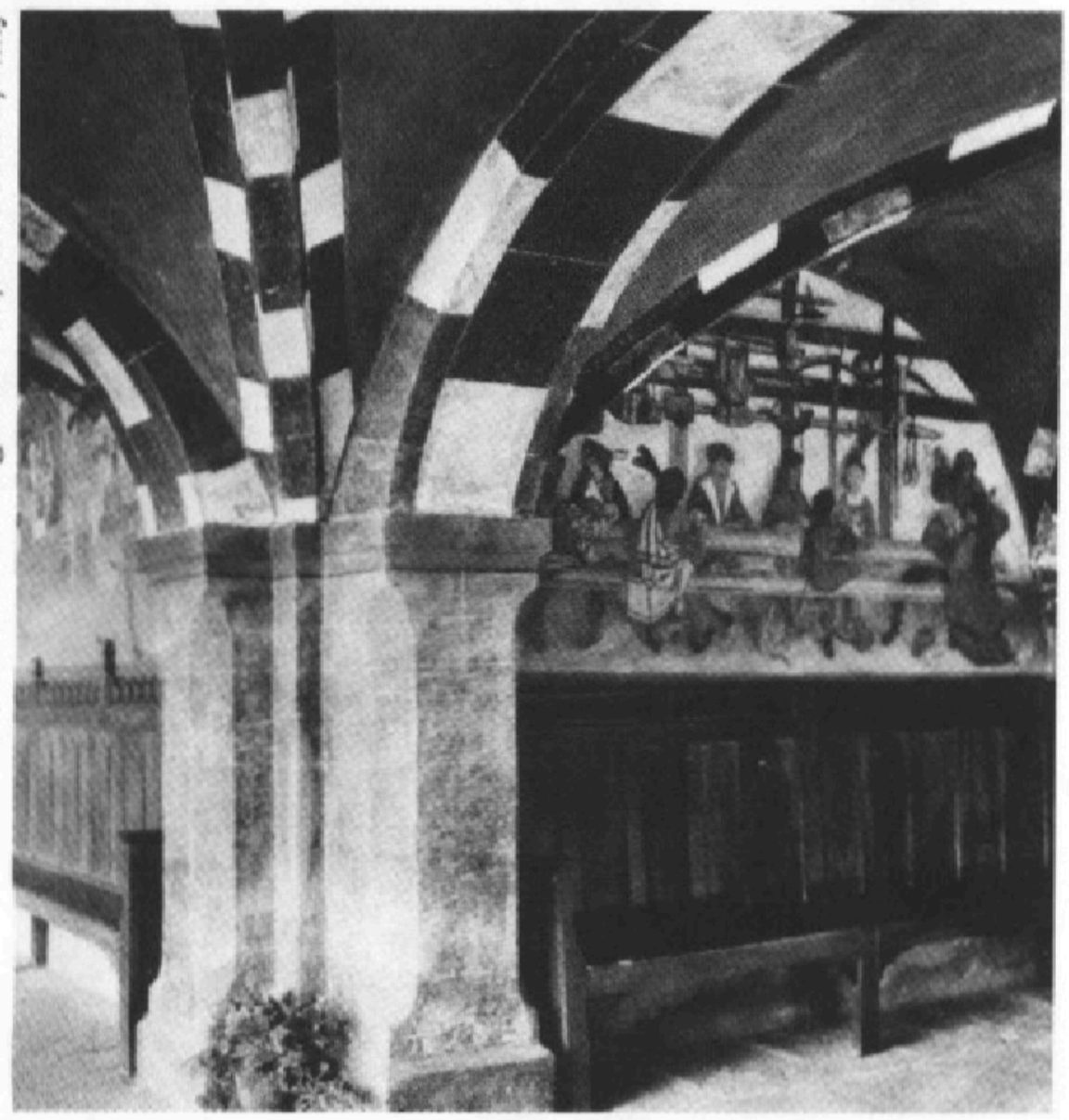


Game Players *Fresco in the Issogne Castle in Val d'Aosta*

Issogne Castle fresco, circa 1415 to 1450 The Issogne Castle in Val d'Aosta belonged to the Eveques family of Aosta since 1350. Around 1400 it passed to the dukes of Challant, who restored it and commissioned Giacomo Jaquerio, an artist who worked from 1415 to 1453, to adorn the rooms with rich frescoes. Recent investigation by Vito Arienti, who visited many castles in Northern Italy, has brought to the attention of playing card researchers an important fresco in one of the arcades of the Issogne Castle. The scene shows eight soldiers and two women in a tavern. Weapons and armor hang on the wall behind them. On the left, two men play backgammon, while next to them two more men play a board game, possibly pachisi or checkers. On the far right, two men and a woman are fighting; the woman grasps the hair of a man who cowers as she raises a sword, while another man stands and prepares to strike the woman with an urn or tankard. In the center, two men and a woman play cards. The woman discreetly calls attention to the fighting threesome, touching the arm of the drinking man facing her and pointing to her left. It is not possible to identify the cards used; they are long and rectangular, but no faces show to determine whether the cards are tarocchi.

Ferrara, 1442 According to G. Campori, writing in 1874 in *Le carte da gioco dipente per gli Estensi nel sec. XV* from the work *Atti e Memorie delle Deputazioni di Storia Patria per le Provincie modenesi e parmensi*, there is an entry for the year 1442 in the record books at the court of Ferrara that refers to *pare uno de carte da trionfi*. This reference to a pack of *trionfi* cards would place the existence of tarocchi cards at Ferrara before the middle of the fifteenth century. Further references to tarocchi cards at Ferrara appear in the record books for the years 1452, 1454 and 1461.

Collection of Issogne Castle, Val d'Aosta, Italy



Issogne Castle *View of the arcade showing location of fresco depicting the card players*

Casa Borromeo, circa 1400 to 1450 The Casa Borromeo in Milan contains a series of large frescoes dating from the first half of the fifteenth century and painted in Gothic style. One scene, the Tarocchi Players, depicts five young people seated outdoors and playing with tarocchi cards. The women wear high-waisted dresses and have elaborate hairstyles or hats. The foppish gentlemen appear intent at play. All of them are almost somber in their concentration on the game. Each player holds cards in hand and the two of coins is face up in the center of the table. The male player to the left appears to discard the ace of coins. Additional cards are in front of the two women at either end of the table. This fresco is believed to be the earliest known illustration of the game of tarocchi.

The other frescoes at the Casa Borromeo depict nobles dancing and a group playing ball. All the scenes are pictured outdoors in a flowery field with trees and hills in the background, and the colors in the background change from pale blue to vermillion. The series of frescoes presents an interesting insight into Milanese costumes and the pleasures enjoyed by the nobility. The signature of Michelino da Besozzo was allegedly seen in 1825 on a fresco in another courtyard of the Casa Borromeo, but there is no evidence that Michelino painted the fresco of the tarocchi players.

The Borromeo family was one of the important banking and commercial families in Milan during the fifteenth century. Vitaliano Borromeo was an early supporter of Francesco Sforza when the latter fought against the Ambrosian Republic of Milan from 1447 to 1450. It seems logical to assume that the Borromeo family considered tarocchi a part of everyday life, and they probably possessed one or more packs of the cards. Where such cards might be, if indeed they exist today, remains unknown.

Francesco Sforza letter, December 11, 1450 The earliest written record showing a direct connection between Francesco Sforza, duke of Milan, and *triumphi* (tarocchi) cards is dated December 11, 1450.

Antonio Trecho texaurario

Voliamo, subito recevuta questa, per uno cavallaro ad posta, ne debbi mandare doe para de carte de triumphi, della più belle poray trovare; et non trovando dicti triomphi, voglie mandare doe altre para de carte da giocare, pur delle più belle poray havere. Quale fa che habbiamo qui domenica per tutto el dì, che serà adì xiij del presente.

Data Laude, die xj decembris 1450.

Francesco Sfortia Vicecomes manu propria subscripsit.

Cichus.

The letter reads:

To Antonio Trecho, treasurer

As soon as this is received, we want you to send, by a mail rider, two decks of trump cards, of the finest you can find; and if you do not find said trumps, please send two other decks of playing cards, of the finest that there are. Do this so we have them here for all day Sunday, which will be the 13th of the month.

Given at Lodi, the 11th of December 1450.

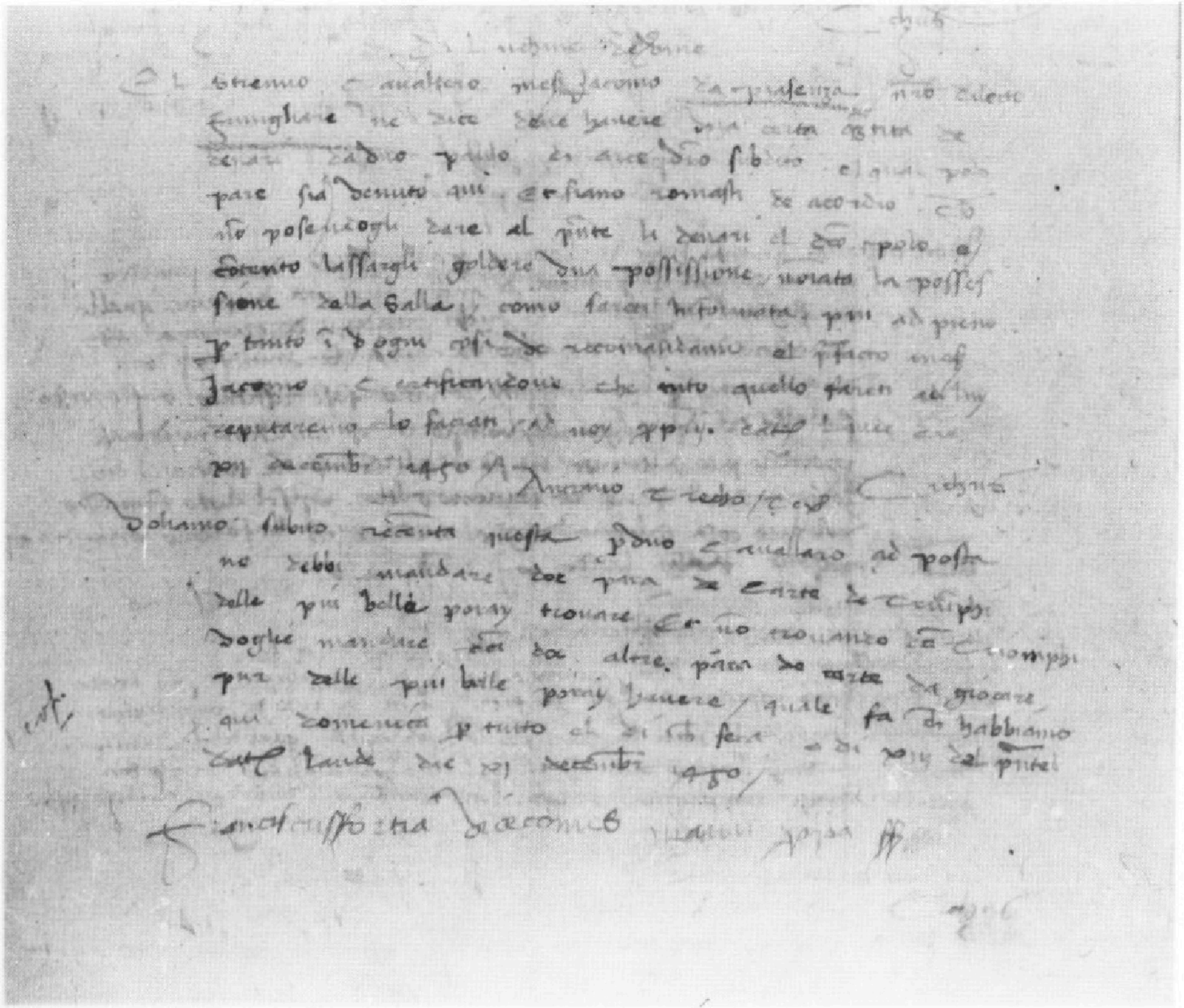
Francesco Sforza Visconti, signed by his own hand.

Cichus.

Collection of Casa Borromeo, Milan

Tarocchi Players *One of a series of frescoes that adorn three large walls of a room at the Casa Borromeo, Milan*

Collection of Archivio di Stato, Milan



Transcript of letter dated December 11, 1450, and written by Duke Francesco Sforza. The letter appears in Volume II/4 of the Archivio Ducale Sforzesco Registri Delle Missive, *published in 1982 by the Archivio di Stato, Milan.*

The letter of December 11, 1450, makes a distinction between *carte de triumphi* and *carta da giocare,* the latter presumably referring only to suited cards. It is not clear whether the *carte de triumphi* refer to a full seventy-eight-card tarocchi deck or just the twenty-two trumps or Major Arcana, but it is likely that seventy-eight cards were used to play at the game of *triumphi.* It is interesting to note that the word "tarocchi" is not used, and that fifteenth-century allegorical cards were more properly described as *carte de triumphi.* It is only during the following century that we find the word tarocchi entering into popular usage. The earliest printed reference to tarocchi appears in 1526 in *Capitolo del Gioco della Primiera* by Francesco Berni.

The name *Cichus* is the signature of Francescus Simonetta, known as Cicco, who was the chief secretary to Francesco Sforza. Letters in fifteenth-century Milan were regularly copied and preserved by secretaries, and the letters illustrated here are such transcriptions.

Francesco Sforza letter, December 15, 1450 Sforza followed up his December 11 letter with another, dated December 15, 1450.

Antonio Trecho

Havemo inteso per toe littere el richato hay facto de quello formento per dare alle nostre gentedarme; del che restiamo molto liecti et contenti, et volemo che lo distribuischa secondo gli bolectini te havimo scripto et scriverimo, tenendo bom conto del tutto. Havimo propterea recevuti de le carte da jocare et se ne contentemo bene, ma volimo, quanto più presto sia possibile, tu ce mandi l'altro paro delle fructe [sic], quale ce hay mandato amorevelmente et cum quella bona fede, qual sempre havemo cognosciuta in te verso noy. Te regraciamo singularmente et l'havemo recevute cum bono animo et voluntera, como da fidele citadino et amicissimo nostro che te reputamo. Propterea te mandiamo la squadra de Tristano in scripto, aciò se gli dia el formento cum participacione del nostro locotenente, el qual è informato a chi se debbe dare et a chi non, per essergli proveduto altroe.

Laude, xv decembris 1450.

Cichus

The letter, freely translated, reads:

Antonio Trecho

We have learned from your letters that the proceeds from the wheat harvest will be given to our soldiers; we are very glad and content and we want you to distribute the proceeds according to the bulletins we have written you and will write, taking good note of everything. We have received the playing cards and are very pleased with them, but we want you, as soon as possible, to send us the other *pair of fruits,* like those you were kind enough to send us, with the same good faith you have always shown toward us. We especially thank you and we will accept them with much enthusiasm as you are a loyal and faithful citizen. We assign to you in writing the squadron of Tristano, so that you will give them the wheat under the direction of our lieutenant, who is already informed to whom he should give it and to whom not.

Lodi, December 15, 1450.

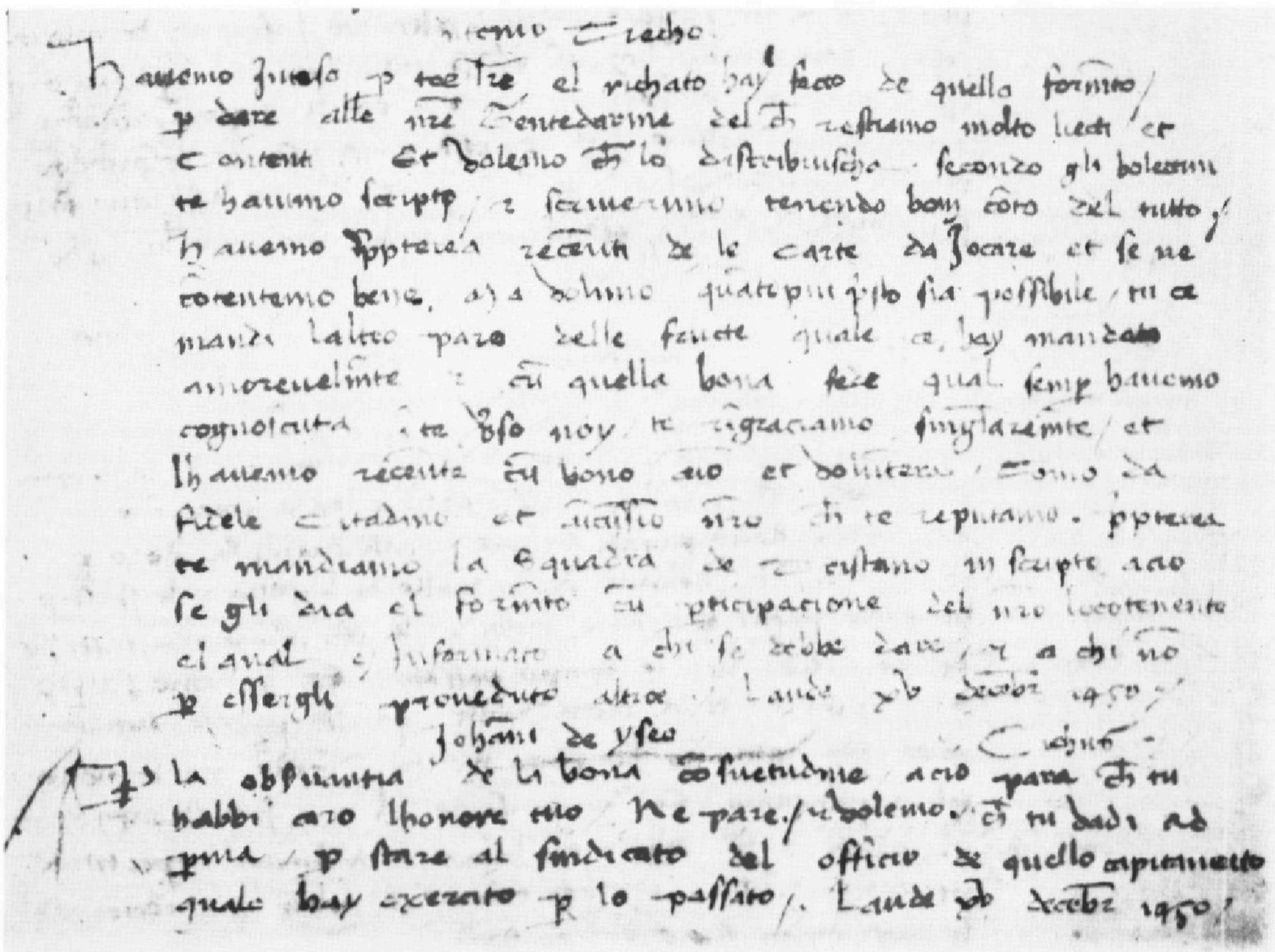
Cichus.

Duke Francesco Sforza received two decks of playing cards with which he was apparently quite satisfied, but it would seem the cards sent to him were not *triumphi* packs, since the acknowledgment refers to *carte da jocare,* rather than *carte de triumphi.*

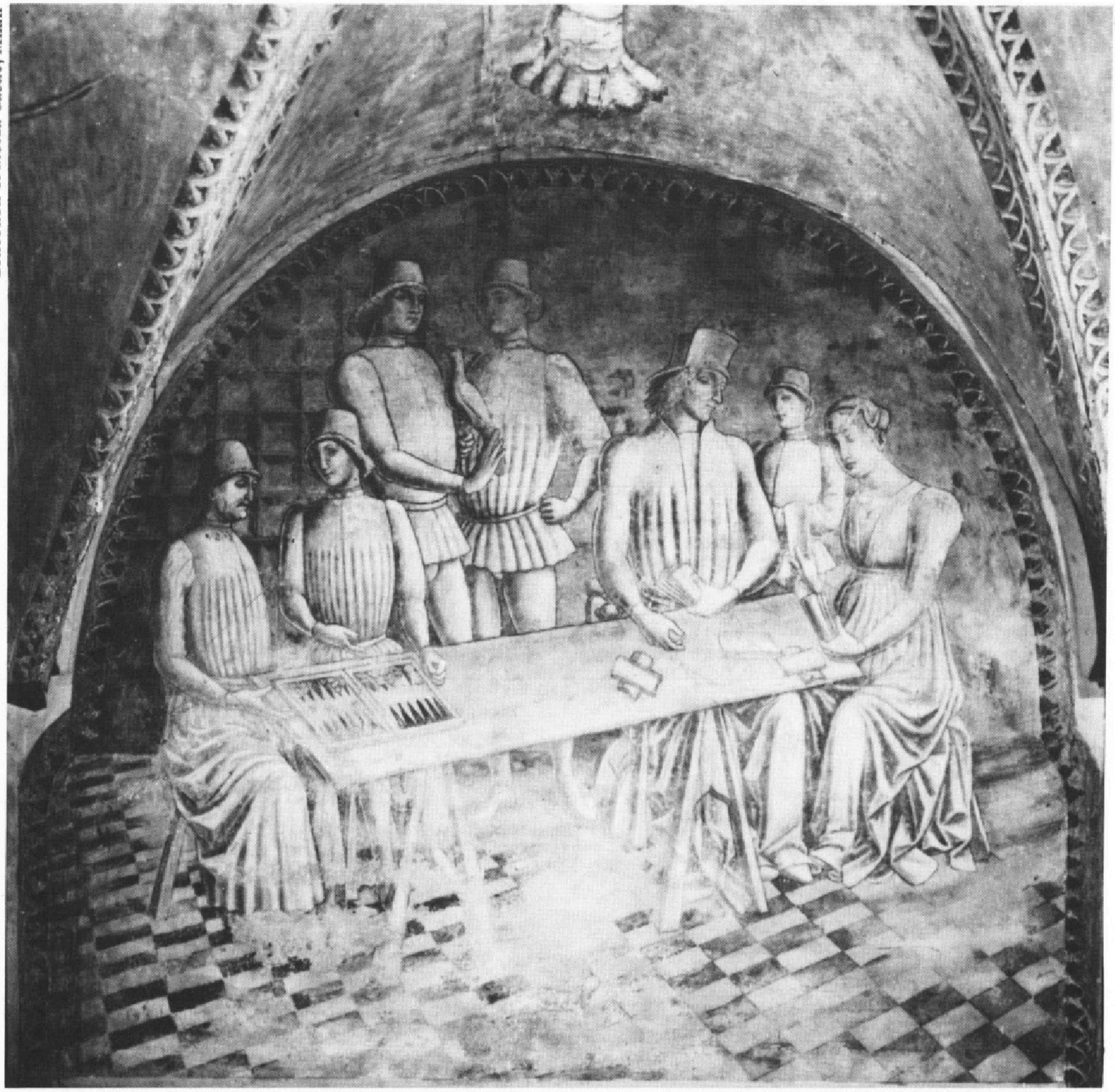
The request in the letter for "pair of fruits" *(paro delle fructe)* appears to be an error by the transcriber of the duke's letters. The correct reference should probably read *para de carte,* "pack of cards."

Matteo Maria Boiardo, circa 1460 In the late fifteenth century, Count Matteo Maria Boiardo (1441–1494) described an unusual deck of *trionfi* cards in a set of verses—two sonnets and seventy-eight *terzini* (triplets), one for each of the tarocchi cards. The card descriptions were contained in five chapters, one for each suit plus one for the triumphs or Major Arcana. The card titles are listed in Volume I of *The Encyclopedia of Tarot.* The card descriptions first appeared posthumously in 1523 in an anthology, published in Venice, of works by various poets, entitled *Amore di Hieronimo Benieuni Fiorentino, Allo Illustria. S. Nicolo da Corregio. Et una Caccia de Amore bellissima & cinq: Capituli, sopra el Timore, Zelosia, Speranza, Amore, & uno Trionpho del Mondo, Composti per il o et altre cose diverse.*

Collection of Archivio di Stato, Milan



Transcript of letter dated December 15, 1450, and written by Duke Francesco Sforza. The letter appears in Volume II/4 of the Archivio Ducale Sforzesco Registri Delle Missive.



Roccabianca Fresco *Depiction of people playing backgammon and cards*

Roccabianca fresco, circa 1460 In one fresco from a group of twenty-four, a man and woman, seated at a long, wooden table, are engaged in a game of cards, possibly tarocchi. It appears the man has just discarded one card and the woman is preparing to lay down the card held in her right hand. The cards are elongated, and thus they may be tarocchi cards, but the card faces are not shown. Behind the card players stands a page in waiting. Two young men, wearing short tunics over tights, are in the background; one is obviously a falconer. At the other end of the table two people play backgammon. The scene takes place indoors in a room with a checkered floor.

The frescoes were acquired in 1954 by the Sforza Castle, Milan, but originally they decorated a room in Roccabianca Castle, located a mile from the right bank of the Po River between Parma and Cremona. The Roccabianca Castle was built between 1446 and 1460 by Pier Maria Rossi in honor of his lady friend, Bianca Pellegrini d'Arluno. Rossi was lord of the region and served as a condottiere for both the Visconti and the Sforza families.

The frescoes were probably painted around 1460. The series of twenty-four frescoes illustrates the story of Griselda as told by Boccaccio in the *Decameron*. Pier Maria Rossi saw the heroic devotion of the simple woman to her husband and lord as a reflection of Bianca Pellegrini's faithfulness and devotion to him. In fact, the protagonists take on the features of both Rossi and Bianca Pellegrini, and the card players may represent Rossi and Bianca. The eleventh fresco is the only one devoted to games. Although the artist is unknown, the style is close to that of Niccolo de Verallo, known as the craftsman of the stained glass windows at the Duomo, the cathedral in Milan.

Ippolito d'Este, 1492 According to Giulio Bertoni, writing in 1917 in "Tarocchi versificate," *Poesie leggende costumanze del medio evo,* Cardinal Ippolito d'Este acknowledged receipt of numerous items sent to him by his mother, Leonora of Aragon, the duchess of Ferrara, including gilded tarocchi cards and cards for the games of *ronfa, triumphi dorati* and *carta da rompha.* Ippolito d'Este was the brother of Beatrice d'Este who married Lodovico "Il Moro" Sforza, the seventh duke of Milan.

Pavlinvs da Casteleto, 1499 Francesco Novati, in 1908, described fifty-nine playing cards or fragments of playing cards found at the Sforza Castle, Milan, including one card—a two of coins—that bears the inscription *Pavlinvs [da] Cast[e]leto Fecit 1499.* According to Novati, several documents exist as evidence that Casteleto was engaged in the distribution of playing cards at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Novati cited a document in the Milanese archives, dated January 10, 1513, and notarized by Giovanni Marco da Birago, that records the forming of an association between Paolino da Casteleto and Bartolomeo Pozzobonelli for the purpose of selling playing cards, paper and cardboard.

Court of Ferrara, 1516 G. Bertoni, in 1917, reported that the *Registro di Guardaroba* of the court of Ferrara refers to the purchase of *para de tarocchi* in the year 1516. Additional purchases of packs of tarocchi cards were recorded in the following year.

Collection of Sforza Castle, Milan

Pavlinvs da Casteleto, 1499 *Two of coins*

Girolamo Cardano, 1524 The Latin work *Hieronymi Cardani Mediolanensis Opera Omnia,* published at Lyon in 1663, contains a section, *Liber de Ludo Aleae* (Book on Games of Chance), which refers to the games of *trionfi, primiera* and *trappola.* This work is based upon Cardano's collected works, believed to date from the year 1564, in which the author describes an earlier, incomplete and unpublished work credited to the year 1524.

Merlini Cocai, 1527 Teofilo (Theophile) Folengo (1491–1544), writing under the pseudonym Merlini Cocai, prepared a set of five sonnets on the Major Arcana or *trionphi* that was included in his work, *Caos del Triperuno* (also known as *Chaos del tri per uno*), published in Venice in 1527. Cocai was a Mantuan author of macaronic verse, combining Latin, Italian and the Mantuan dialect of Italian. The *trionphi* cards are listed in four groups with the following titles:

Giustitia, Angiolo, Diauolo, Foco, Amore.
Mondo, Stella, Rota, Fortezza, Temperantia, Bagatella.
Luna, Appiatto, Papa, Imperatore, Papessa.
Sole, Morte, Tempo, Carro, Imperatrice and *Matto.*

and the last sonnet names all the *trionphi.*

The verses are inserted in a dialogue between two men, Limerno and Triperuno. Limerno has been requested to recite verses before the queen, and for this, he has composed sonnets for four persons, Giuberto, Focilla, Falcone and Mirtella. The two men and two women had led Limerno into a room where *trionphi* cards were dealt out. Each person related his fate *(sorte)* from the cards drawn and asked Limerno to compose a sonnet for each reading. The work by Cocai appears to be one of the earliest references to the use of the *trionphi* for divination.

For the fate of Giuberto, the sonnet reads:

Justice. Angel. Devil. Fire. Love.

While the *Fire* of *Love* always burns in me,
I bethink myself and say,
It is not the *Angel* of God, but rather the Enemy,
whom *Justice* expelled from heaven.
Yet you adore him like an *Angel,*
calling his Flames sweet intrigue,
but I deny this, for never was there
a friend of *Justice* who became enamored of the *Devil.*
Love of woman is the ardor of a black Spirit.
If in his eyes he seems an *Angel,*
let not his face deceive you, for it is fraud, not *Justice.*
Justice it cannot be, when malice
relieves the crude Archer of his torches,
and Satan appears as an *Angel* of light.

For the fate of Focilla, a prudent woman, Limerno continues:

World. Star. Wheel. Strength. Temperance. Juggler.

This Fortune in the *World* is like the *Juggler,*
now raising someone, now bringing him down;
there is no *Temperance* in it—rather it destroys
the *Strength* of one who was born under a wicked *Star.*
A temperate, strong and beautiful Woman
whose splendor outshines the *Stars*
holds the unstable *Wheel* humble and low,
and playfully she to the *World* appeals.

Temperately she has always used her *Strength*
so as to lead the *World* and, with it,
the Fate-dealing *Stars* in jest.
Let Fortune with her lightness
go among the *Stars* with extreme powers;
he who knows to temper himself keeps her and the *World* in check.

The third sonnet, for Falcone, relates that the Pope and the Emperor have the power to free the Europeans held under Turkish rule. The cards involved are Moon, Hanged Man, Pope, Emperor, and Popess. The sonnet is couched in puzzling language and on it the poet's companion, Triperuno, remarks, "In this sonnet, Master, you are often playing at being dumb."

The fourth sonnet, for Mirtella, reveals:

Sun. Death. Time. Chariot. Empress. Fool.

What could be more foolish under the *Sun*
than to wait for a time to enjoy *Time;*
Death, on the Empress's *Chariot,*
hastens to turn our children to dust.
Beneath the *Sun* the lad quickly
arranges the violets on the *Chariot.*
Crazy is the person who fears the mortal arrow
which flies to kill even the *Empress,*
But *Fools* there will be on the Imperial *Chariot.*
Stay, woman, while you are lovely,
for the *Sun* ages and kills all beauty.
Enjoy, *Mad Woman,* enjoy the flower while you can.
The *Chariot* flees with the *Sun,* and as the cemetary fills,
the Black *Empress* grows more beautiful.

Limerno concludes that he would have composed the readings with less harshness had the distribution of the cards been in his power. In order to make amends, he offers a final sonnet "much less coarse and trivial (to my mind) than those already recited, when the choice is entirely mine, and where the twenty-one trumps are added to the Fool."

Love, under whose reign many enterprises
are made vain by *Time* and shattered by *Fortune,*
saw *Death* on the *Chariot,* horrendous and dark,
wending his way among the captives from the *World.*
By what *Justice,* said *Love,* have you never returned to us
Pope or *Popess?*
Death answered, He who separated the *Sun* from the *Moon*
took away their defenses against my *Strength.*
And I know now what that *Fire* is, said *Love,*
that seems now *Angel,* now *Demon,* and how
one can become tempered against it under my *Star.*
You, the *Empress,* hold sway over the body, but a heart that,
though suspended, does not fall, has the renown of the *Sun,*
whose noble *Fame* would tempt a *Juggler.*

The final stanza accounts for twenty-one of the Major Arcana cards, as Triperuno said, the Fool being mentioned in the introduction. In addition to those card titles specifically mentioned, Reign possibly represents the Emperor, the Fire is the Tower, the Angel is Judgment, and the Demon is the Devil. Temperance is evoked by the resistance of carnal love under the Star of divine Love, and the suspended heart is the Hanged Man.

Troilo Pomeran da Cittadela, 1534 Troilo Pomeran da Cittadela wrote a series of sonnets using the Major Arcana or trumps to praise the renowned ladies of Venice. The work was published in 1534 in Venice under the title, *Triomphi de Troilo Pomeran da Cittadela: composti sopra li Terrocchi [sic] in Laude delle famose Gentil donne di Vinegia,* and the titles used as inspiration for the sonnets are *Mondo, Giustitia, Angelo, Sole, Luna, Stella, Foco, Diauolo, Morte, Traditore, Tempo, Rota, Fortezza, Amore, Carro Triomphale, Temperanza, Papa, Imperatore, Papessa, Imperatrice, Bagattela* and *Matto.*

Freely translated, a few of the verses read as follows.

Emperor

With profound wisdom, pure honesty and utmost courtesy
written on her forehead,
Benedetta Pisani teaches in this world
how to walk to heaven on the narrow path.
The Emperor, with glorious and cheerful face,
leads this gentle lady by his side
to defend God's holy faith
against any who do not believe.

Triumphal Carriage

I will raise my tired voice, perfect my style,
as long as I sing the high praises of Love
for Maria Laureda, the gentle soul.
Unique on earth in beauty and valor,
her immortal fame, from the Ganges to Tyle,
shines bright with singular splendor;
she holds the Triumphal Carriage
as sign of her proud race and worthy state.

Wheel

Like a red rose unfolding to the dawn sky
smiling and lovely,
so Paula the Moor, even more charming and nimble,
uncovers the graceful features of her face.
Her manner of speech seems divine,
gentility surrounds her always,
with a merry face, she holds the Wheel
that bodes uncertain hopes to the blind world.

Temperance

There is so much virtue in her sacred looks
that everyone in the meadow would smile at her,
the beautiful Biancha Zena, in whose breast
chaste thoughts sojourn and flourish.
A Temperance delightful to behold
adorns her face.
In her fine habits such virtue lies
as could give salvation to all the world.

Fire

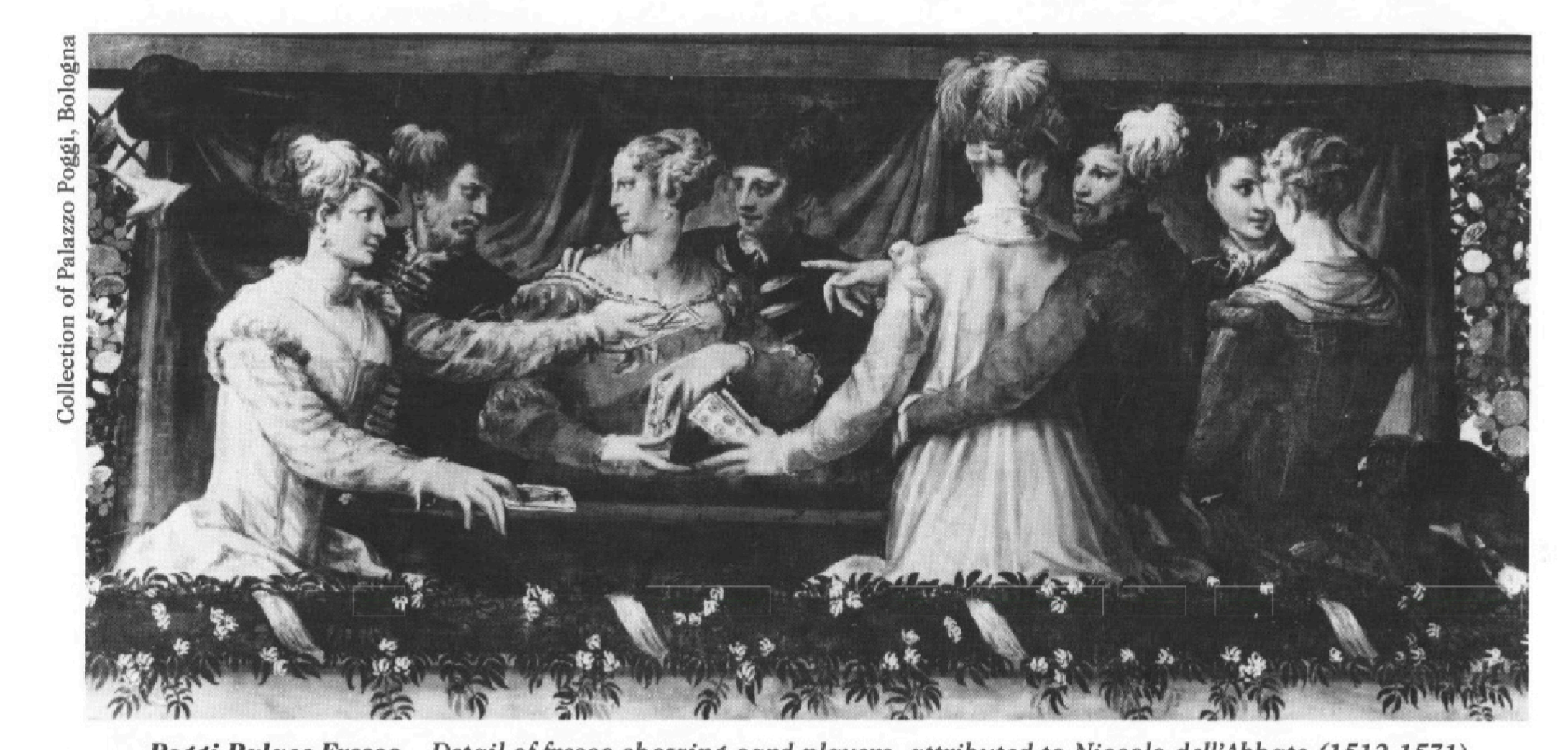
The shores, the mountains, every hill would smile,
and the sweet air would gently move the flowers
as she appears, Bianca Contarina,
graceful, proud, shining brighter than the sun.
Her superior, most divine beauty
inflames and softens any obstinate mind.
Thus does the lovely Lady hold the Fire
that is love's nest and virtue's pillar.

Poggi Palace fresco, circa 1550 The Poggi Palace in Bologna contains a sixteenth-century fresco attributed to Niccolo dell'Abbate (also Abate and Abati) who lived from 1512 to 1571. The scene shows a party of ornately dressed men and women playing cards, with the three couples acting as partners. The faces of the four of staves, the six of coins and probably the six of swords are shown, along with either the back design of a card or the face of a court card.

Claude Gauchet, 1583 Writing in *Le Plaisir des Champs* in 1583, Claude Gauchet describes several indoor games played during the wintertime including the game of tarot.

John Florio, 1591 John Florio's book, published in 1591 in London under the title *Second Frutes*, provides travelers with English and Italian conversational sentences. One of the entries includes reference to chess, dice, cards and tarocchi which Florio translates as *teristriall triumphs*.

G. Delamothe, 1592 A French conversation book of 1592, titled *The French Alphabet*, includes the phrase, *A quel jeu voulez voux jouer? Voulez vous jouer aux Dames, aux Dez, aux Tarots, aux Eschets, etc.* The translation reads, "What game will you play? Will you play at tables, at Dyce, at Tarots, at Chesses, etc."

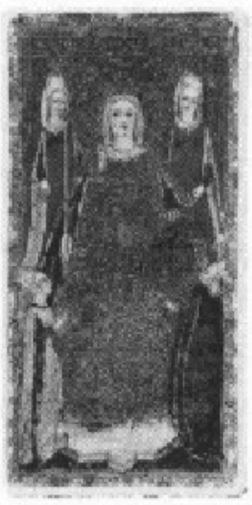


Collection of Palazzo Poggi, Bologna

Poggi Palace Fresco *Detail of fresco showing card players, attributed to Niccolo dell'Abbate (1512-1571)*

II

VISCONTI AND VISCONTI-SFORZA CARDS REDISCOVERED AND RECREATED



WHEN VOLUME I of *The Encyclopedia of Tarot* was published, the total of known Visconti and Visconti-Sforza tarocchi cards was 239.

An additional thirty-two Visconti and Visconti-Sforza cards, comprising four separate groups, have now been located. These hand-painted cards are grouped into twenty-three Lombardy I cards, four Lombardy II cards, four Bonomi cards and one Lombardy III card. Thus, as of this writing, there are 271 known extant Visconti and Visconti-Sforza cards, divided into fifteen groups. The groups range from the seventy-four-card Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo pack to five single cards in four different collections.

THE DEVIL AND THE TOWER CARDS

Among the Visconti and Visconti-Sforza cards, there are no extant examples of The Devil or The Tower cards. The earliest examples of these two cards are found in the Gringonneur deck, which is only tentatively dated to the fifteenth century. A late-fifteenth-century Italian manuscript, *Sermones de Ludo Cum Aliis* (see Volume I of *The Encyclopedia of Tarot*) includes the earliest known list of the tarot trumps. Two of the cards mentioned are *14. El diavolo* (The devil) and *15. La sagitta (The arrow)*. *La sagitta* could represent the astrological sign of Sagittarius the archer. Sagittarius is ruled by Jupiter, one of whose attributes is a lightning bolt. Thus a possible link is created between *La sagitta* and The Tower, which depicts a lightning bolt striking a tower.

The reason that the two cards are not included in the Visconti and Visconti-Sforza groups is not known. It could be that they had not yet become part of the tarocchi deck at the time. An alternative reason is suppression by the patrons or by the Roman Church. However, it seems unlikely that all the card owners of the various groups would find the same two cards objectionable. The independence of the families who commissioned the decks would make papal suppression unlikely, unless The Devil and The Tower cards were removed as a token gesture. It would seem that if the Church did intervene, The Popess and The Pope cards would have been removed as the more offensive cards.

If The Devil and The Tower were suppressed, possibly the reason for the suppression lies in the symbolism of the cards themselves. The Devil, in the traditional tarot, symbolizes the epitome of evil and bondage to falsehood. The owners of the cards might have rejected any association with such a negative concept. The Tower traditionally shows two crowned figures hurled from a tower that is blasted by lightning. Towers in medieval and Renaissance times were symbols of the power of aristocratic families, and their heights were ever increased to gain vantage over enemies. Perhaps the image on The Tower card conveyed a threat of battle and defeat that was all too real and did not fit in with the more symbolic and abstract ideas the patrons of the deck preferred to visualize. The macabre figure of Death reminded fifteenth-century card players of physical mortality, but the cards of The Devil and The Tower were even more threatening. The Devil symbolized the damnation of the soul and The Tower the destruction of the precious family lineage.

THE LOMBARDY I CARDS

Comparison of the twenty-three Lombardy I cards with the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo pack reveals a startling fact. The twenty-three Lombardy cards precisely match fifteen Major Arcana and eight court cards out of the thirty-five cards owned by the Pierpont Morgan Library.

The twenty-three hand-painted cards that comprise the Lombardy I group consist of the following fifteen Major Arcana: The Fool, The Magician, The Popess, The Empress, The Pope, The Lovers, The Chariot, The Hermit, The Wheel of Fortune, Strength, The Hanged Man, Death, Temperance, The Sun and Judgment. The eight Minor Arcana cards in the Lombardy pack are all court cards: king and queen of swords; king of staves; queen, knight and page of cups; and king and queen of coins. Thus, the Lombardy I group matches the thirty-five cards owned by the Pierpont Morgan Library, except the Lombardy group lacks twelve pip cards.

The Lombardy I cards measure 168 by 86 millimeters, slightly smaller than their counterparts in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo pack. They are skillfully executed, with tooled gold backgrounds that are darker than those on the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo pack. The cardboard is smoother than that of the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo pack, a fact that is especially visible along the unpainted outer borders. The backs of the Lombardy I cards are reddish maroon as are those of the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo cards, but the color is softer.

Based on a comparison between the two groups of cards,

it seems safe to conclude that the Lombardy I group was not executed by the same artist or artists who painted the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo pack. In spite of the many similarities between the two groups, the Lombardy I group differs from the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo pack in several ways. The facial features of the figures on the Lombardy I cards are harsher and coarser, with heavier shading, thicker lips, wider and more pointed noses, and bulging eyes, and the figures are generally less graceful and refined. Awkward execution is exemplified by the queen of swords with eyes rolling backward, the woman in The Lovers card with a long, bent neck, and the grotesque face of The Fool. The Magician seems more aged and weary, and he lacks the charm, intensity and mystical feeling found in the corresponding card of the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo pack. The Popess has a less placid expression, and the Empress lacks the sweetness of the corresponding figure in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo card. The figures depicted on The Lovers card of the Lombardy I group are awkward and express discomfort.

However, the overall composition of the card scenes, the poses of the figures, and the facial expressions suggest that the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo cards served as a model for the Lombardy I group of cards, or that both groups drew upon a common source of inspiration.

The Lombardy I group of cards is in better overall condition than the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo pack, indicating that the Lombardy I cards are probably of more recent origin. The bottom quarters of the Lombardy I cards reveal much less deterioration, and the presence of a cliff's edge is more apparent on several of the cards, although some deterioration has taken place.

The backgrounds on the faces of the Lombardy I cards are gold tooled with a pattern of suns that emanate wavy rays, and they are not nearly as defined and delineated as the backgrounds of the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo pack or even the four cards of the Lombardy II group. A further distinction between the Lombardy I group and the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo group is found in the repeating, decorative tooling within the border of each card. On the Lombardy I cards, six dots form a circle with one dot in the center, similar to the pattern on the Lombardy II cards. By contrast, in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo pack, seven dots form the circle, with one dot in the center.

It is of further interest to note the similarity between seven cards in the Lombardy I group and seven cards of the same title in the thirteen-card Von Bartsch group, namely, The Pope, The Chariot, The Wheel of Fortune, Judgment, king of swords, knight of cups and page of cups. The principal differences between the cards in these two groups occur in the facial features of the figures, the design of the marble tomb in The Judgment card, and the decoration of the wooden throne in the king of swords card.

All twenty-three Lombardy I cards, except the queen of cups, have tack holes at the top centers, possibly attributable to the manner in which the cards were originally hung for display. The tack holes at both top and bottom of The Hanged Man (also in The Hanged Man of the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck) could be the result of subsequent owners not knowing which was the upright position of the card. The existence of tack holes would suggest that the cards are early renditions of tarot and not recently commissioned replacements, unless the tack holes were deliberately added to simulate authenticity.

The cards that comprise the Lombardy I group match precisely the Major Arcana and court cards sold (along with several pip cards) to Hamburger Frères by the Colleoni family prior to 1911. The five Major Arcana and eight court cards lacking in the Lombardy I group match exactly the five Major Arcana and eight court cards from the total of twenty-six cards Count Colleoni traded to Count Baglioni earlier in the late nineteenth century. Thus, the Lombardy I group matches those Major Arcana and court cards that the Colleoni family still had in its possession prior to the sale to Hamburger Frères, and the group does not include any of the cards that the family did not sell to Hamburger Frères.

The question arises as to whether the twenty-three Lombardy I cards are late-nineteenth- or possibly early-twentieth-century duplicates, commissioned some time after Count Alessandro Colleoni traded twenty-six cards with Count Baglioni in the late nineteenth century, but prior to the sale of thirty-five cards to Hamburger Frères before 1911. If the Lombardy I cards were intended as duplicates, perhaps the artist could have more closely matched the faces and facial expressions on all the cards, especially since he matched so many other details such as clothing, objects, posture of the figures, and the scenes themselves including the cliff found in the foreground of some of the cards. However, facial expressions are sometimes the most difficult to duplicate. If the cards were intended to be *exact* duplicates, it would seem that the artist would have found it easier to paint them in the same size as the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo cards, instead of some seven centimeters less in height. The twenty-three Lombardy I cards unquestionably form a group unto themselves and one cannot help but wonder whether the missing fifty-five cards were ever made and, if so, whether they still exist and will one day surface.

If the Colleoni family owned the Lombardy I group of cards when they sold the thirty-five cards from the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo pack to Hamburger Frères, then the Lombardy I cards could have provided the basis by which the Colleoni family selected the cards to be sold from the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo pack since they would have had the Lombardy I replacements at hand. However, it also follows that if the Colleoni family had owned the Lombardy I group of cards, the family would have been more likely to sell the Lombardy I group of cards and to keep intact the larger pack.

If one assumes that the Colleoni family, or some other interested party, commissioned the twenty-three Lombardy I cards at the end of the nineteenth century or around the beginning of the twentieth century, then it reasonably follows that they would have commissioned duplicate cards for all twenty of the Major Arcana so as to have a complete set and not just fifteen Major Arcana cards. After the trade of five Major Arcana cards and seven court cards with Count Baglioni, and after the subsequent sale to Hamburger Frères, the Colleoni family lacked all twenty extant Major Arcana and fifteen court cards. Any attempt to prepare a set of reproductions would have more naturally included all the missing Major Arcana and court cards, not just the cards to be sold to Hamburger Frères, unless the artist did not have access to the cards traded to Count Baglioni. Of course, in these observations we are obliged to exclude the missing cards of The Devil and The Tower as they do not appear to have been in the original pack. We must also exclude the knight of coins which is the court card that has been lost for an indeterminate period of time.

There is no reason to believe that Count Baglioni commissioned the Lombardy I cards since, if they were in his possession at the time of his death, presumably he would have bequeathed them also to Accademia Carrara.

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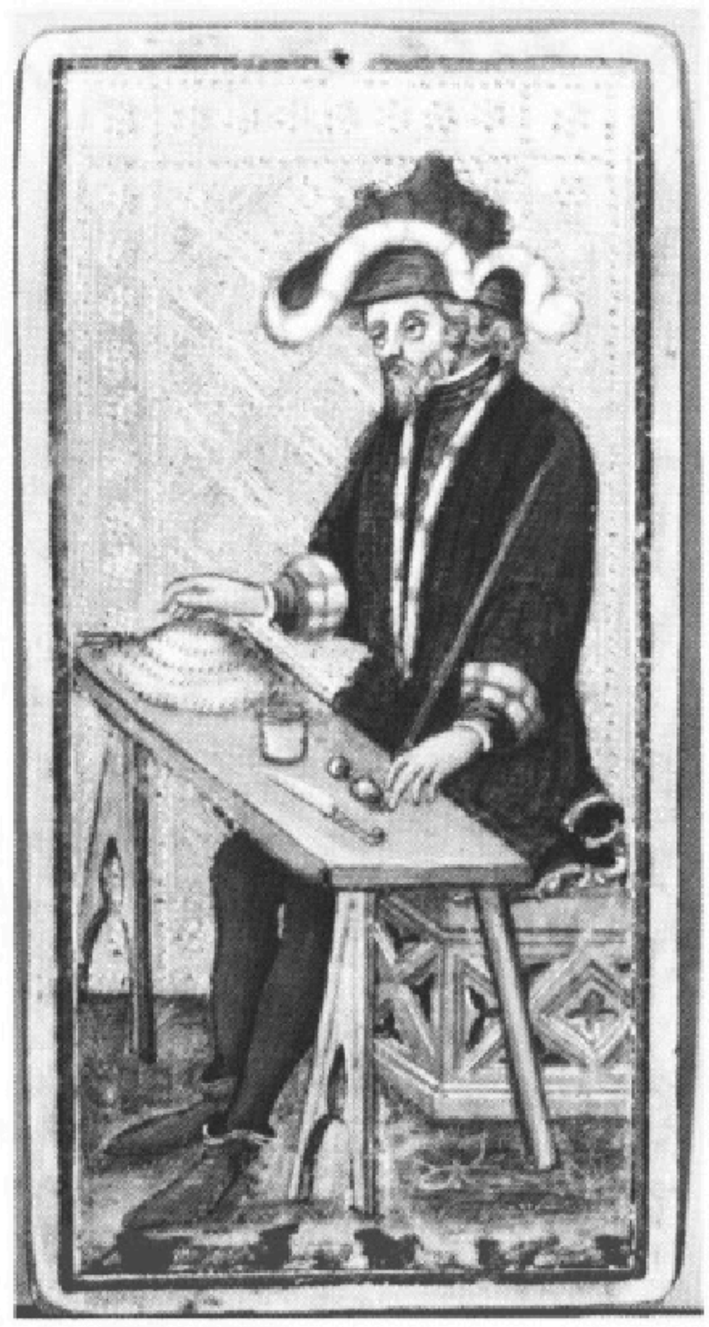

The Fool, The Magician and The Popess *Lombardy I tarocchi cards*

Although the twenty-three Lombardy I cards seem to be replacements for the fifteen Major Arcana and eight court cards sold by the Colleoni family, the Lombardy I cards give the appearance of being quite old. However, none of the scientific dating tests available today have been conducted on the cards.

Whatever the true origin of the twenty-three Lombardy I cards, many questions remain unanswered. It is interesting to study each of the Lombardy cards and to compare them to the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo pack whose designs are so strikingly similar.

The Fool The sad, almost sinister face of the Fool stares forlornly ahead. He has a shaggy, forked beard and a prominent Adam's apple. He wears a thin, tattered coat and his bare feet protrude through the remnants of white stockings that sag beneath his knees. Six feathers protrude through the Fool's curly hair; across his right shoulder he holds a long wooden club. His feet are set at the edge of a cliff. In the background are trees and mountains, and on the ground are the outlines of several plants. The Fool from the Lombardy I group has only six feathers in his hair whereas the Fool in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo pack has seven feathers.

The Magician The Magician sits near the edge of a precipice at a table supported by double front legs and single back legs. An aged figure with a thin face and weary eyes, he wears a red robe trimmed with white ermine. Before him, on the table, are an indeterminate object—perhaps a multi-tiered dish, a hat or a pile of coins—and a cup, a knife and two round objects, possibly nuts. In his left hand the Magician holds a thin rod. Thus, probably the signs of all four suits are represented: a knife for swords, a rod for staves, a cup for cups and possibly a pile of coins for the suit of coins. The bottom of the card, near the Magician's feet, contains the outline of a flower and the table rests near the edge of a precipice. The two round objects on the table in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck are more in the form of flat coins.

The Popess The Popess, in monastic robes, sits on a gold bench set on a trapezoidal platform. She wears a triple tiara on her head over a white wimple with fringed edges. Her rope sash has three knots just beyond the eyelet, four knots hanging in the middle, and two knots at the end. In her right hand, the Popess holds a thin scepter topped with a Maltese cross, and on her left knee she balances an ornately bound leather book. In the foreground, near the platform, appear the outlines of flora. This card is strikingly similar to the card of the same title in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo pack, with the exception that on the Lombardy I card the book pages have red edges instead of gold edges. Also the facial features are somewhat severe on the Popess in the Lombardy I group, as compared with the tranquil expression of the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo Popess.

The Empress The Empress is crowned and wears regal, golden robes heavily decorated with heraldic devices identifiable with the Visconti and Visconti-Sforza families. There are several sets of three interlaced rings and several ducal crowns with protruding fronds or branches. Her scarf drapes loosely across her shoulders and her robe is lined in blue, with the hem trimmed in a dotted pattern. She holds a jousting shield emblazoned with a black eagle. This card is practically an exact duplicate of The Empress card in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo pack, especially the round, attractive face, the posture of the figure, the positions of the hands, the heraldic devices on the royal robe, and the black eagle on the jousting shield. The Empress gazes straight ahead on both decks, but is more somber in the Lombardy I card.

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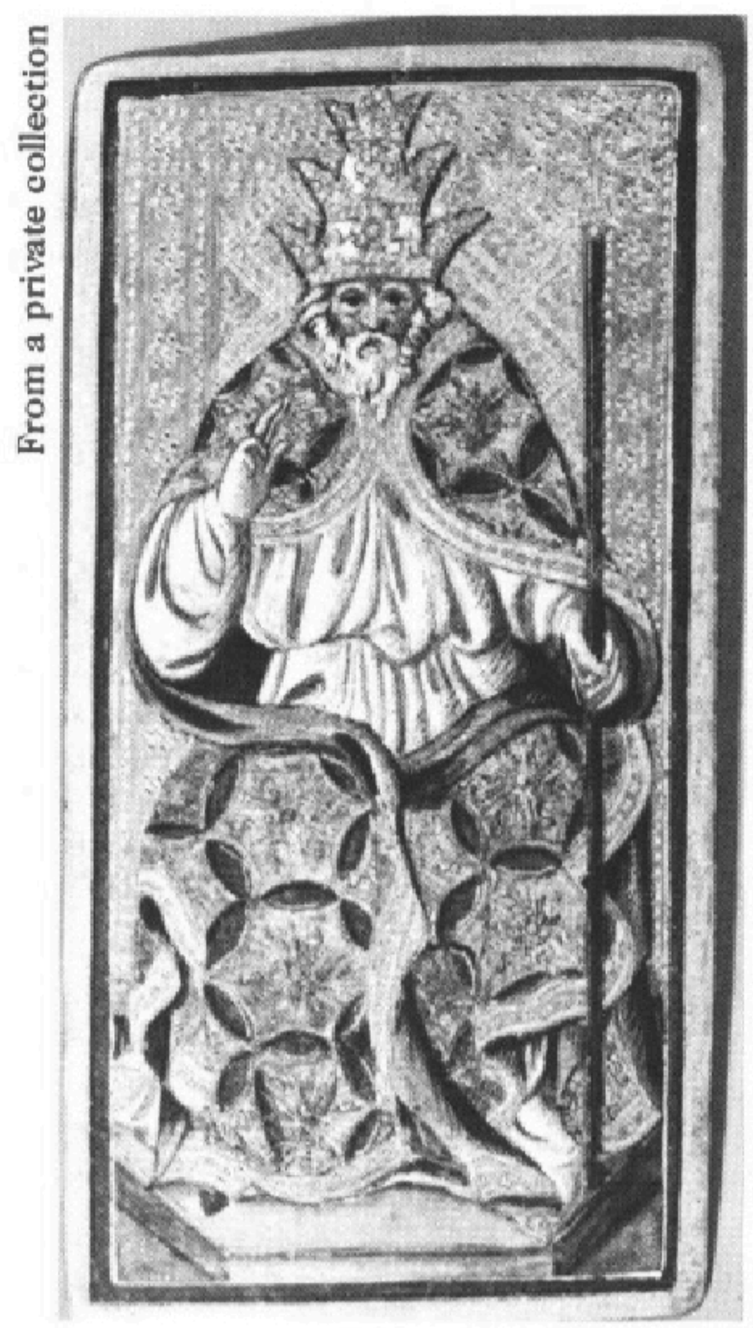
The Empress *Lombardy I tarocchi card*

The Pope The aged figure of the Pope wears the triple crown of his authority. His face is ruddy complexioned with a heavy beard, and he has long hair. He wears a heavy robe lined in green and trimmed along the edges with tooled dots. The robe is richly decorated with large, six-pointed stars composed of wavy and dotted straight rays emanating from each center. However, the stars lack the blue dots found on The Pope card of the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck. The Pope sits on a trapezoidal platform similar to that of The Popess. With his right hand he gives the sign of benediction and with his left hand he holds a long scepter that rests on the platform and is topped with a Maltese cross. A faint floral pattern appears in front of the platform. This card is identical in layout and pose with The Pope card in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck. The variation of the crown between the two decks, however, is significant. In the Lombardy I deck, the points of the tiara are sharper and longer. In fact, this crown resembles the crown of the Pope in the Von Bartsch Visconti-Sforza set (see Volume I) more than it does the crown of the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo Pope.

The Lovers The blindfolded, nude and winged figure of Cupid stands on a pedestal. He is poised to throw an arrow with his right hand while he holds in his left hand another arrow pointed upward. The two figures on the ground clasp hands. The male figure has a swarthy face with heavy jowls. He wears a robe decorated with repeating six-pointed stars, each of which contains a large center sun from which emanate many rays. His hat is also heavily decorated. The female figure is dressed in a high-waisted gold gown decorated with sunbursts. Her dress billowing at the waist and her elongated neck are conventional attributes of the female figure in fifteenth-century art. A string of pearls is at her neck as opposed to the neckline ruffle in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck, and she wears a pincushion hat. The bottom of the card depicts a plant or floral pattern. This card has a heavy gold background whereas the background of The Lovers card in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo pack is mottled with red and blue, suggesting considerable deterioration of the original gold.

The Chariot Two rearing horses draw a medieval wagon that has large wheels and a flat platform on which a crowned and heavily robed female figure sits. The white horses are winged and wear decorated harnesses. The charioteer wears a gold crown and she holds aloft in her left hand a globe topped with a cross. Her robe is lined in blue and decorated with large suns from which emanate straight and wavy rays. She sits on a high-backed, golden throne. A floral pattern is on the ground. This card is practically a duplicate of The Chariot in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo pack with the exception that on the Lombardy I card the horses have red rather than blue bridles and the nose of the far horse and the front leg of the near horse extend into the border of the card.



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The Pope *Lombardy I tarocchi card*

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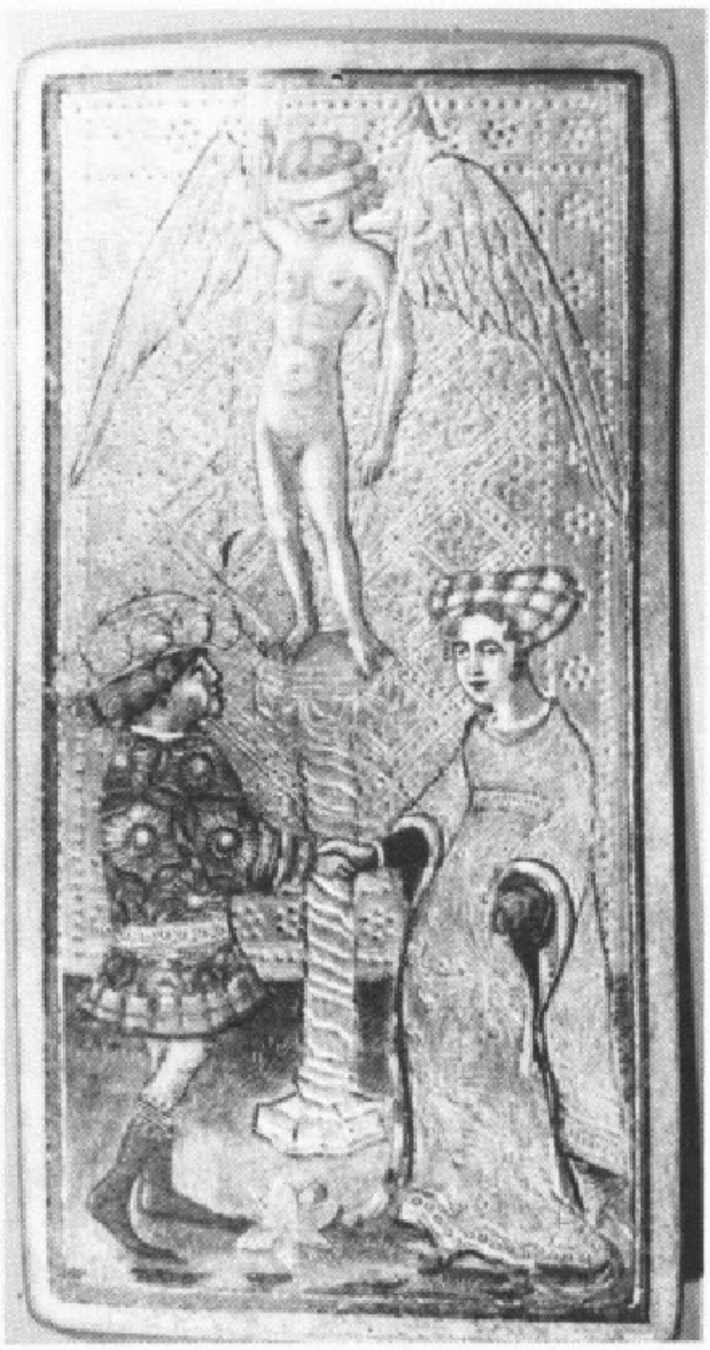

The Lovers, The Chariot and The Hermit *Lombardy I tarocchi cards*

The Hermit An aged, bearded man leans on a long stick that widens at its base. The Hermit wears a large, two-tiered hat trimmed in fur, and a dark robe trimmed in fur with green at both cuffs and neckline instead of the yellow shown on the Hermit card in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo pack. His pointed socks hang loosely above the ankles. In his right hand, the Hermit holds aloft an hourglass. The weary features of the Lombardy Hermit, with his heavy eyelids and unkempt beard, contrast with the younger features of the Hermit in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo pack; otherwise the two cards are almost identical. Strangely, the coloring of the Hermit's robe in the Lombardy I card is badly worn but the background grass and trees are sharp and clear, whereas the opposite is true with the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo Hermit card which has a badly worn background but sharp and clear coloring on The Hermit's robe.

The Wheel of Fortune An aged, bearded man on hands and knees supports across his back the Wheel of Fortune. He declares *Sum sine regno*—"I am without reign." At the top of the wheel a young figure dressed in a gold robe sits on a platform. He has ass's ears and his long robe is decorated with the heraldic device of a bursting sun, similar to the robe of the charioteer in The Chariot card. The figure announces *Regno*—"I reign." Ascending on the left is a young figure, clothed in a green garment, who declares *Regnabo*—"I shall reign." In the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck, this figure also has ass's ears. The figure descending on the right is dressed in a brown robe trimmed in fur. A thin scarf or an animal's tail trails behind him. He declares *Regnavi*—"I reigned." In the center of the wheel appears the blindfolded, winged female figure of Fortune. She wears

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The Wheel of Fortune *Lombardy I tarocchi card*

a long robe decorated with large suns, similar to the garment worn by the Pope. Her robe is lined in red instead of yellow as on the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo card. The bottom of the card contains floral designs plus the edge of a cliff which does not clearly appear in The Wheel of Fortune card of the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo pack. Otherwise, the cards from both packs are practically identical.

Strength The red-haired figure of Strength is muscular and his head is large. He wears armor that emphasizes his strong torso. A red scarf, turned around his shoulder, flutters behind him. Strength wields a club above his head, ready to strike an unseen foe or the lion at his feet. The lion crouches on its front legs, tail between its rear legs, poised and ready to defend itself. A primitive stone structure, or a cliff, appears in the background just behind the man's right foot. This card of Strength is almost an exact duplicate of the same card in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo pack except the man's hair is red instead of blond, and his features, especially the eyes, differ.

The Hanged Man Suspended by a rope tied around his left ankle, a young man hangs upside down from a wooden gallows. He wears a pair of green tights with high hips and pointed toes, and a codpiece. His white blouse has balloon sleeves with striped or bound forearms. The Hanged Man's hands are behind his back. His face is flushed, but tranquil relative to his predicament. At the bottom of the card is a precipice. Except for the more heavily shaded facial features and the more definite presence of the cliff edge, this card is practically a duplicate of the same card in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo pack, even down to the same number of buttons—nineteen in all—on the blouse.

Death An animate skeleton stands with his right toes edging past the cracks at the edge of the precipice. A pale pink fillet, or the remains of a shroud, flutters around his head. In his left hand he holds an unstrung bow as tall as himself. The bow in the Lombardy I card is a dark reddish-brown color whereas the bow in the corresponding Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo card is a pale yellow color. There are no signs of an arrow in the skeleton's right hand or of a bowstring, although in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo card the faint outline of an arrow can be seen in the right hand of the skeleton and the bowstring also appears. The funereal figure of Death smiles, revealing a full set of teeth. The eye sockets appear to be empty. In the background, to the left of the skeleton's right foot, are three large boulders, and in the distance are five mountains. This card is virtually identical with the same card in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo pack, even down to the scenic detail of the three boulders which appear as only faint outlines in the Death card from the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo pack.

Temperance The tall, commanding figure of Temperance holds two ornate urns or vessels. She tilts one vessel as if to pour from it, but no liquid can be seen. She wears a dark blue-gray peplum drawn tightly across the bodice and hips, but we cannot see the ribbon belt which appears clearly in the same card of the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck. The pattern of her garment depicts six-rayed, crossed-line gold stars; by contrast, the figure of Temperance in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck wears a deep blue peplum decorated with eight-rayed gold stars. Her red stockings hang loosely on her legs and she stands near the cracks and crevices of the precipice. The ground is decorated with vegetation different from that in the

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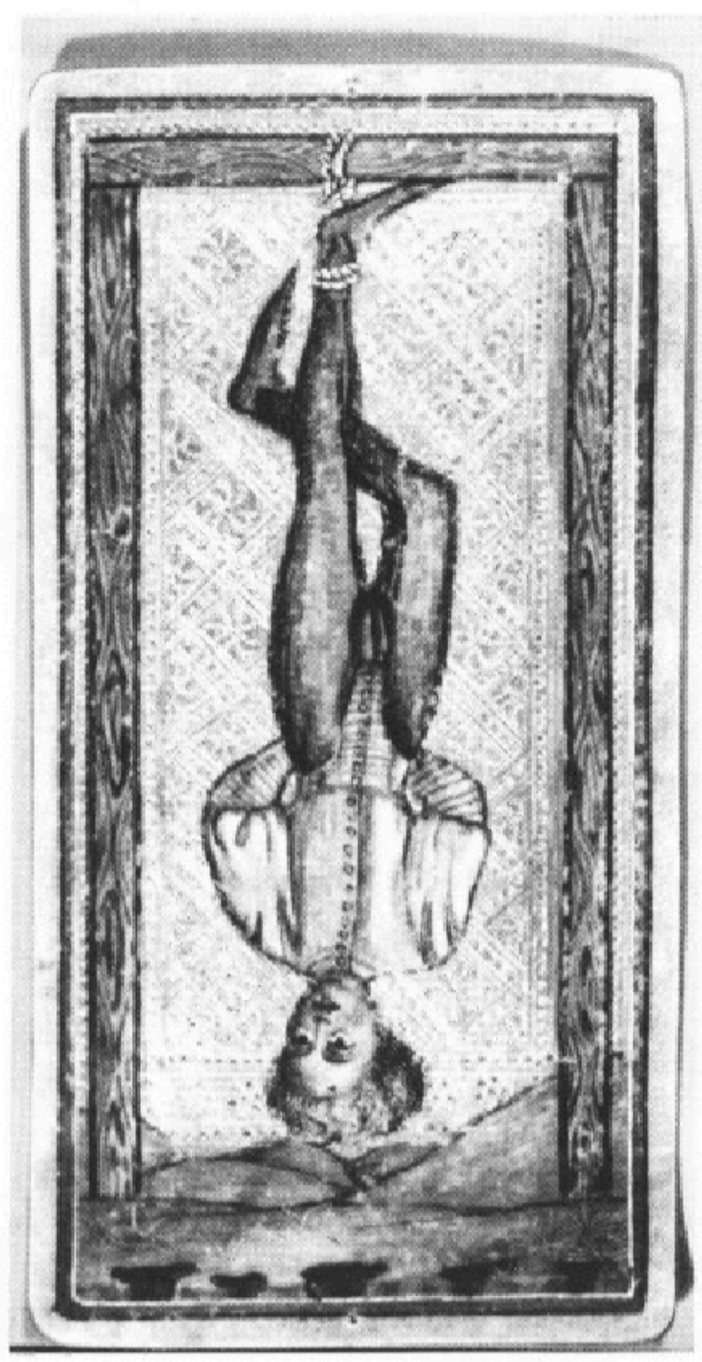

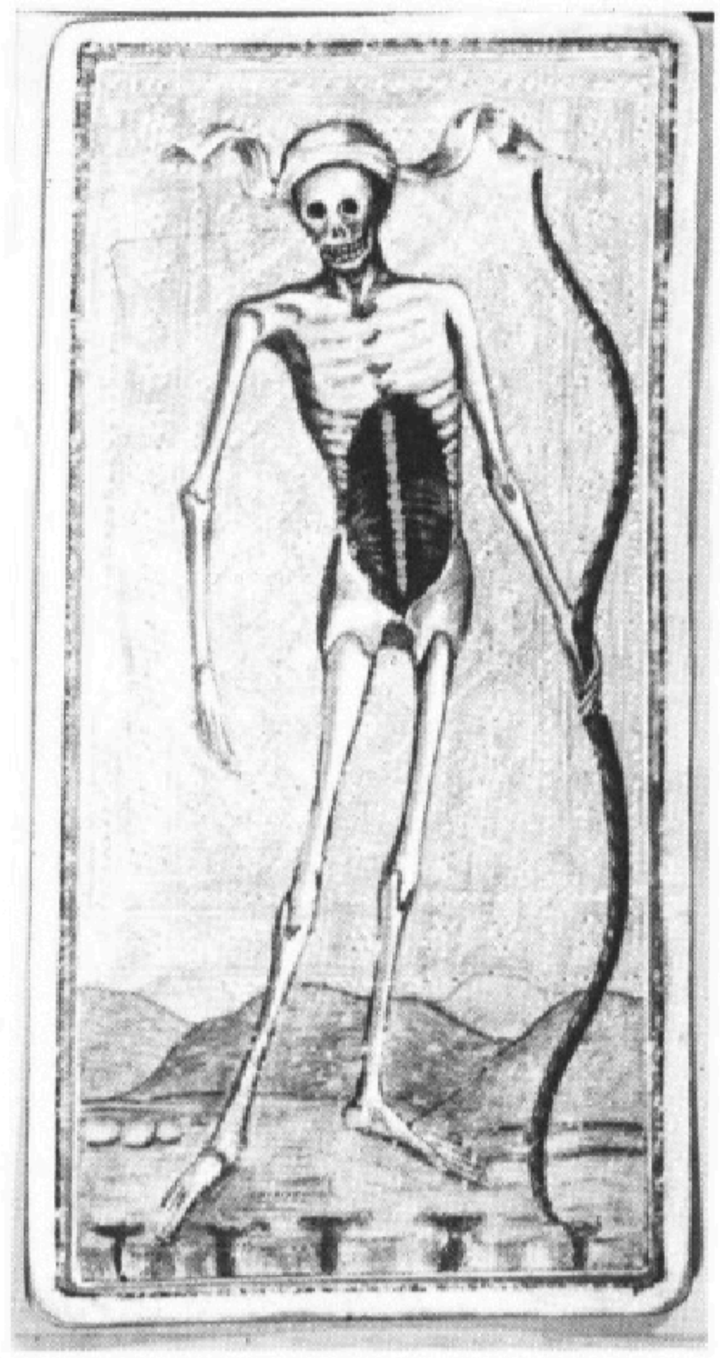

Strength, The Hanged Man and Death *Lombardy I tarocchi cards*

Temperance *Lombardy I tarocchi card*

The Sun *Lombardy I tarocchi card*

Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo card and the figure's hair is reddish instead of blond. The exaggerated presence of the right leg under the dress is seen in both cards. The border pattern of tooled dots extends across the background of the scene—it can be seen to the right of the sharp mountain peak. In this aspect, the card more resembles the Von Bartsch Temperance card, which also extends the border across the bottom of the sky in the background.

The Sun A winged putto (a plump, usually nude child found in European art) is clad only in a thin scarf draped across his body. He holds aloft the head of a red sun with rays striking out in all directions. A string of beads hangs around the child's neck. The child balances on his right foot on a dark cloud. In the distance, past the rolling hills, are three mountains, the one to the left possibly topped by trees, a fortress or a large structure. At the bottom of the card appear cracks and rocky ridges more crudely executed than in the Temperance card. The border pattern of tooled dots can be seen behind the mountains and under the cloud, whereas no border pattern is seen in these places on the corresponding Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo card. In all other respects this card is virtually a duplicate of The Sun card in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck.

Judgment An aged king or God the Father, wearing crown and robes, hovers at the top of the card, flanked by two winged angels who play trumpets. The king's or deity's robes are decorated with tooled gold ribbons. A Visconti heraldic device—the sun with bursting rays—appears below the waist of the king's garment. In his right hand the king holds a sword of judgment; his left hand holds a globe surmounted by a cross. The trumpets have hanging gold banners that almost blend in with the gold design of the

Judgment *Lombardy I tarocchi card*

background. At the bottom of the card, from a rose-colored marble tomb, three figures emerge—a nude man and woman and, in the center, an aged man. This card is almost identical with the Judgment card in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck except for the facial features of the figures and some of the colors. In the Judgment card from the Lombardy group, the nude man and woman are homely and the eyes of the king are heavily lidded, while the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo card shows a man and a woman with young, attractive faces. On the Lombardy I card the faces of the people in the tomb, especially the woman, resemble those of the figures of the Von Bartsch Judgment card. The king's garment is blue and gold with green cuffs and the angels' trumpets are gold. In the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo card, the king wears a garment of blue and silver with yellow cuffs and the angels blow blue trumpets.

King of Swords Resting upon a six-sided wooden bench, the king is clad in heavy armor and raises a sword in his right hand. His right foot hangs over the edge of the platform. His gloved left hand rests upon a shield bearing the heraldic device of a haloed lion holding a book, a symbol of Saint Mark and of the city of Venice. This card is almost a duplicate of its counterpart in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo pack. Differences include the facial features, the tooled dot pattern along the edge of the armor plates at the shoulder and waist, and the border design on the shield that contains fifteen raised dots compared to twenty-two in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo pack. Also, the shield in the Lombardy I card is gold and silver while the shield in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo card is all silver.

From a private collection

King of Swords *Lombardy I tarocchi card*

Queen of Swords The queen is seated on a throne that is concealed by her dress. She wears a crown and a high-waisted, white gown with a lacy collar. The hem of the gown is decorated in a floral pattern. Her arms are clad in armor as if to identify her with the armor worn by the king of swords. The queen is shown in profile and she holds an upright sword in her right hand. With her left hand she seems to be giving a sign of greeting or possibly benediction. The device of a lion's head is barely discernible along her right shoulder and upper arm. This card is practically identical to the queen of swords in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo pack except for the facial features, the upward gaze, and the green instead of silver gloves worn by the queen in the Lombardy I group.

From a private collection

Queen of Swords *Lombardy I tarocchi card*

King of Staves The king sits on a hexagonal throne set back on a platform that is also hexagonal in shape. His legs are crossed at the ankles, and he is shown full face. On his robe is a bird with spread wings. Below his waist belt is the heraldic device of a nested bird, probably a pelican, phoenix or dove. In his left hand the king holds a long scepter topped with an ornate vessel or finial and in his right hand he holds a small rod. The king's robe is gold instead of silver as in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo card, and the king wears one red stocking, not shown in the corresponding Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo card. In all other respects except facial features, the same card in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo pack is practically identical.

Queen of Cups The queen is shown full face as she sits upon a throne hidden by her royal robes. She wears a high-waisted gown decorated with the Visconti heraldic device of a large sun with intermixed wavy and straight rays

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King of Staves *Lombardy I tarocchi card*

From a private collection

Queen of Cups *Lombardy I tarocchi card*

and upon her head rests the crown of her authority. The queen wears gloves. With her left hand she gives a sign of greeting or benediction and in her right hand she grasps a large, ornate vessel with a Gothic, turreted top. The queen has heavy eyelids, as do many of the figures on the Lombardy I cards, and the facial features represent the principal difference between this card and the queen of cups in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo pack. The queen wears red gloves instead of the green gloves shown in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo card.

Knight of Cups Mounted on his horse, the knight of cups holds aloft a large, ornate vessel similar to the one held by the queen of cups. The knight is dressed in pleated, red balloon pants and a long-sleeved red shirt with lace cuffs, covered by a short gold tunic trimmed in blue. On the tunic appears the Visconti heraldic device of a sun with bursting rays. The gold caparison worn by the horse bears the Visconti heraldic device of a large ducal crown with

From a private collection

Knight of Cups *Lombardy I tarocchi card*

branches or fronds. The horse's bridle is scalloped leather. The knight's pants and shirt are red in the Lombardy I card, but they are dark blue in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo card, and the Lombardy I horse's bridle is red rather than gold. In other respects this card is the same as the knight of cups in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo pack except for the difference in facial features and the loss, through deterioration, of the mountains in the background of the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo card. Even the inverted V at the top of the stocking is faithfully duplicated.

Page of Cups A young page, facing to the left, holds aloft in his right hand a large vessel or urn of different design than the vessel displayed by the knight and queen of

From a private collection

Page of Cups, King of Coins and Queen of Coins *Lombardy I tarocchi cards*

the same suit. The widest part of the vessel is void of ornamentation, similar to the vessel found on the page of cups card of the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo pack. The short cape worn by the page is trimmed in fur and decorated with the Visconti heraldic device of a sun with bursting rays. The cape is silver with gold trim, whereas the cape worn by the page of cups in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo card is gold with silver trim. The page wears a red stocking on his right leg and a white stocking on his left leg. Green sleeves show from beneath his cape and red appears at his neckline. The page of cups in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo card has dark blue sleeves and dark blue showing at the neckline. Except for the facial features, this card is practically identical to the page of cups in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck. The Lombardy I page of cups, with his heavily lidded eyes and haughty expression, bears a striking resemblance to the Von Bartsch page of cups.

King of Coins Sitting upon a throne that rests on a trapezoidal platform, the king of coins holds a rod upright in his right hand. The coin in his left hand is decorated with a sunburst. The king's robe is decorated with six-pointed suns, similar to those on the garment of the Pope, and is belted with gold. The king wears a gold hat or crown decorated with twelve curled feathers or pompoms. His feet are crossed at the ankles. The stocking on his left leg is red at the top and white from the calf down; the right stocking is green. This card is very similar to the same card of the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck, but differences exist, for example, in the facial features and in the smaller circle of suns within the large six-sided suns that decorate the king's garment. Also, the king of coins in the Lombardy I card wears green sleeves and a gold belt while in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo card the king's sleeves are pink and his belt silver.

Queen of Coins The solemn queen of coins sits facing to the left and she holds a large coin in her right hand. The coin is decorated with a sun and bursting rays, similar to the coin held by the king of the same suit. The queen wears a gold crown and her high-waisted gown and long cape bear the same design as the robe worn by the king. The sleeves of the queen's garment are red and contain a decorative pattern, possibly of repeating suns with bursting rays. This card is very similar to the queen of coins in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck. A few minor variances include the different facial features of the two figures, and the hem of the queen's robe, which is not as full and stiff on the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo card as it is on the Lombardy I card.

THE LOMBARDY II CARDS

The four cards comprising this group are Death, The Star, king of cups and knight of cups. The cards measure 170 by 87 millimeters and the backs are black instead of reddish maroon as are the backs of most other Visconti-Sforza tarocchi cards. Interestingly, these four cards do not contain defacing tack holes at the top. The border design extends across the bottom of the background on the king and the knight of cups, as on the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck.

Death portrays a skeleton who is standing on a black and gold checkered floor. Across his right shoulder rests a scythe. He wears a wide-brimmed hat with two long, braided tassels and his red cloak sweeps behind him. The words *San Fine* probably mean "without end." This card is almost an exact duplicate of the Death card at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, except for minor variances, such as the left foot of the skeleton that rests partially in the dark square while the same foot in the card at Victoria and Albert Museum falls in the light square.

From a private collection

Death *Lombardy II tarocchi card*

From a private collection

The Star *Lombardy II tarocchi card*

From a private collection

King of Cups *Lombardy II tarocchi card*

The Star card is almost the same as The Star of the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo pack. A barefoot figure stands at the edge of a crevice or precipice. Her red cape is decorated with gold stars and her blue dress depicts horizontal gold rays above several vertical rays, similar to the garment worn by the figure in The Star in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo pack. The facial expression and features of the figure in this Star card are more pleasant than those of the figure in the same card in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo pack. The background of The Star card contains a decorative, lozenge-shaped design framing a sunburst consisting of a central dot surrounded by eight emanating wavy rays. By contrast, many of the similar backgrounds in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo pack, such as that found on The Magician card, contain an encircled sun with eight emanating wavy rays. The decorative border in this Star card contains six repetitive tooled dots in a circle around one center dot, whereas the borders found on many of the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo cards generally show seven dots—sometimes even eight dots—in a circle around one center dot.

The king of cups is shown in profile, facing to the right. His throne is decorated with quatrefoils set in lozenge shapes. He wears a crown and in his left hand he holds a large, ornate vessel. The king's short coat bears the heraldic device of a large sun with bursting straight or wavy rays. The coat is possibly lined in a quilted fabric. With his right hand, the king gives the sign of benediction. In pose and composition, this card resembles the king of cups in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck. The cup he holds is like that held by the Von Bartsch king of cups.

The knight of cups faces to the left. The vessel he holds aloft is distinctly less ornate than the one held by the king. The dissimilarity in the type of vessel held by the king and knight in the suit of cups is found also in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo pack and is especially evident in the Von Bartsch cards. The knight's tunic depicts a circle of tooled dots surrounding a center dot with wavy rays bursting out between tooled dots. The caparison worn by the knight's horse bears the Visconti heraldic device of a large sun with bursting straight and wavy rays. The horse stands at the edge of a precipice.

From a private collection

Knight of Cups *Lombardy II tarocchi card*

THE BONOMI CARDS

The four cards comprising this group of tarots are Justice, The World, king of cups and eight of coins. The cards measure approximately 175 by 87 millimeters and the backs are reddish maroon. The World card has a tack hole at the top; the rest are without tack holes. Justice, the king of cups and the eight of coins are believed to date from the mid-fifteenth century. The borders of Justice and the king of cups match, and on these two cards the eyes of the figures, the heraldic sunbursts and the tooled dots—three rows with the center row containing three vertical dots—are similar. The tooled dots on the border of The World appear more in a circle, the gold is darker and the card may date from the late fifteenth century. Thus, Justice and the king of cups look like they belong together and it is likely that the eight of coins is also part of the set despite the difference in border color—such differences in border colors also occur in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck.

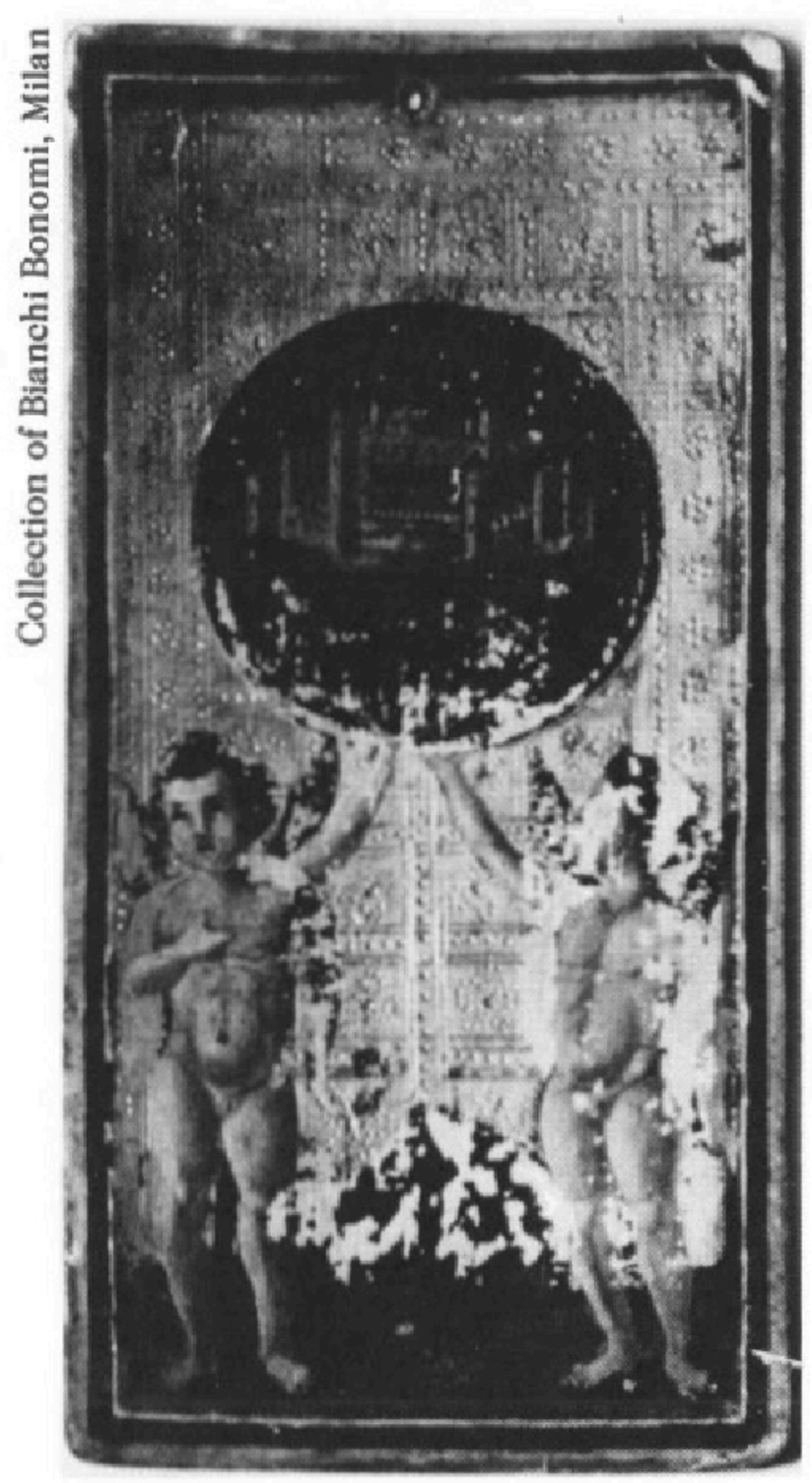
Of the four newly discovered Visconti and Visconti-Sforza groups, the Bonomi cards bear the strongest resemblance to the cards of the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck. The World cards of the two decks are of the same type: two putti support a medallion in which a city floats on an island, and the gold tooled background has squares rather than lozenges. It is interesting that The World cards of both the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck and the Bonomi group are so similar, while neither card seems to fit into its respective group. It seems likely that the Bonomi group and the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck were painted by the same artist or workshop within a close span of time.

Justice depicts a female figure holding an upraised sword in her right hand and the scales of Justice in her left hand. She wears a silver garment and blue cape against a golden arched backdrop. Above Justice appears a knight in armor on horseback. This card is strikingly similar to the Justice card in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo pack.

The World depicts two naked putti holding aloft a giant globe that depicts the vision of a heavenly walled city, similar to that shown in The World card of the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo pack. Although the gold tooling in the background remains very discernible, the painted figures, especially the one on the right, and the lower section of the globe show heavy deterioration. The tack hole at the top is readily noticeable.

Collection of Bianchi Bonomi, Milan

Justice *Bonomi tarocchi card*


Collection of Bianchi Bonomi, Milan

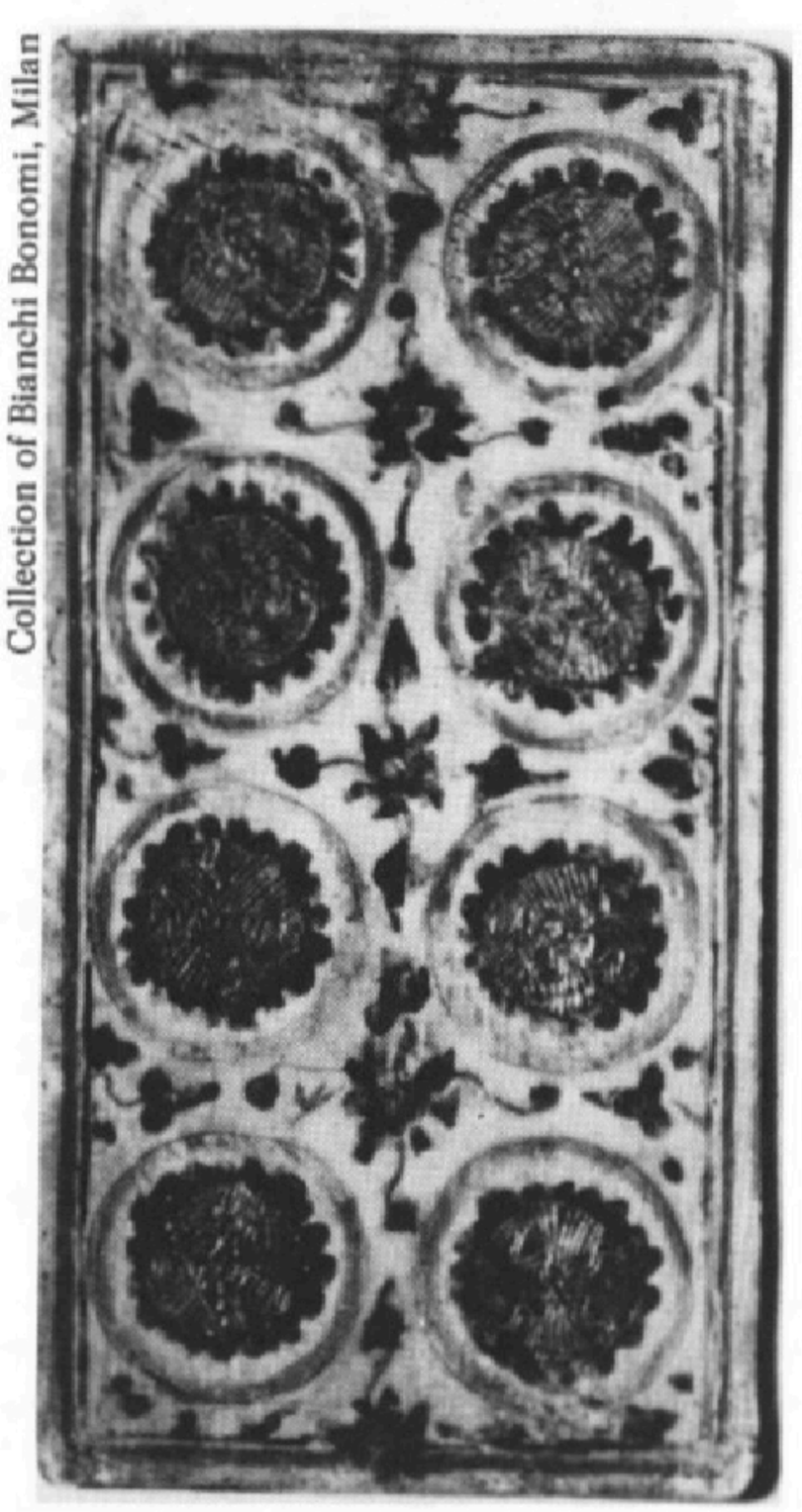
The World *Bonomi tarocchi card*

Collection of Bianchi Bonomi, Milan

King of Cups *Bonomi tarocchi card*

The king of cups is very similar to the same card in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck. The figure on each card is shown in profile seated upon a six-sided throne decorated with a quatrefoil in a lozenge-shaped pattern. The platform beneath the feet is square. The lawn on the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo card extends behind the platform. Much of the coloring of the king's coat has deteriorated. Additionally, the background tooling appears different between the two cards.

The eight of coins contains elaborate floral decoration of flowers, leaves and vines. The card is basically similar to its counterpart in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck, even having the heraldic Visconti sunbursts with wavy and straight rays within a blue rippling border set inside a rust-colored circle.


Collection of Bianchi Bonomi, Milan

(right)
Eight of Coins
Bonomi tarocchi card

THE LOMBARDY III CARD

The page of coins is shown in profile, facing to the right, the opposite direction of the page in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck, but the same direction as the Andrioletti page of coins (see Volume I). The figure wears a wide-brimmed hat with curled plumes and his short robe contains a repeating sun design suggestive of the Andrioletti card. The repetitive tooled dots are carefully executed, with six dots in a circle and one center dot.

From a private collection

Page of Coins *Lombardy III tarocchi card*

FEMALE KNIGHT OF COINS ENGRAVING

Bortolo Belotti, writing in *La Vita di Bartolomeo Colleoni* (1923), includes a black and white engraving of a knight of coins from a tarocchi pack. The caption beneath the illustration identifies the figure as *Ufficiale Visconteo*, "Visconti Official."

No source for the illustration is provided, and inquiries to the publisher, Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche in Bergamo, and to the author's widow have failed to provide any clues to the origin of the engraving.

The figure in the engraving wears a long cape decorated with the Visconti dove in profile surrounded by a sunburst above a ribbon bearing the motto *A bon droyt*. The figure's headdress is a decorated cap with a plume attached at the crown. The pose of the figure and the horse duplicates that of the female knight and horse in the Cary-Yale pack, and the costume of the figure and the trappings of the horse are similar. This engraving is a rare reference to the existence of a female knight in the tarocchi pack.

The background has alternating vertical rows of sunbursts and repetitive dots within a diamond or lozenge-shaped pattern. The rays of the sunbursts are straight, and the tooled dot pattern follows the sequence of four horizontal rows, two dots on the top row, four dots across on the second and third rows and two dots across the bottom row. In the center of the dot pattern appears a small diamond or quatrefoil design. The decorative border of the card is a stiff, dotted pattern carefully executed for symmetry.

Reprinted from *La Vita di Bartolomeo Colleoni*, by Bortolo Belotti

Female Knight of Coins Engraving

The engraving clearly resembles the female knight of coins in the Cary-Yale Visconti Tarocchi deck, despite the obvious difference in facial features and headdress between the mounted figures. The Cary-Yale female knight of coins bears a large coin decorated with a sunburst of wavy lines, rather than the Visconti viper, and the background tooling of the card clearly differs from the engraving.

It is possible that the artist of the engraving used the Cary-Yale card as a prototype, either embellishing on the illustration in Parravicino's 1903 article in *Burlington Magazine*, or copying from the actual card itself, which was then housed in the collection of the Visconti di Modrone.

THE SIX FIFTEENTH-CENTURY REPLACEMENT CARDS

The Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo Tarocchi pack has six Major Arcana cards that vary in style from the rest of the cards. The six cards are Strength, Temperance, The Star, The Moon, The Sun and The World. The same version of The World exists in the Bonomi group of four tarocchi cards. The six cards might have replaced six cards lost from the original deck.

Malaguzzi Valeri, writing in *La corte di Lodovico il Moro* (1923), suggests that the six cards might have been created by Butinone and Zenale, who worked together in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Another artist often credited with the six replacement cards is Antonio Cicognara, a fifteenth-century miniaturist of Cremona, whose name was linked to the Visconti-Sforza cards by one of his nineteenth-century descendants, Leopoldo Cicognara. Although Leopoldo Cicognara was subsequently shown to be in error, Gertrude Moakley (1966) points out that the initials "A.C." figure prominently at the base of the king of swords in the Von Bartsch group of Visconti-Sforza tarocchi cards. However, Moakley questions the authenticity of the initials and of the cards themselves.

THE PIERPONT MORGAN-BERGAMO VISCONTI-SFORZA TAROCCHI DECK

The Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo Tarocchi pack contains seventy-four extant cards. Two traditional Major Arcana cards are not in the deck and two Minor Arcana cards are lost. The four cards lacking are The Devil, The Tower, three of swords and knight of coins.

Facsimiles of the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo pack have appeared in three editions. The different editions can be identified by the treatment given to the creation of the four cards lacking from the original version.

The first facsimile edition of five hundred sets appeared in 1975 and contained a line drawing of The Devil, The Tower and the knight of coins cards. The three of swords was created by deleting the two inner crossed swords from the five of swords card.

The second facsimile edition, also published in 1975, contained The Devil and The Tower cards in full color, created as they may have appeared in the fifteenth century. The knight of coins was prepared by using a reversed image of the knight of cups and a coin was substituted for the cup in the knight's hand. The three of swords follows exactly the earlier 1975 version.

In the third edition, published in 1986, The Devil, The Tower, the three of swords and knight of coins are recreated in full color by artist Luigi Scapini. For The Tower and The Devil the artist sought to combine traditional tarot symbolism with the images of devils and towers from frescoes in the convent of Dionisiou at Mount Athos and from frescoes dating from about 1450 located at the castle of Tore Chiara. The Tore Chiara frescoes are by Benedetto Bembo, brother of Bonifacio.

The three of swords in the third edition was made by deleting the two inner crossed swords from the five of swords, and then extending the foliage to cover the blank spaces left. The knight of coins was based on the three knights of the other suits in order to maintain a sense of unity among the court cards.

Collection of the author

The Devil card *Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo/Scapini tarocchi*

Collection of the author

The Tower, Three of Swords and Knight of Coins *Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo/Scapini tarocchi cards*

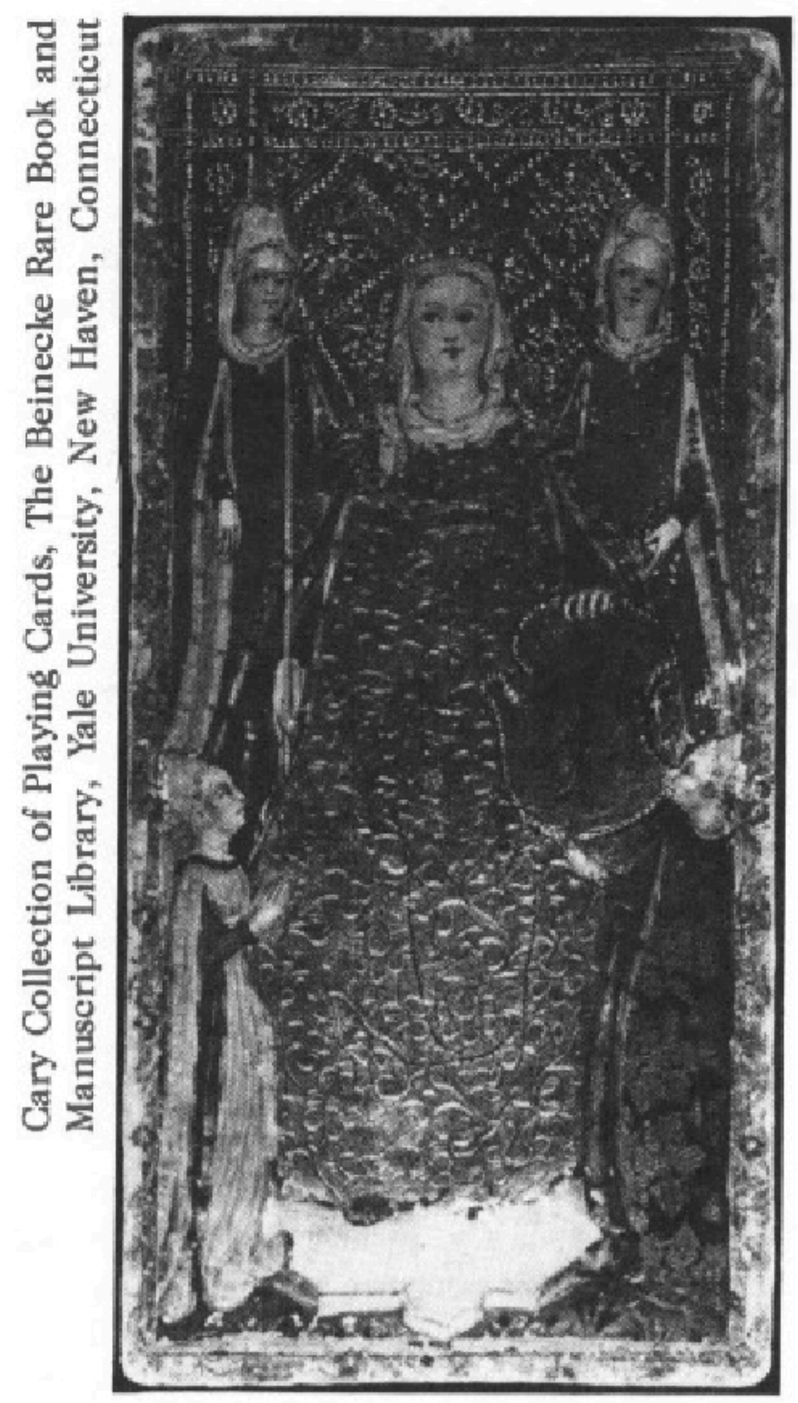
THE CARY-YALE VISCONTI TAROCCHI DECK

The Cary-Yale Visconti Tarocchi deck is unique in several aspects. In its entirety, there is reason to believe that the Cary-Yale deck had, in addition to the Major Arcana cards, sixty-four Minor Arcana cards instead of the customary fifty-six Minor Arcana cards. Each suit probably had sixteen instead of fourteen cards, the two extra in each suit being a female knight and a female page. The three theological virtues of Faith, Hope and Charity, which normally do not appear in tarot packs, are present in the Cary-Yale deck. Additionally, the suit marks for the pip cards in the suit of staves are arrows, as on the court cards in the Brera-Brambilla pack. The styles of the Brera-Brambilla pack and the Cary-Yale pack indicate that they were by the same artist or workshop.

The overall gold background decoration on the Major Arcana and court cards consists of repeating suns with sixteen rays, eight wavy rays alternating with eight straight rays, all within a lozenge pattern. The decorative borders contain a flower design comprised of repetitive tooled dots, generally ten dots in a circle and one center dot, connected by a continuing stem.

Volume I of *The Encyclopedia of Tarot* contained illustrations of eighteen cards from the Cary-Yale pack: The Emperor, The Lovers, Death, Judgment, The World, Hope, Charity, king of swords, eight of swords, six of swords, female knight of staves, six of arrows (staves), male knight of cups, male page of cups, female page of cups, ace of cups, female knight of coins and two of coins. The remaining forty-nine cards illustrated in Volume II will now permit inspection of all the extant card designs from the Cary-Yale Visconti Tarocchi deck.

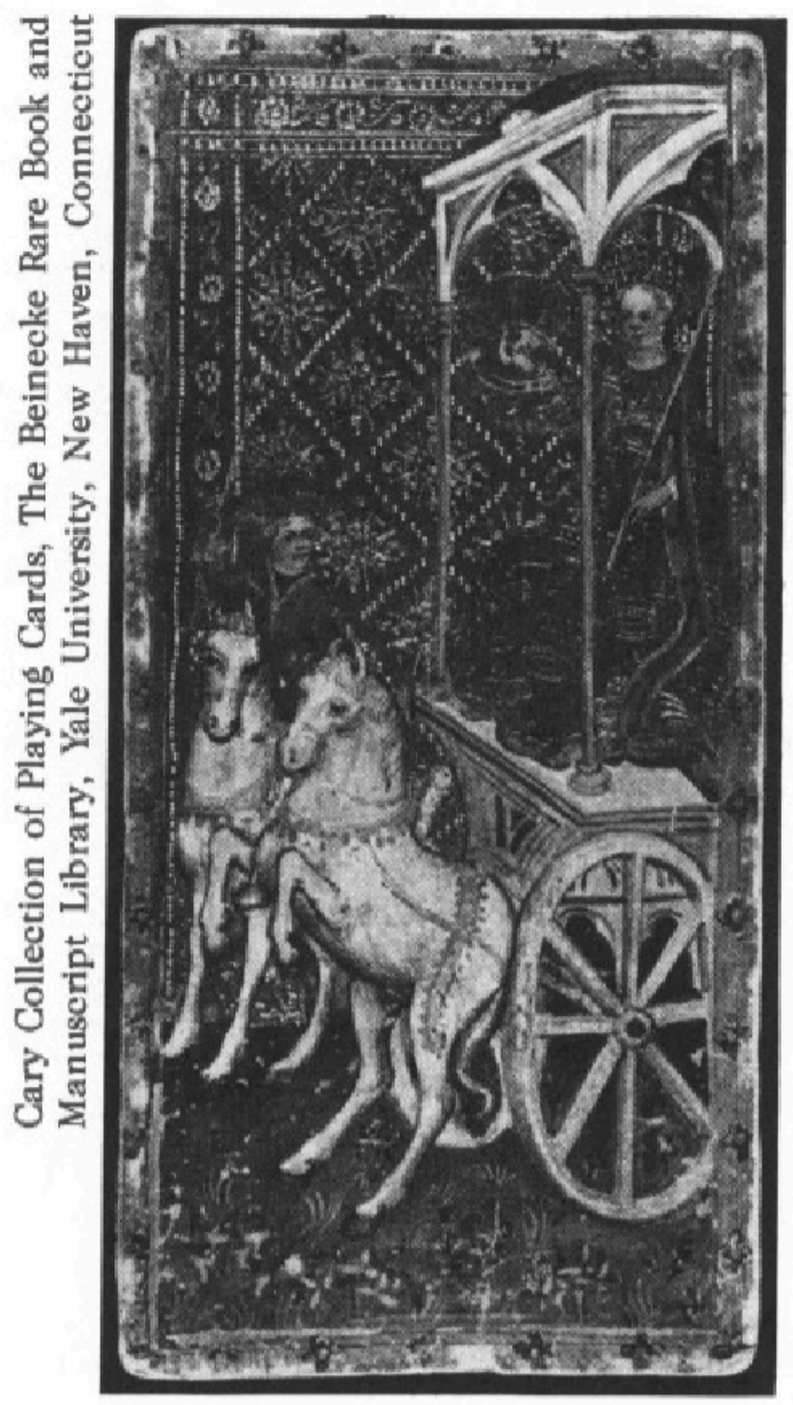
The facsimile edition of the Cary-Yale Visconti Tarocchi deck includes nineteen cards recreated in 1983 by Luigi Scapini. Thus, collectors now have access to the fifteenth-century tarocchi deck, complete with recreated cards. The nineteen recreated cards are also illustrated and described in this chapter.



Cary Collection of Playing Cards, The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut

The Empress *Cary-Yale Visconti Tarocchi card*

The Empress A large woman overshadows four female assistants. The two women in the foreground wear long gowns and capes. The cape of the figure at the lower right is decorated with bursting suns and the figure appears to be assisting with the shield bearing the black imperial eagle of the Holy Roman Emperor. The faint gold writing on back of the cape of the figure at the lower left may have originally read *Deus propicio Imperatori* which means "God favors the Emperors," or the original may have more closely approximated *Deus prospicit Imperatoricem,* "God protects the Empress" or, more freely, "God save the Empress." The two pages are dressed in high-waisted red gowns and capes and they wear loose scarves or *couvre-chefs* that come down from the head and drape across the neck and shoulders. The Empress sits on a throne set on a platform with a front quatrefoil design. The garment worn by the Empress is decorated in a delicate floral pattern. She holds a thin scepter in her right hand and wears a gold crown over a head scarf that drapes softly across her neck and shoulders.



Cary Collection of Playing Cards, The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut

The Chariot *Cary-Yale Visconti Tarocchi card*

The Chariot The Chariot depicts a female figure dressed in a long gown incised with the ducal crown, laurel and palm motif. She holds across her right shoulder a thin, long scepter. In her right hand is a disc decorated with the Visconti emblem of a dove in profile above a thin ribbon. Although the ribbon shown here is worn, other repre-

sentations of the Visconti dove suggest that originally the ribbon bore the legend *A bon droyt*. The Chariot, covered with an ornate canopy, is led by two rearing horses, one mounted by a young man in a wide-brimmed hat. The scene of The Chariot card in the Cary-Yale Visconti deck is substantially different from the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo card by virtue of the man on horseback, the canopied chariot, and the dove, plus the scenes on the two cards face opposite directions.

Strength A female figure, wearing a large crown, sits across the back of a lion and, with seemingly little effort, holds open the jaws of the animal. The design on her long garment is not readily distinguishable and may consist of repeating swirls.

Faith Faith is one of three cards, along with Hope and Charity, that are unique to the Cary-Yale Visconti Tarocchi deck. Some researchers suggest that Faith may be a substitution for The Pope, especially since the female figure holds a wooden cross in her left hand. However, this is doubtful since the three virtues clearly comprise a set, with kings, saints or vices at the bottom of the cards. Faith stands on a raised, ornate platform. She wears an oversized crown and her billowing garment is decorated with the heraldic device of repeating suns with commingled wavy and straight rays. As on the cards of Hope and Charity, a figure wearing a crown—apparently a king, otherwise unidentified—appears at the bottom of the card. In popular Renaissance art, Faith was often represented as a woman holding a chalice or cross, and at her feet would appear Saint Peter. Directly above the man's crown, and just at the feet of Faith, are the illegible remains of an inscription. Cicognara (1831) believes the inscription bears the name of the fifteenth-century painter, Marziano da Tortona. However, it is more likely that the illegible white letters were an allegorical legend, perhaps identifying the king. A cup, suggesting the chalice of the Eucharist, appears to the right of Faith's upraised hand.

Cary Collection of Playing Cards, The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut

Strength and Faith *Cary-Yale Visconti Tarocchi cards*

Suit of Swords The queen of swords sits on her throne and holds upright a large sword, symbol of her suit. Her delicate gown is decorated with pomegranates. At her left stands a page holding a sword pointing downward. Across the edge of the page's cape appear the words *li almente,* a contraction or corruption of *li alimente* (Italian for "nourish them" or, more generally, "support them"). The female knight of swords sits sidesaddle on a white horse. Her high-waisted gown matches the one worn by the queen of this suit. The female knight wears her hair in a tall headdress. The horse is resplendent in ornate trappings. The female page of swords wears a long robe, also decorated with pomegranates. Her cape is lined in red and she holds the sign of her suit, a sword. The bouffant headdress has a swirling pattern. The pip or number cards in the suit of swords, as well as the pip cards in the remaining three suits of the deck, all have a background of silver with gold and blue decorations. On the ace of swords, a gloved hand grasping the handle of the sword is etched into the background. The ruffled sleeve at the wrist of the hand and the image itself foreshadows the ace of swords in Tarot of Marseilles decks.

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Queen of Swords and Female Knight of Swords *Cary-Yale Visconti Tarocchi cards*

Cary Collection of Playing Cards, The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut

Female Page of Swords, Two of Swords, Ace of Swords *Cary-Yale Visconti Tarocchi cards*

Suit of Staves (Arrows) Wands or batons are depicted on the court cards, but interlaced arrows are shown on the pip cards. The crowned queen of staves holds a finial-topped scepter as identification of her suit. The decoration of her garment is especially rich with its blue background and gold heraldic fountains and droplets. She is flanked by two attendants who await her needs. The male page of staves wears a cape over a blue tunic trimmed in white fur and decorated with one large, gold fountain and splashes of gold. The scepter is shown with its finial resting on the ground. The female page of staves is dressed in an elegant, full-length blue garment splashed with delicate gold droplets; the heraldic device of a fountain is on the bodice. A gold-lined cape is draped at her back. Her hair is pulled back in a bouffant style. The finial of the scepter she holds rests on the ground.

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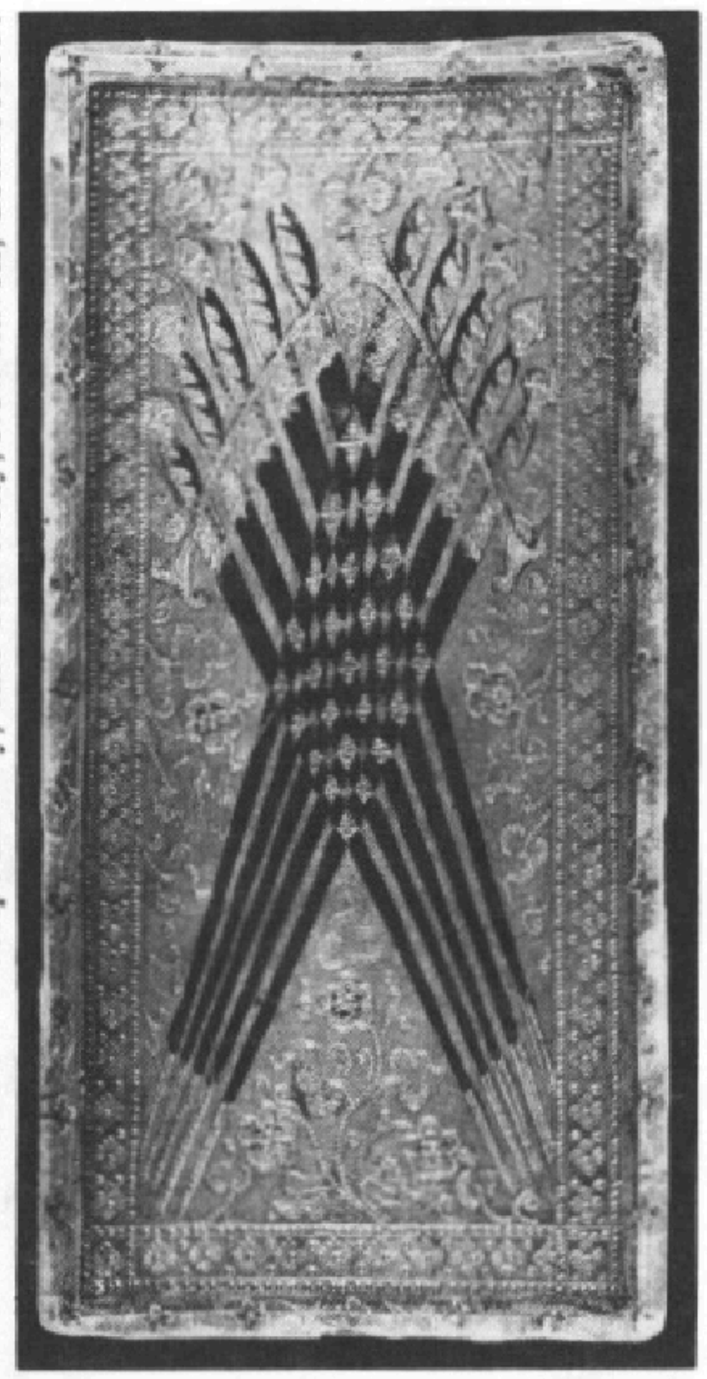
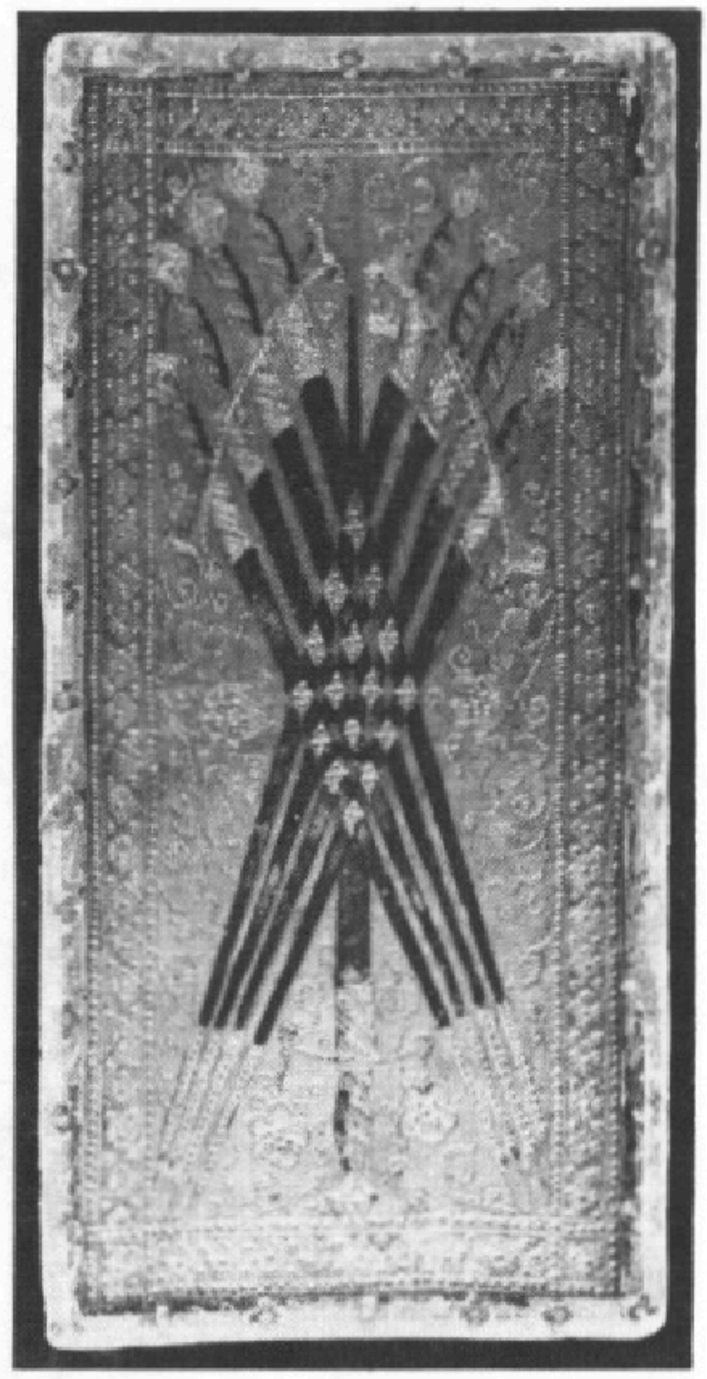
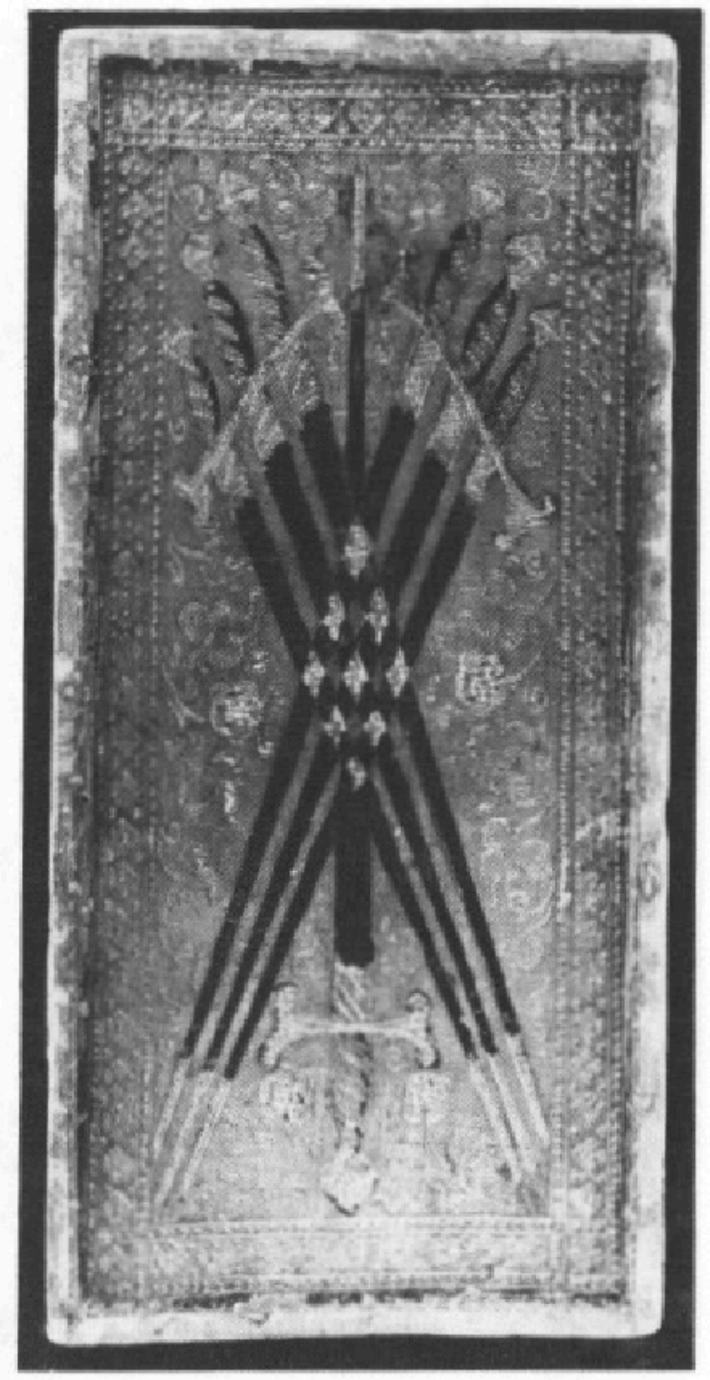
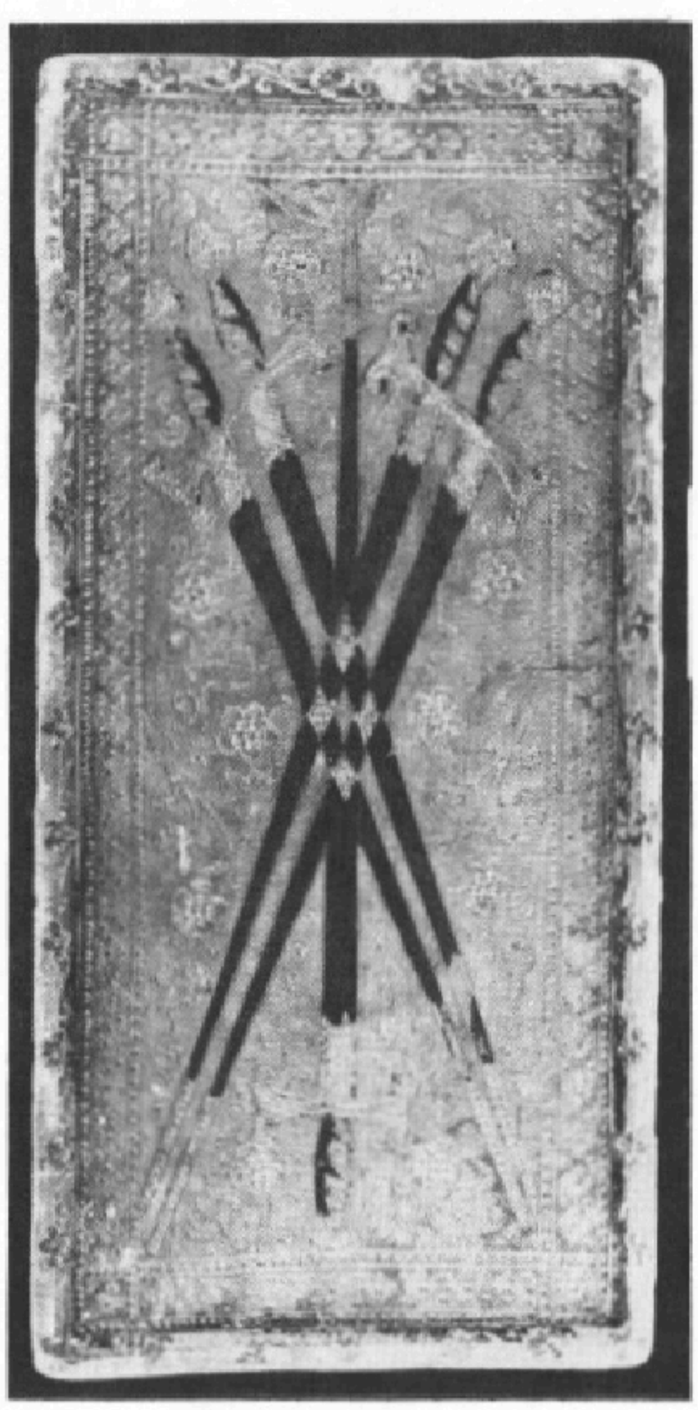
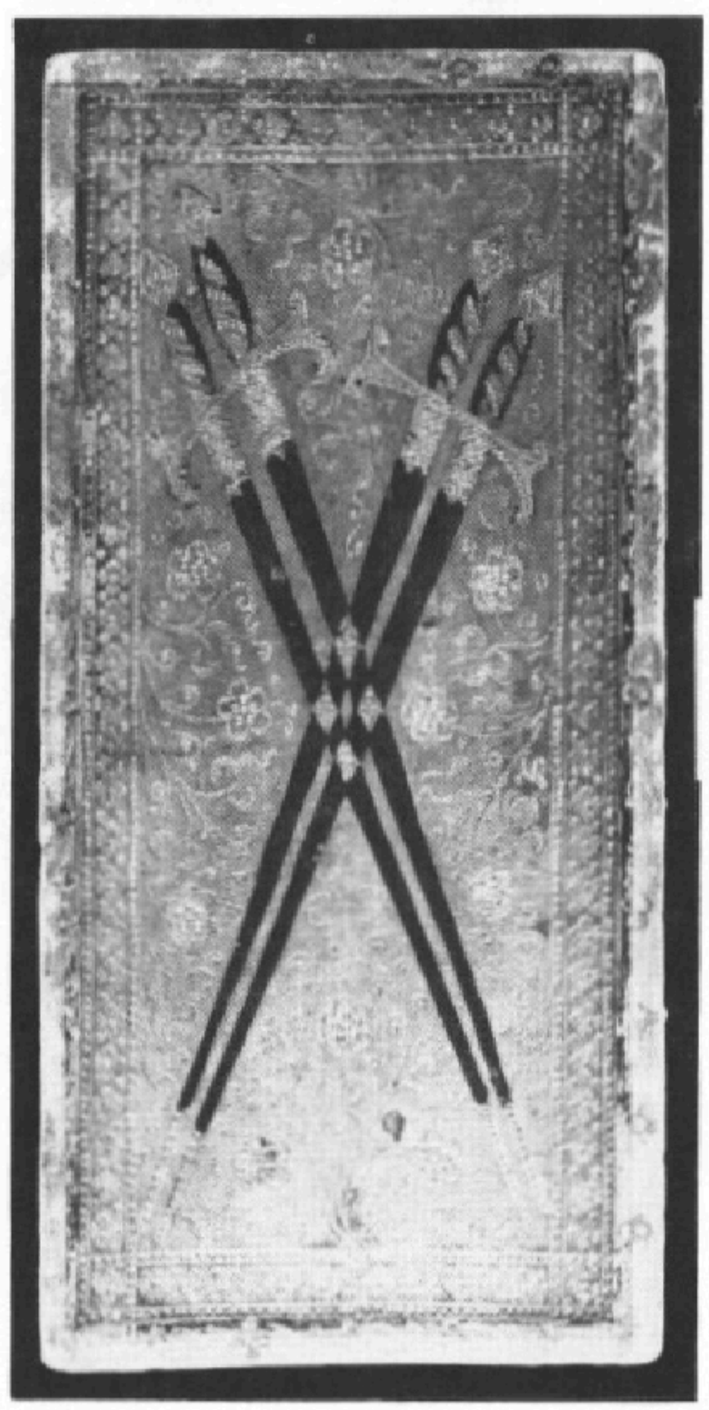
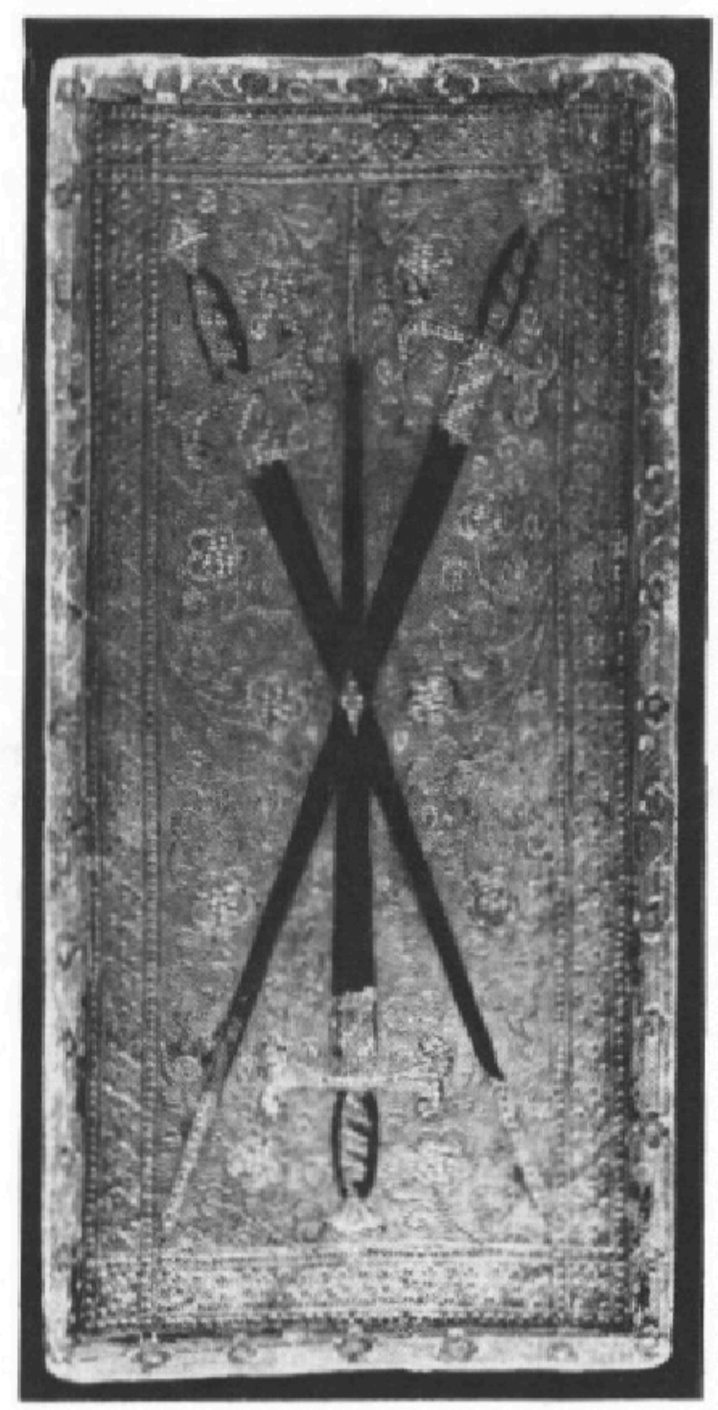
Queen of Staves (Arrows) *Cary-Yale Visconti Tarocchi card*

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Suit of Swords TOP ROW: *Ten, nine, seven of swords;* BOTTOM ROW: *five, four, three of swords. Cary-Yale Visconti Tarocchi cards*

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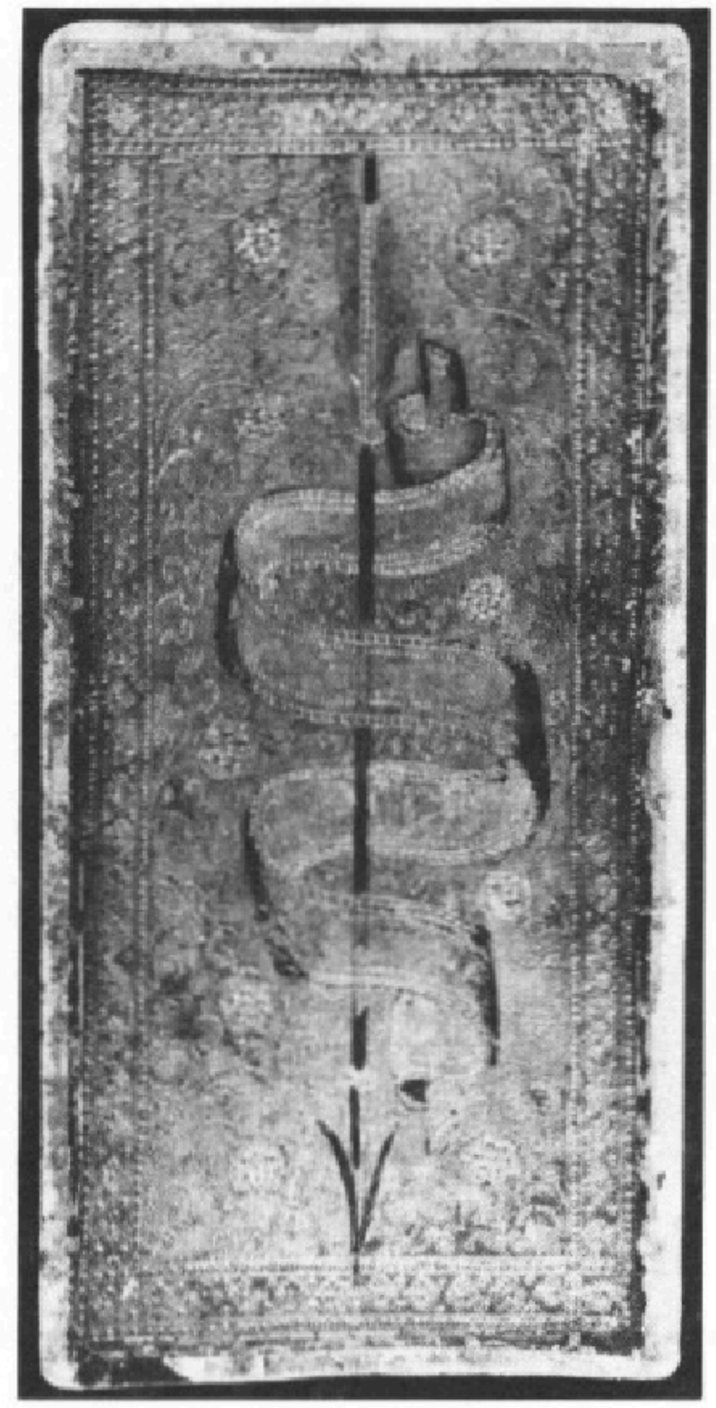

Male Page of Staves, Female Page of Staves, Ace of Arrows (Staves) *Cary-Yale Visconti Tarocchi cards*

Suit of Cups The bearded king of cups sits on his throne, holding a scepter in his right hand. His rich garment, decorated on the chest with a large ducal crown bearing palm and laurel branches, has an overall pattern of a floral design in gold against a bright red background. The king's crown is a large hat. The symbol of the suit, a large cup, is held aloft by a young attendant. The distinctive facial features of the king suggest the possibility that he is meant to represent a specific person contemporary to the time that the card was originally painted. The ace of cups, shown in Volume I, resembles a monstrance, whereas the rest of the cups on the pip cards are chalices.

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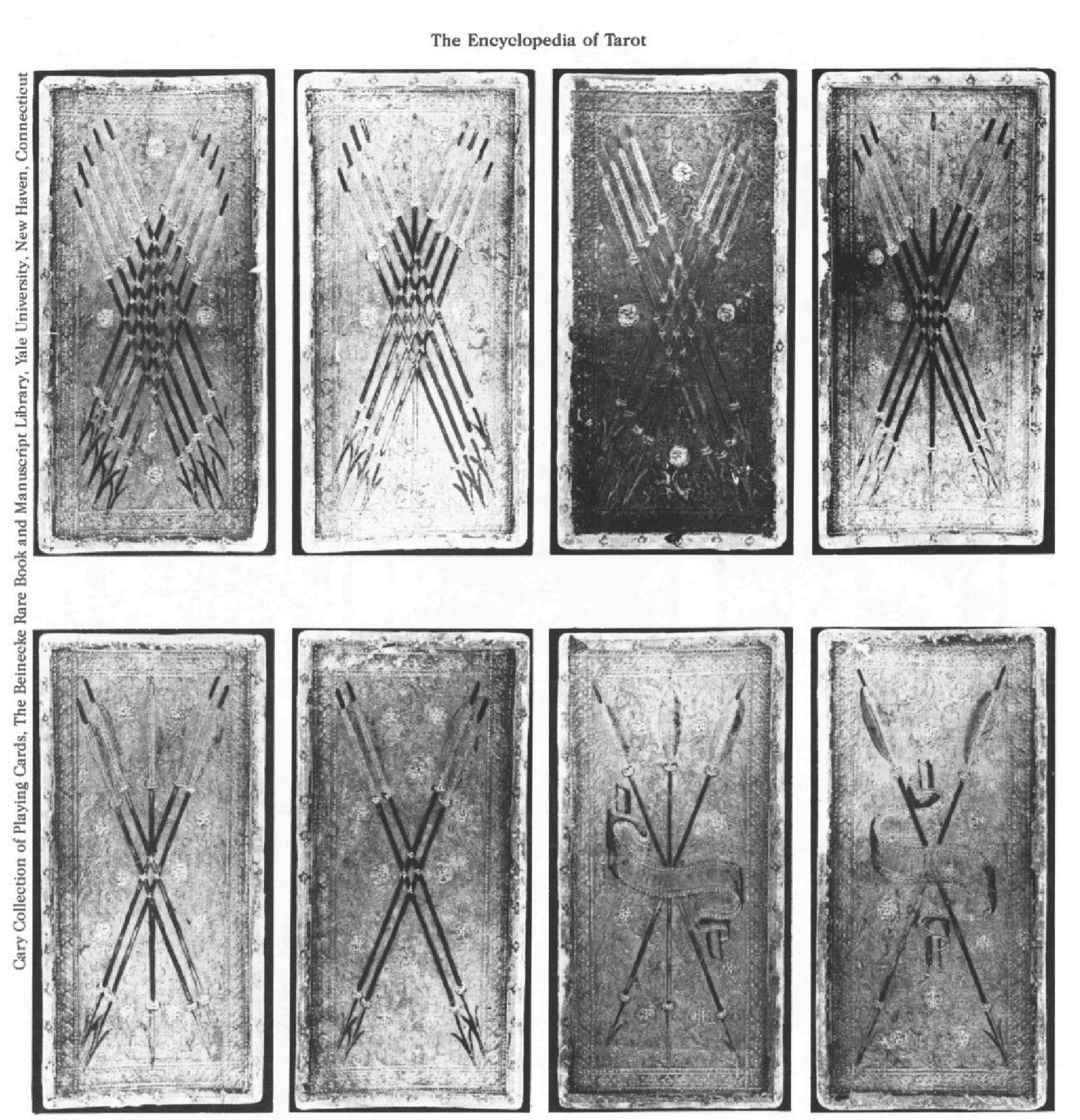
King of Cups *Cary-Yale Visconti Tarocchi card*

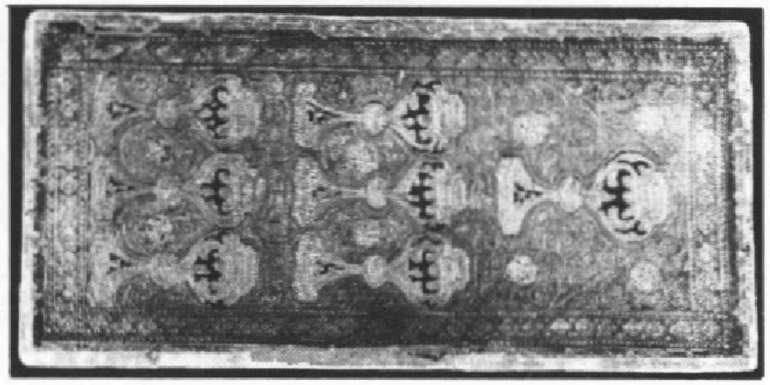


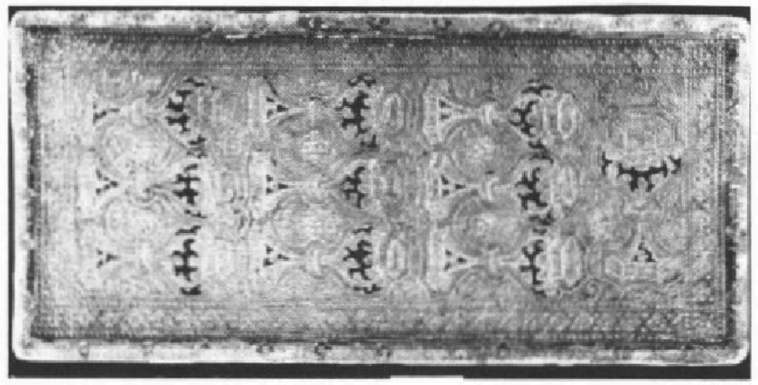
Cary Collection of Playing Cards, The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut

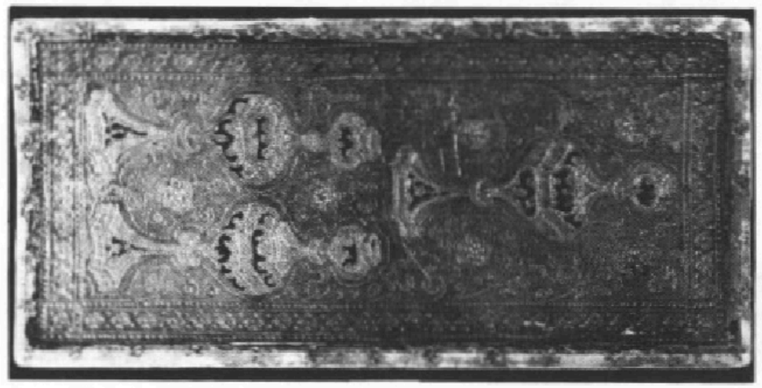
Suit of Arrows (Staves) TOP ROW: *Ten, nine, eight, seven of arrows;* BOTTOM ROW: *five, four, three, two of arrows. Cary-Yale Visconti Tarocchi cards*

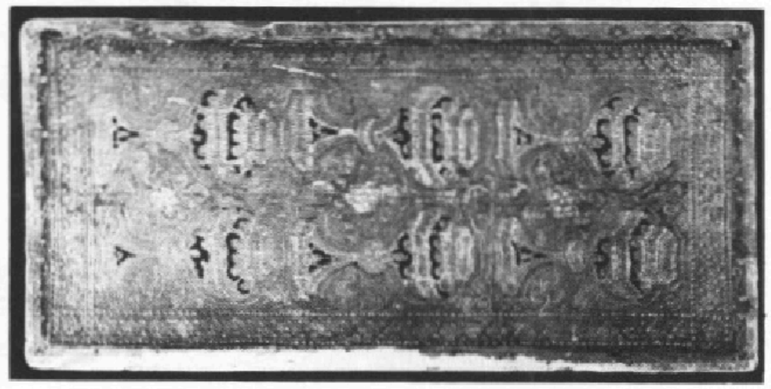
Suit of Cups TOP ROW: *Ten of cups, nine of cups, eight of cups;* MIDDLE ROW: *seven of cups, six of cups, five of cups;* BOTTOM ROW: *four, three, two of cups. Cary-Yale Visconti Tarocchi cards*

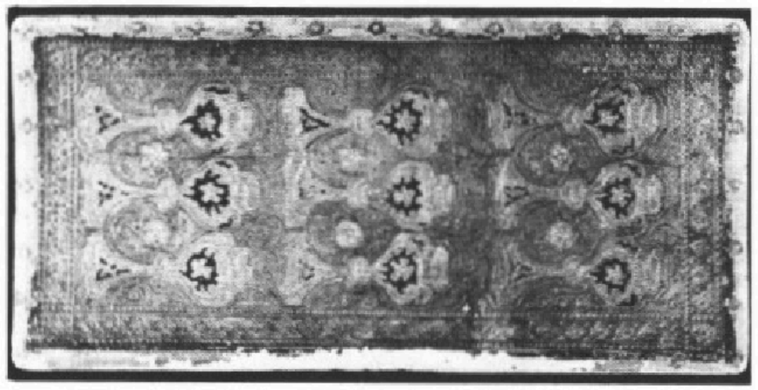
Cary Collection of Playing Cards, The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut









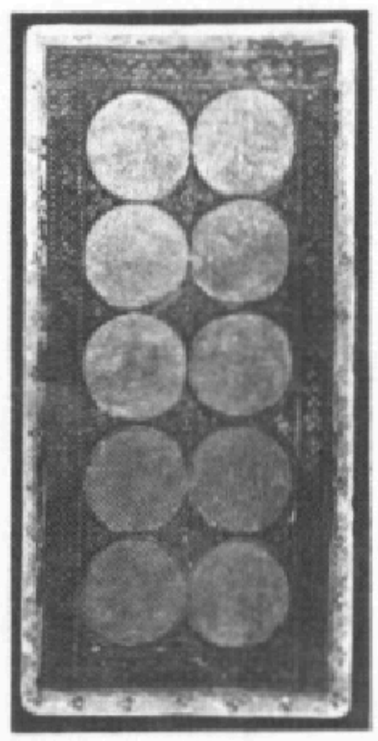


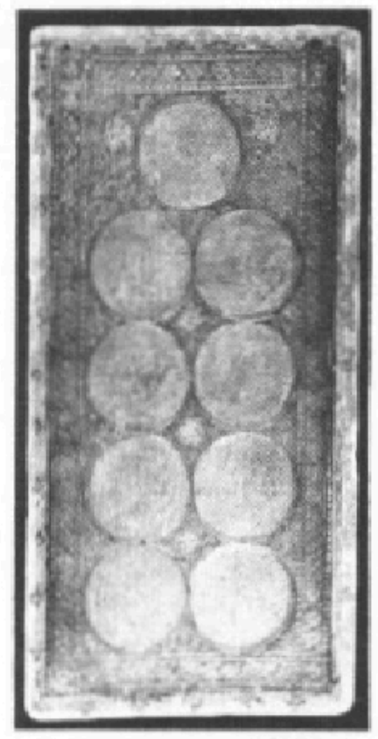
Suit of Coins The king of coins languidly sits on his throne, one hand upraised, the other at his side adjacent to the heraldic device on his garment of a dove surrounded by sunbursts. The king wears a flared hat instead of a crown. The symbol of the suit, a large coin decorated with a sunburst of wavy and straight rays, is held by an assistant, and another coin of the same design rests at the king's feet. The queen of coins, proud and somewhat severe, is seen in profile wearing a crown of filigree. She wears a regal gown decorated with the Visconti dove device seen on the king's card. In one hand she holds a rod and with the other she touches a large coin held by an assistant who wears a blue cape bearing the Visconti motto, *A bon droyt*. The Visconti dove is also in the center of the coin. The male knight of coins rides a white horse fitted with ornate trappings. The horse's caparison is decorated with the Visconti device of a dove and another dove appears on the male knight's chest. The male knight wears an oversized hat and the large coin held in his right hand is decorated with a sunburst. The female page of coins faces to the right and holds a large coin in her hands. Her hair is braided and swept back on top of her head, revealing a high forehead. The female page's long gown depicts the Visconti dove. The garments of the king, queen, female knight and female page in the suit of coins, plus the trappings on the horse in the male knight card, are all displayed in gold and decorated with fur. The short garment and cape worn by the male knight remain without gold embellishment. The coins on the pip cards are embossed with either a quatrefoil or with a horse and rider, and writing appears around their edges. The two sides of the florin represent coins originally issued by Filippo Maria Visconti.

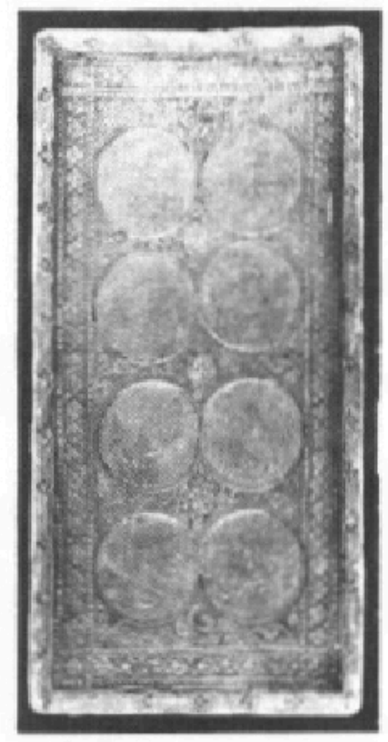
Cary Collection of Playing Cards, The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut

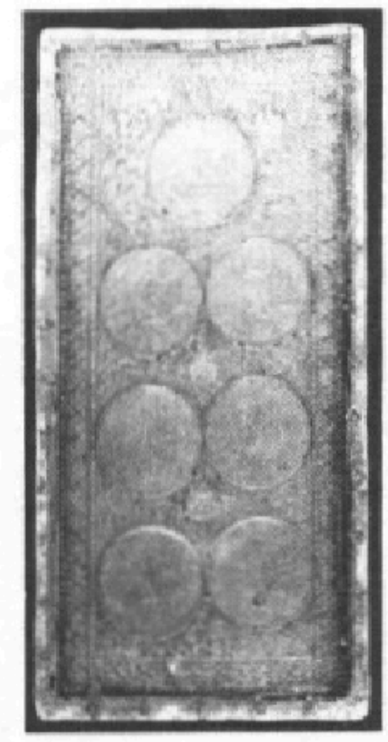
King of Coins and Queen of Coins *Cary-Yale Visconti Tarocchi cards*

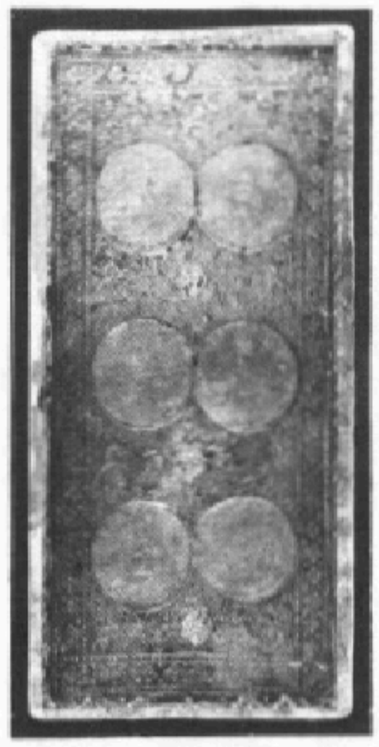
Cary Collection of Playing Cards, The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut

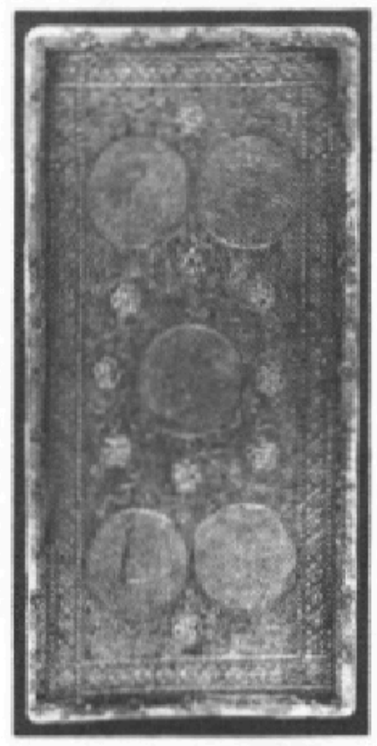


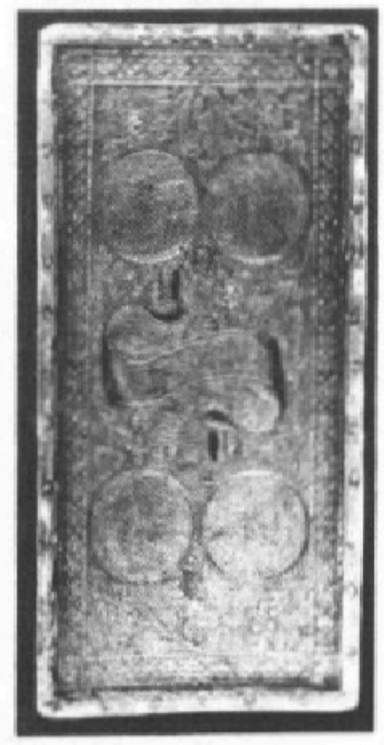


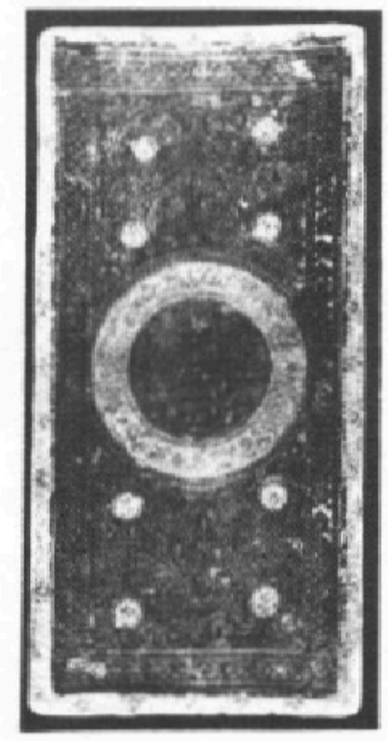












Suit of Coins TOP ROW: *Knight of coins, female page of coins;* SECOND ROW: *ten, nine, eight, seven of coins;* BOTTOM ROW: *six, five, four, ace of coins. Cary-Yale Visconti Tarocchi cards*

THE NINETEEN RECREATED CARY-YALE CARDS

Nineteen cards are missing from the extant Cary-Yale Visconti Tarocchi deck. In order to show what these cards may have looked like in the fifteenth century, Veronese artist Luigi Scapini recreated in 1983 The Fool, The Magician, Justice, The Hermit, The Wheel of Fortune, The Hanged Man, Temperance, The Devil, The Tower, The Moon and The Sun; plus male knight and male page of swords, king and male knight of staves, queen and female knight of cups, male page of coins and three of coins. Most of the backgrounds in the recreated cards are taken from press proofs prepared for the reproduction of the original cards. By means of collage and overpainting, the figures, costumes, symbols, heraldic devices and so forth were added to each recreated card.

It is possible that the Cary-Yale Visconti Tarocchi deck lacks more than nineteen cards. It is not known whether the three theological virtues of Faith, Hope and Charity were meant to represent, for example, The Pope, The Star and The Popess, respectively, or if these virtues were intended to be added to the original deck, thus expanding the pack to eighty-nine cards. The four cardinal virtues of Fortitude, Justice, Prudence and Temperance are generally believed to be represented in the tarot pack by Strength, Justice, The Hanged Man or The Hermit, and Temperance, respectively. If these cards were included in the original deck, the Major Arcana of the Cary-Yale deck contained the seven virtues.

The Fool is dressed in ragged garments and has a shaggy forked beard. He holds a stick with a pouch across his left shoulder and uses a walking cane with his right hand. Six feathers protrude through his curly hair. A fierce Italian greyhound, a popular breed in the Renaissance, bites his bare left leg. The background design incorporates sixteen alternating wavy and straight rays within a diamond or lozenge-shape pattern.

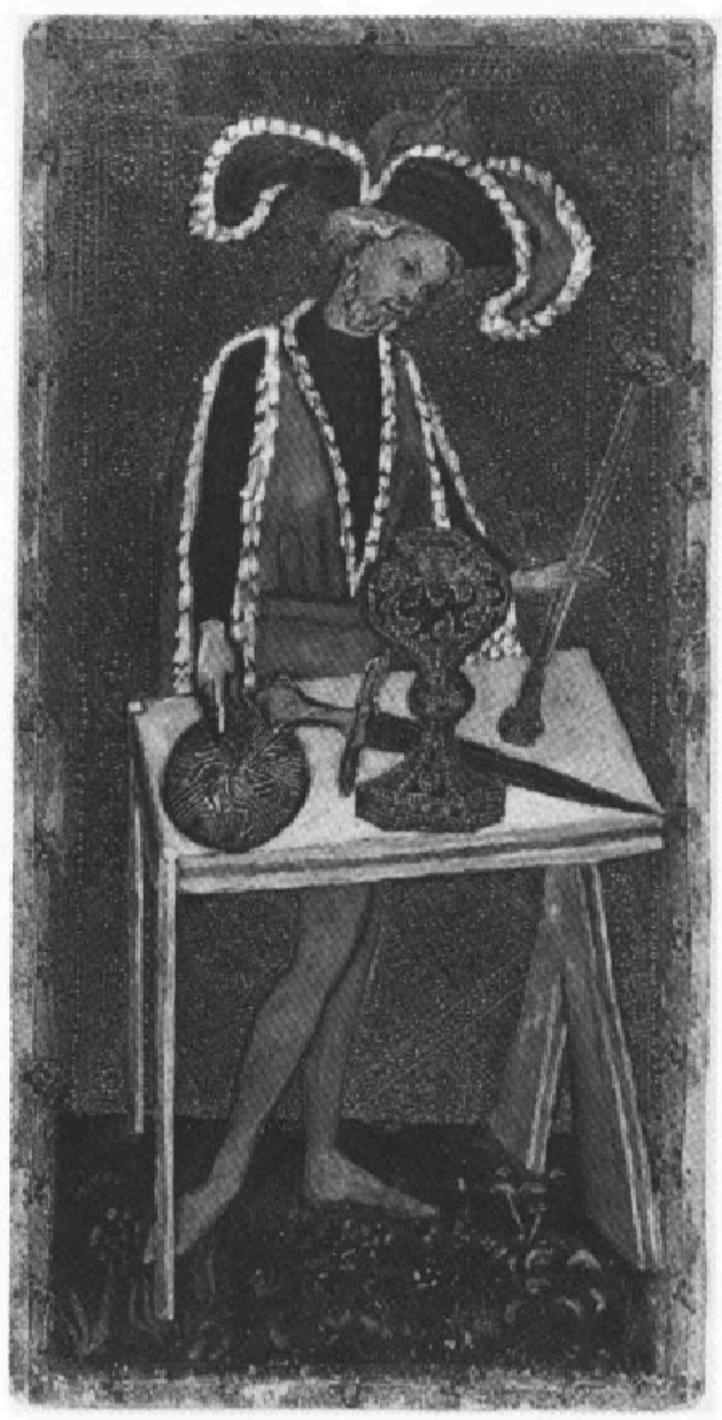
The Magician wears an extravagant red hat lined in green and trimmed in ermine. He holds a rod in his left hand and the remaining three suit symbols, a sword, a cup and a coin, are on the table.

Justice wears a delicately brocaded, high-waisted gown. She is crowned and in her right hand is a large, double-edged sword. In her left hand is the scale of Justice.

The Hermit wears a rich red garment with gold splashes that follows the colors found on some of the cards in the Cary-Yale pack, in contrast to the rich blue robe of the Hermit in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck. He wears a fluffy two-tiered hat. Although aged, he appears agile and alert, physically capable of carrying the large, ornate hourglass.

The Wheel of Fortune bears the winged female figure of Fortune in its center. She is blindfolded and extends her right hand to the shoulder of the rising figure. The golden crown above the head of the rising figure indicates he aspires to reign. To the left of Fortune is a falling figure, his crown tumbling; he has already reigned. The aged man beneath the wheel is without reign, replaced by the young figure with sword and crown in hand, who sits atop the wheel and presently reigns.

Collection of the author



The Fool, The Magician and Justice *Cary-Yale/Scapini tarocchi cards*

Collection of the author

The Hermit, The Wheel of Fortune and The Hanged Man *Cary-Yale/Scapini tarocchi cards*

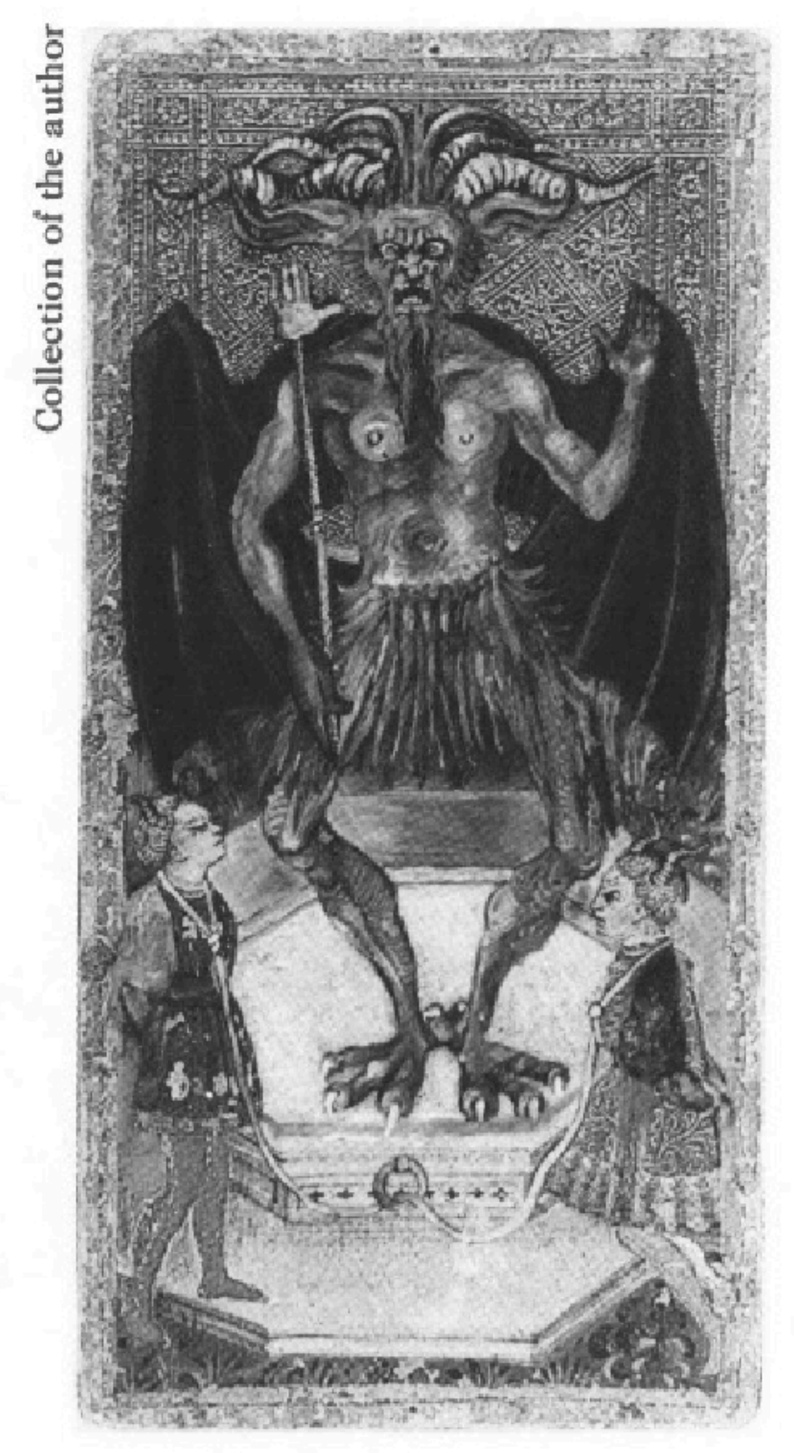
The Hanged Man hangs upside down by a rope tied from his left ankle to a wooden gallows. The right ankle is also entwined in a rope which is attached to an anchor on the ground. In all other respects, he closely resembles the figure seen in the similar card of the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo pack, especially the green tights with high hips and white blouse with balloon sleeves.

Parravicino (1903) claimed to have seen the legend *Juda Traditor* on the purple garment of the figure at the bottom of the Hope card in the Cary-Yale deck (see illustration in Volume I). However, the inscription on the Hope card is now illegible. From his observation, Parravicino concluded that the Hope card probably "corresponds with the twelfth tarot of the man hanged." It was customary in fifteenth-century Italy to hang traitors by the foot. The figure at the bottom of Hope has a noose around his neck. Scapini, in his recreation of the card, acknowledges the possible link between the missing Hanged Man card and the Hope card by using part of the background of Hope in his reconstruction of The Hanged Man, as can be seen by studying the anchor on the ground and the fence behind.

Temperance is shown as a winged figure wearing a long gown decorated with repeating sunbursts and trimmed in fur. She has the same face as the female page of swords with redrawn eyes. She pours liquid between two large, ornate cups.

Collection of the author

Temperance *Cary-Yale/Scapini tarocchi card*



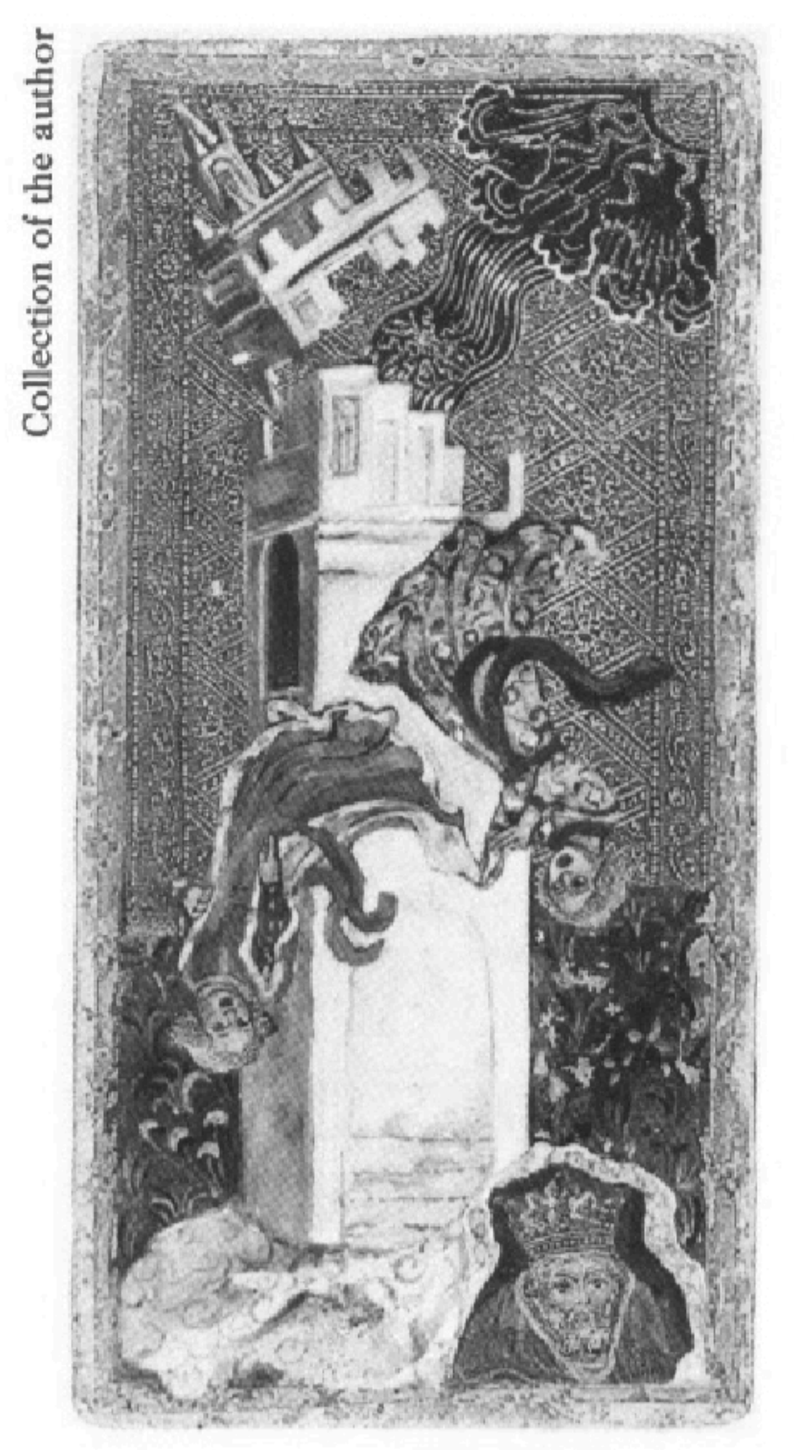
Collection of the author

The Devil *Cary-Yale/Scapini tarocchi card*

The Devil is a fierce, winged, and horned figure glowing with rage from his pedestal. He has female breasts and he stands on clawed feet. In his right hand is a scepter topped with an open, false hand, symbolizing the Devil's peculiar ability to turn the subtlest of vibrations into coarse manifestations. The Devil's left hand appears in contrast to the inorganic false hand. The Devil's belly has segmentations like a reptile belly, reflecting fifteenth-century iconography. Two youths from The Emperor card are tied to the pedestal.

The Tower is split at its summit by a giant bolt of lightning. Two figures fall and the crowned figure seen at the bottom of the card of Faith appears again in this card.

The Moon shows a barefoot figure dressed in a beautiful, silvery high-waisted gown brocaded with a droplet pattern. She holds a crescent moon in her right hand.



Collection of the author

The Tower *Cary-Yale/Scapini tarocchi card*

Collection of the author

The Moon *Cary-Yale/Scapini tarocchi card*

Collection of the author

The Sun *Cary-Yale/Scapini tarocchi card*

Collection of the author

Male Knight of Swords *Cary-Yale/Scapini tarocchi card*

Collection of the author

Male Page of Swords *Cary-Yale/Scapini tarocchi card*

The Sun shows a youth riding a white horse in the clouds above a turreted city. He holds in his hands a golden head which represents the sun. The city and clouds are taken from the original World card.

The male knight of swords wears a wide, plumed hat and is dressed in full armor and a cape. He holds a double-edged sword as symbol of his suit. The horse is fitted in medieval trappings decorated with a repeating floral design similar to the design on the cape of the female page of swords.

The male page of swords stands in full armor. He wears the same type of hat as the knight. The suit of swords in the Cary-Yale Visconti Tarocchi deck lacks the original cards for both the male knight and the male page, while original cards exist for the female knight and the female page. The other suits have a male knight or page or both. Thus, it is assumed that this suit at one time had the male counterparts.

The king of staves wears a short garment ornamented with a heraldic fountain under a long cape lined in blue splashed with gold. His wide-brimmed hat is lined with ermine. The king holds in his left hand a stave with finial at the bottom. In his right hand he holds an arrow that points upwards. The appearance of both the stave and the arrow suggest the switch in this suit from staves in the court cards to arrows in the pip cards.

The male knight of staves wears on his hat and garment the heraldic device of a large fountain. The same device is seen on the caparison and *party per pale* on his horse. In the male knight's left hand is the symbol of the court cards in this suit, a stave.

The queen of cups is attended by two assistants. She is dressed in a beautiful long gown brocaded with a repeating floral pattern. At the top of the gown is a crown with palm and laurel branches. In her right hand she holds a huge cup.

The female knight of cups has the same elegance and richness of color as the male page of cups. The female knight wears a red cape decorated with the Visconti ducal crown, laurel and palm motif and she holds aloft a large cup to symbolize her suit. The rearing white horse is dressed in elegant trappings.

The male page of coins wears a wide, flaring hat and a garment decorated with the heraldic dove in profile above a ribbon and surrounded by sunbursts. He holds a large coin bearing a sunburst design.

The three of coins is the only original pip card missing in the Cary-Yale Visconti Tarocchi deck. It has been recreated from the five of coins card, the center coin left intact and single coins pasted over the double coins originally appearing at top and bottom.

Collection of the author

Queen of Cups and Page of Coins *Cary-Yale/Scapini tarocchi cards*

Collection of the author

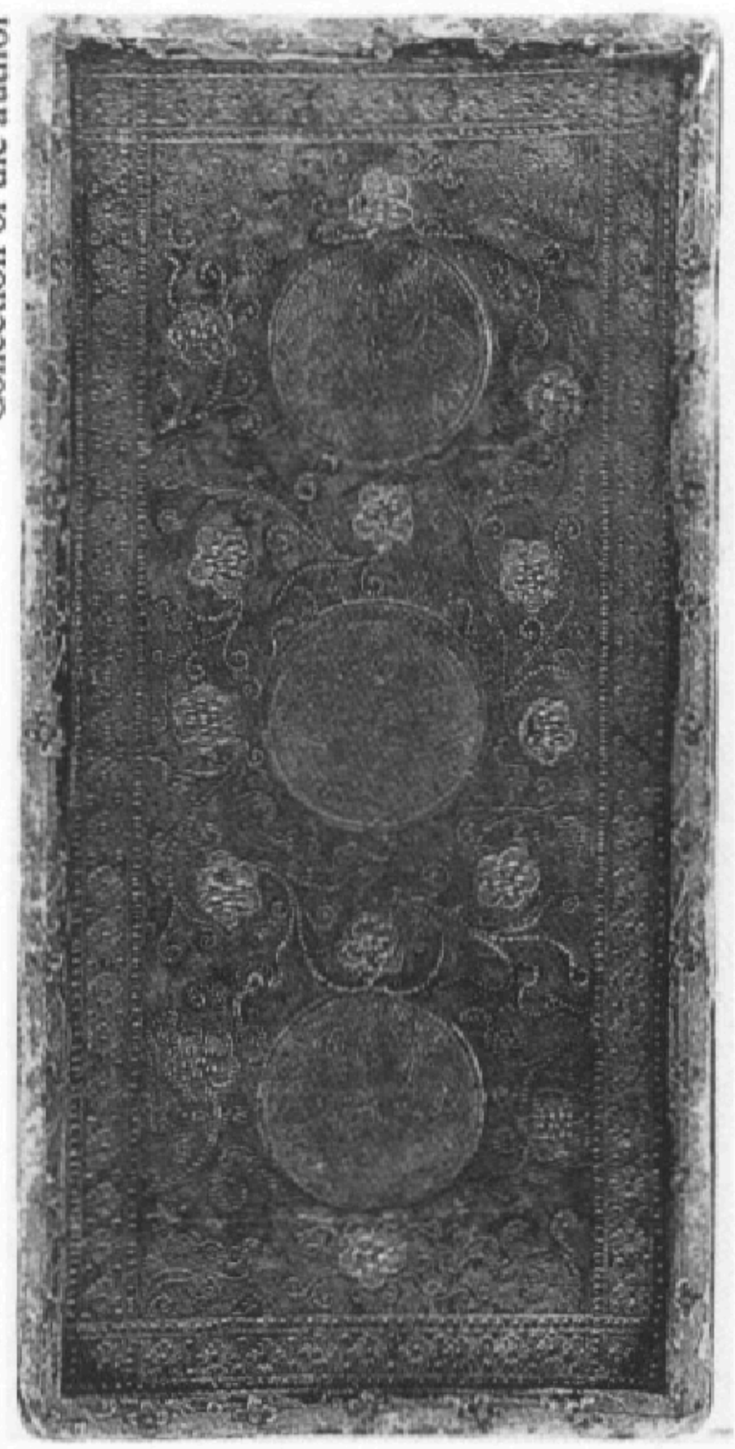
King of Staves *Cary-Yale/Scapini tarocchi card*

Collection of the author

Male Knight of Staves *Cary-Yale/Scapini tarocchi card*

Collection of the author

Female Knight of Cups *Cary-Yale/Scapini tarocchi card*

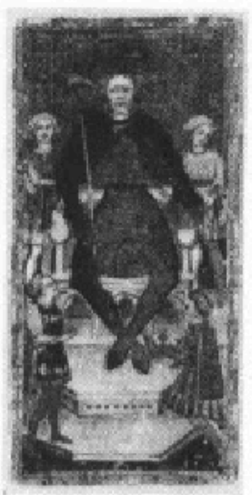


Collection of the author

Three of Coins *Cary-Yale/Scapini tarocchi card*

III

LOCATING AND IDENTIFYING THE VISCONTI AND VISCONTI-SFORZA TAROCCHI CARDS



THE 271 EXTANT Visconti and Visconti-Sforza tarocchi cards can be divided into fifteen distinct groups on the basis of size of the cards and artistic style. The group with the most cards is the seventy-four-card Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo pack, followed by the sixty-seven-card Cary-Yale pack. The owners of three groups—the twenty-three-card Lombardy I group, the four-card Lombardy II group, and the single Lombardy III card—prefer to remain anonymous. The location and current ownership of eleven Von Bartsch cards are unknown. Two single cards listed in Volume I under the names of Marzoli and Biedak are now owned by the Stuart and Marilyn R. Kaplan Playing Card Collection.

The accompanying chart gives the popular name or names, the number of extant cards, the last known location or locations, and the approximate measurements of each group of Visconti or Visconti-Sforza cards. Variations in dimension occur due to warping, wear and tear of the cardboard, and uneven dimensions from one end or side to the other end or side of the card.

PROVENANCE OF THE PIERPONT MORGAN-BERGAMO TAROCCHI DECK

The Visconti-Sforza cards known today as the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck undoubtedly belonged in the mid-fifteenth century to the Sforza family who commissioned their execution. The ownership of the cards in the sixteenth century is unknown, but through the turmoil of foreign occupation of Milan, they remained in Italy.

In 1897 Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche published *L'Arte in Bergamo e l'Accademia Carrara* which relates that in the seventeenth century the cards were owned by Canon Count Ambiveri of Bergamo who allegedly bequeathed them to the noble Donati family. Subsequently the cards passed to the Colleoni family, who split the deck into three parts. One part was traded to Count Baglioni, another part was sold to the Paris art dealers Hamburger Frères, and the other part, thirteen pip cards, remains in the possession of the Colleoni family in Bergamo. Four cards are missing from the deck: The Devil, The Tower, the three of swords and the knight of coins.

Colleoni Ownership of the Visconti-Sforza Tarocchi Deck

Count Alessandro Colleoni* obtained the cards in the eighteenth century.
Count Felice Colleoni (1797–1825)
Count Alessandro Colleoni*
Count Felice Colleoni (1825 – ?)
Count Alessandro Colleoni (1840–1924) traded twenty-six cards with Count Baglioni in the late nineteenth century and sold thirty-five cards to Hamburger Frères before 1911.

*Birth and death dates not available.

There are no records of the date when Count Alessandro Colleoni traded the twenty-six cards with Count Baglioni, However, it must have been prior to 1897 since the book by Accademia Carrara states that the cards were owned by Count Baglioni.

Cards Traded by Count Alessandro Colleoni

Count Francesco Baglioni, a connoisseur and collector of art, acquired twenty-six of the cards now called Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo Visconti-Sforza cards from his friend, Count Alessandro Colleoni, in exchange for some objects of art including a portrait of Countess Cecilia Colleoni painted by Fra Galgario in 1708. Five of the cards traded were Major Arcana: The Emperor, Justice, The Star, The Moon and The World. According to Parravicino (1903), Count Colleoni bitterly regretted the exchange, but was never able to regain the cards. Count Baglioni died in 1900, bequeathing the twenty-six cards to Accademia Carrara in Bergamo, where they still are today.

Cards Acquired by John Pierpont Morgan

Although he deeply regretted his exchange with Count Baglioni, Count Colleoni gave up still more of the Visconti-Sforza cards he owned. Sometime before 1903 he had refused an offer from Count Roncalli of 50,000 francs (or 2,000 pounds) for the remaining forty-nine cards left in his

Collection of Accademia Carrara, Bergamo

Portrait of Count Francesco Baglioni *Count Baglioni acquired twenty-six Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo Tarocchi cards from Count Alessandro Colleoni in exchange for some objects of art, including a portrait of Countess Cecilia Colleoni (below).*

possession. However, the Paris art dealers Hamburger Frères acquired thirty-five of the cards, which were then sold to John Pierpont Morgan of New York in 1911. The New York connoisseur of the arts must have been very eager for the prize, for although he was surely aware of Count Roncalli's offer, which was published in *Burlington Magazine* in 1903, he paid four times that amount, 8,000 pounds, for a smaller number of cards.

Morgan valued his hand-painted cards and kept them near him in the study of his magnificent library, in the company of other Italian Renaissance works of art. His son also loved the cards, for he searched France until he found a fitting container for them, a late-fourteenth-century *cuir bouilli* casket. The box, itself a work of art, is decorated with romantic scenes of men and women playing chess and exchanging hearts and rings. John Pierpont Morgan's collection is now the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York City.

The Missing Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo Cards

Count Emiliano di Parravicino's article, titled "Three Packs of Italian Tarocco Cards" (*Burlington Magazine*, December 1903) referred to "seventy-five cards" jointly owned by Count Alessandro Colleoni and the Cararra Museum of Bergamo, which were "once the property of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza." The deck he was describing is called the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck, which now has only seventy-four cards.

Collection of Colleoni Family, Bergamo

Portrait of Countess Cecilia Colleoni, *wife of Count Christophori Colleoni, painted by Fra Galgario in 1708. Inscription appears at upper right of canvas.*

LOCATION OF THE FIFTEEN GROUPS OF VISCONTI AND VISCONTI-SFORZA TAROCCHI CARDS

	Popular Name	Number of Cards	Last Known Location	Approximate Measurements (Millimeters)
1	Visconti-Sforza; Colleoni; Pierpont Morgan; Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo; Carrara; Bergamo; Cicognara; Bembo	26 35 13 74	Accademia Carrara, Bergamo, Italy Pierpont Morgan Library, New York Colleoni family, Bergamo, Italy	175 x 87 175 x 87 175 x 87
2	Visconti; Visconti-Sforza; Countess Aurelia Visconti Gonzaga (1831); Cary-Yale; Cicognara; Tortona; Bembo; Visconti di Modrone	67	Cary Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut	190 x 90
3	Brera-Brambilla; Contessa di Mazzarino	48	Brera Gallery, Milan	178 x 90
4	Lombardy I	23	Private Collection	168 x 86
5	Rosenthal	23	Albi Rosenthal, London	?
6	Von Bartsch	1 1 11 13	Museum of Fine Arts, Montreal Cleveland Stewart Patterson, Montreal Unknown collector, Milan (formerly Piero Tozzi, New York)	166 x 83 170 x 70 170 x 70
7	Museo Fournier	6	Museo Fournier, Vitoria, Spain	171 x 88
8	Victoria and Albert	4	Victoria and Albert Museum, London	167 x 90
9	Lombardy II	4	Private Collection	170 x 87
10	Bonomi	4	Bianchi Bonomi, Milan	175 x 87
11	Guildhall	1	Guildhall Library, London	141 x 67
12	Andrioletti	1	Francesco Andrioletti, Milan	140 x 65
13	Kaplan (formerly Marzoli)	1	Stuart and Marilyn R. Kaplan, New York	170 x 85
14	Kaplan (formerly Biedak)	1	Stuart and Marilyn R. Kaplan, New York	172 x 86
15	Lombardy III	1	Private Collection	175 x 87
	Total Cards	271		

Several times in his article Parravicino states that, in spite of the protectiveness of the owners of the cards, he was allowed to inspect and even photograph the cards. He probably made a careful count of the number of cards existing in the Visconti-Sforza Tarocchi pack. Therefore it appears that the three of swords was lost after 1903.

Since Accademia Carrara still retains all twenty-six cards bequeathed to it by Count Baglioni, one must assume that the three of swords was somehow lost within the archives of the Colleoni family. One might also conjecture that at the time of the sale of thirty-five cards by the Colleoni family to Hamburger Frères or at the sale of the cards by Hamburger Frères to John Pierpont Morgan, the three of swords was lost in the shuffle, so to speak.

There is an intriguing aspect about two of the pip cards numbered three in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo pack. The three of coins and the three of staves have gold inner borders instead of the green inner borders found on all the other pip cards. The three of coins is decorated with straight

(right)
Location of Each Extant Visconti and Visconti-Sforza Tarocchi Card

		Pierpont PM	Pierpont AC	Pierpont CF	Yale	Brera	Lombardy	Rosenthal	Von Bartsch MFA	Von Bartsch CSP	Von Bartsch PT	Fournier	Victoria Albert	Lombardy II	Bonomi	Guildhall	Andriolletti	Kaplan (Marzoli)	Kaplan (Biedak)	Lombardy III
	THE FOOL	✓					✓	✓												
I	THE MAGICIAN	✓					✓													
II	THE POPESS	✓			Charity?		✓					✓								
III	THE EMPRESS	✓			✓		✓													
IIII	THE EMPEROR		✓		✓	✓		✓				✓								
V	THE POPE	✓			Faith?		✓				✓									
VI	THE LOVERS	✓			✓		✓													
VII	THE CHARIOT	✓			✓		✓				✓									
VIII	JUSTICE		✓					✓							✓					
VIIII	THE HERMIT	✓					✓													
X	WHEEL OF FORTUNE	✓				✓	✓				✓									
XI	STRENGTH	✓			✓		✓													
XII	HANGED MAN	✓					✓													
XIII	DEATH	✓			✓		✓						✓	✓						
XIIII	TEMPERANCE	✓					✓		✓											
XV	DEVIL																			
XVI	THE TOWER																			
XVII	THE STAR		✓		Hope?			✓					✓	✓						
XVIII	THE MOON		✓																	
XVIIII	THE SUN	✓					✓	✓												
XX	JUDGMENT	✓			✓		✓				✓									
XXI	THE WORLD		✓		✓										✓	✓				
FAITH	(THE POPE?)				✓															
HOPE	(THE STAR?)				✓															
CHARITY	(THE POPESS?)				✓															
SWORDS	KING	✓			✓		✓				✓									
	QUEEN	✓			✓		✓													
	MALE KNIGHT		✓					✓												
	FEMALE KNIGHT				✓															
	MALE PAGE		✓					✓			✓									
	FEMALE PAGE				✓															
	10	✓			✓	✓														
	9			✓	✓	✓														
	8		✓		✓	✓														
	7			✓	✓	✓														
	6		✓		✓	✓														
	5		✓		✓	✓		✓			✓									
	4		✓		✓	✓		✓												
	3				✓	✓														
	2			✓	✓	✓														
	ACE	✓			✓	✓		✓												
STAVES	KING	✓				✓	✓													
	QUEEN		✓		✓	✓		✓												
	MALE KNIGHT		✓			✓		✓												
	FEMALE KNIGHT				✓															
	MALE PAGE		✓		✓			✓										✓		
	FEMALE PAGE				✓															
	10			✓	✓	✓														
	9	✓			✓	✓														
	8			✓	✓	✓														
	7		✓		✓	✓						✓								
	6		✓		✓	✓														
	5		✓		✓	✓		✓												
	4	✓			✓	✓														
	3		✓		✓	✓														
	2			✓	✓	✓														
	ACE	✓			✓	✓		✓												
CUPS	KING		✓		✓			✓			✓			✓	✓				✓	
	QUEEN	✓					✓													
	MALE KNIGHT	✓			✓	✓	✓				✓			✓						
	FEMALE KNIGHT																			
	MALE PAGE	✓			✓	✓	✓			✓										
	FEMALE PAGE				✓															
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	5	✓			✓	✓		✓												
	4			✓	✓	✓														
	3	✓			✓	✓														
	2		✓		✓	✓														
	ACE	✓			✓	✓		✓					✓							
COINS	KING	✓			✓		✓	✓												
	QUEEN	✓			✓		✓				✓									
	MALE KNIGHT				✓	✓														
	FEMALE KNIGHT				✓															
	MALE PAGE		✓			✓		✓					✓				✓			✓
	FEMALE PAGE				✓															
	10	✓			✓	✓														
	9		✓		✓	✓														
	8	✓			✓	✓						✓			✓					
	7	✓			✓	✓														
	6			✓	✓	✓														
	5		✓		✓	✓		✓												
	4			✓	✓															
	3			✓		✓		✓												
	2			✓	✓	✓						✓								
	ACE		✓		✓	✓		✓				✓								
JOKER (?)								✓			✓									
SUBTOTAL		35	26	13					1	1	11									
TOTAL			74		67	48	23	23		13		6	4	4	4	1	1	1	1	1

Key to Abbreviations

PM = Pierpont Morgan Library, New York

AC = Accademia Carrara, Bergamo, Italy

CF = Colleoni family, Bergamo, Italy

MFA = Museum of Fine Arts, Montreal

CSP = Cleveland Stewart-Patterson, Montreal

PT = Piero Tozzi (last known owner of cards)

rays within each coin, whereas wavy rays alternate with straight rays in the coins decorating the other cards of the suit. The three of staves has a deeper red coloring than the other pip cards in the suit of staves, and the heads of the staves themselves are slightly more detailed. Only the three of cups blends naturally with the other cards of its suit. Thus, the possibility arises that the three of coins and the three of staves either were made as replacement cards or were retouched and repaired.

Although Count Parravicino designates the three lost cards as The Devil, The World and knight of coins, the cards missing today from the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo pack are The Devil, The Tower, knight of coins and three of swords. In the illustration to the article, Count Parravicino labeled the card now called The World, "The Tower." This was due to his basing his research on Cicognara's description, which called The World card "the Castle of Plutus, a castle full of gold which sinks beneath the waves as a lesson to misers." Since there is no Tower card in any extant Visconti-Sforza pack that might have served as a guide, Parravicino's title is understandable.

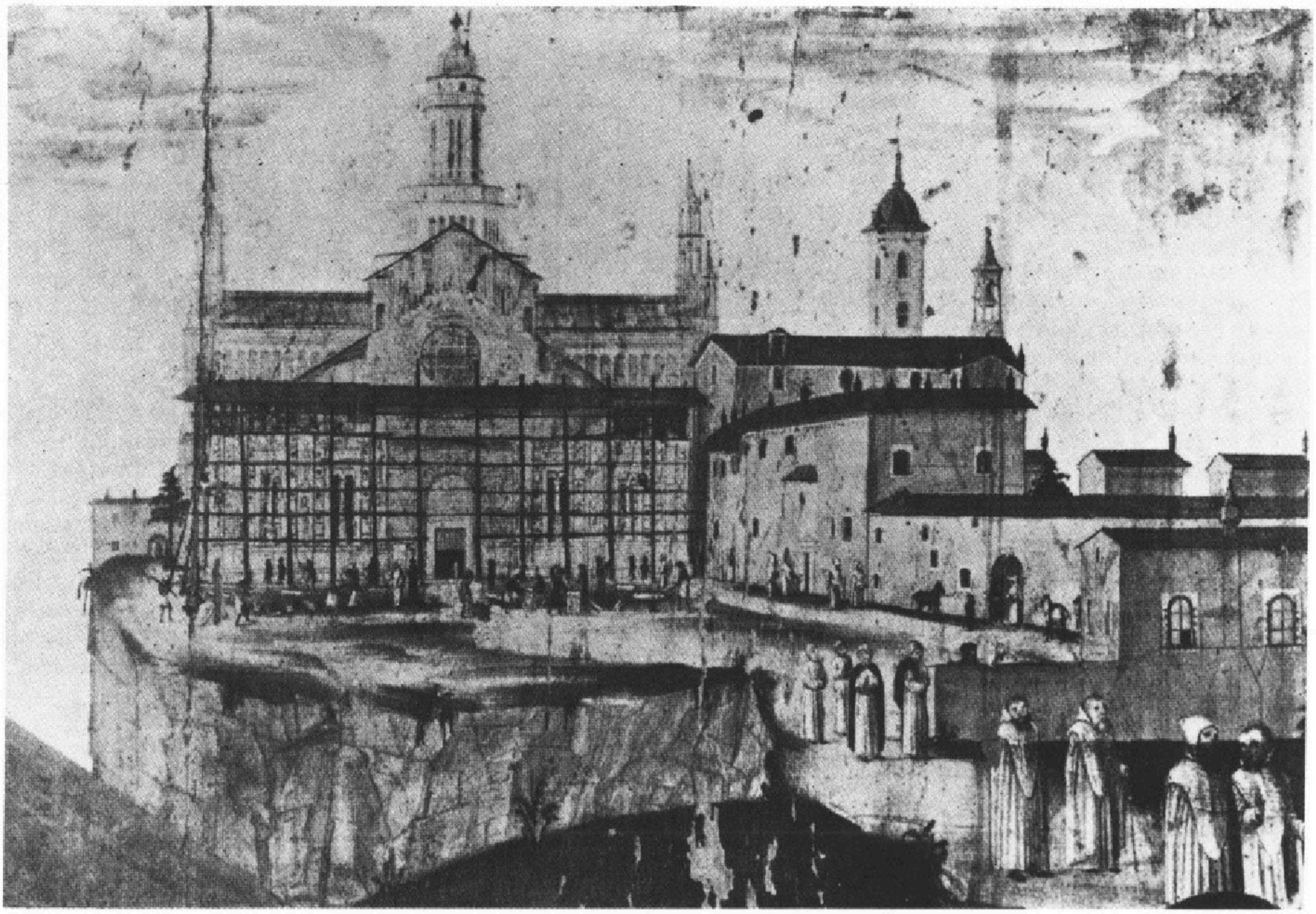
HOLES

Most of the Visconti and Visconti-Sforza cards suffer the defacing presence of "tack" holes. Holes are found on all the cards except Justice in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo Tarocchi pack, all the court and Major Arcana cards of the Cary-Yale pack, all forty-eight Brera-Brambilla cards, the Lombardy I group, except for the queen of cups, the four Bonomi cards, and the single Kaplan (formerly Marzoli) page of staves. The holes appear only at the top except on those cards whose upright position might have been questionable, such as The Hanged Man and some of the pip cards. Some holes, such as those found on the Lombardy I cards, are clean and small. Others, such as the large, gaping holes found on the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo cards, suggest that heavy usage caused the holes to enlarge over the years.

One popular theory suggests that the holes found on the Cary-Yale Visconti Tarocchi cards originated when the cards were mounted for the 1903 article in *Burlington Magazine*. However, it seems unlikely that the writer of the article, Count Emiliano di Parravicino, who described the cards as having "incalculable artistic value," and who also photographed the cards himself, would have defaced them. The owners of the cards, then the Visconti family, allowed Parravicino to feature the cards in his article "as a special favor, granted only after much entreaty," and surely they would not have allowed their treasured cards to be pierced with tacks. A careful study of the photographs reveals that the use of tacks on the Cary-Yale deck was limited to certain cards, probably only those which already had holes. The tacks were placed in such a manner as to allow the cards to rest against the flat—and safe—underside of the tack heads. The rest of the cards featured in the article, from the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck and the Brera-Brambilla deck, were laid flat on dark paper, without tacks, and yet

Collections of the Accademia Carrara and the Colleoni Family, Bergamo, Italy

Three of Staves and Two of Staves (upside down) *Cards from Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo Tarocchi pack. The three of staves seems to have been modeled on the inverted two of staves as can be seen by examining the similarity in the foliage and flowers on the two cards. This would support Ron Decker's theory (1980) that the holes in the cards were placed there by artists copying the images, since the holes on the two and three of staves appear at the same ends when their images are matched in the picture above.*



Collection of Certosa of Pavia

Certosa of Pavia during construction, altar cloth by Borgognone.

even then holes were visible. Furthermore, cards not in the group photographed for *Burlington Magazine* also have holes.

Moakley, in *The Tarot Cards Painted by Bonifacio Bembo,* observed that the holes in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo pack must have occurred before the set was broken up, since it is hard to imagine several different owners having been guilty of the same vandalism. However, the prevalence of holes in six different Visconti and Visconti-Sforza groups makes it apparent that several owners were responsible for the damage. Perhaps at one time it was customary to store cards on a spindle, or to display them in one's home on tacks. In this context, it is worth noting that several other groups of hand-painted cards from the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries have holes: the Kestner Museum cards, the d'Este cards at Yale University, the Rothschild cards at the Musée du Louvre in Paris, and the single card from the Museum of Bassano del Grappa in Italy (see Volume I).

If the holes do, in fact, date from the mid- to late fifteenth century or from the sixteenth century, this in itself is one possible indication of the authenticity of the twenty-three Lombardy I cards, unless, of course, the holes were purposely added to the cards to make them look older.

We can assume that the holes were not placed in the cards (except perhaps the Lombardy I group) during recent times, or even in the past century or two when their value was likely to have been recognized, although perhaps not fully appreciated. It is conceivable that in the fifteenth or sixteenth century the cards were not regarded as important works of art, despite the delicate and detailed work involved and the use of gold in the background. Ron Decker (1980) proposed that the holes were created by the artists themselves, who may have mounted the cards in order to copy them for other decks.

Finally, there is the explanation that in the fifteenth century the cards were viewed as unbound pages of a book and that they were strung together to maintain a specific sequence and to safeguard against loss. The importance of the sequence is understandable if one considers the use of cards for instructive purposes, as illustrations of the steps in an initiation, or as the specific sequence in a procession or carnival popular in Italy during the time of the ducal lords.

CLIFF EDGES

Several cards of the different Visconti-Sforza tarocchi groups depict a cliff edge at the bottom front of the card.

One theory regarding the cliff edges on the tarocchi cards suggests that the cliff scene is similar to the site of the famous Certosa of Pavia, the Carthusian monastery founded by Caterina Visconti. Construction of the monastery began at the end of the fourteenth century through the efforts of Caterina's husband, the first duke of Milan, Giangaleazzo Visconti. It was not until some fifty years after the death of Giangaleazzo that the fourth duke of Milan, Francesco Sforza, began construction of the main part of the church at the Certosa, and the work continued intermittently until nearly the end of the century. The crowning point of the Certosa came in May 1497, during the reign of Lodovico

Sforza, with the consecration of the church. For some one hundred years, the Visconti and Sforza families were closely associated with the Certosa and it would not be unreasonable to expect some indication of this important association to appear in the tarocchi cards. The Visconti-Sforza tarocchi cards with cliff edges as part of the scene are listed in the accompanying chart.

Comparison of the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck and the Lombardy I group reveals that the same cards in each deck contain the rendition of a cliff. This further supports the theory that the Lombardy I group was copied directly from the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck. It is interesting to note that four of the cards with cliff edges in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck—Temperance, The Star, The Moon, and The Sun—are believed to have been painted by an artist different from the one who painted the rest of the pack. This may explain the prominence of their cliff edges as compared to those on the other cards. The cards Strength and The World, which do not have cliffs, were also painted by a different hand, probably the same artist responsible for Temperance, The Star, The Moon, and The Sun. Although The Magician, The Lovers, The Wheel of Fortune, The Hanged Man, knight of staves, page of staves and page of cups in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo pack also seem to have the cliff edges, the deterioration of the cards makes positive identification impossible.

The appearance of the cliff edge varies among the cards in the Lombardy I group, especially when one compares Death, Temperance and The Sun. The variation is evident in the size of the edge and also in execution of the details.

The mystery of why some cards show rocky cliff edges rests in the unknown circumstances surrounding the creation of the cards: where they were made, their association, if any, with the Certosa, the preference of the artist, and the wishes of the person who commissioned the cards.

HERALDIC DEVICES

The Visconti and Sforza patronage of some of the extant fifteenth-century tarocchi decks is confirmed by the heraldic devices that appear on many of the cards. An analysis of the heraldic devices provides a basis for possible determination of the sequence of preparation for the three decks having the most extant cards: the seventy-four-card Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck, the sixty-seven-card Cary-Yale deck, and the forty-eight-card Brera-Brambilla deck.

The Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo pack has Visconti and Sforza heraldic devices. The Visconti devices include a

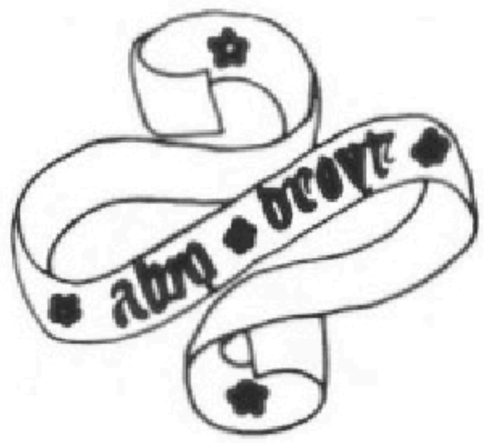
CARDS WITH CLIFF EDGES

Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo Deck	Lombardy I Group	Von Bartsch Group	Victoria and Albert Group	Lombardy II Group
The Fool	The Fool	*	*	*
The Magician (?)	The Magician	*	*	*
The Lovers (?)	The Lovers	*	*	*
The Wheel of Fortune (?)	The Wheel of Fortune	The Wheel of Fortune	*	*
The Hanged Man (?)	The Hanged Man	*	*	*
Death	Death	*	—	—
Temperance	Temperance	Temperance	*	*
The Star	*	*	—	The Star
The Moon	*	*	*	*
The Sun	The Sun	*	*	*
Page of Swords (?)	*	Page of Swords	*	*
Knight of Staves (?)	*	*	*	*
Page of Staves (?)	*	*	*	*
—	—	*	*	Knight of Cups
Page of Cups (?)	Page of Cups	Page of Cups	*	*
—	*	*	Ace of Cups	*
—	*	*	Page of Coins	*

* Cards not extant, therefore no comparison possible.

nested bird (possibly a pelican), a ducal crown with palm frond and laurel branch, a bursting sun with mingled wavy and straight rays bordered with a scalloped pattern, a black imperial eagle, and the motto *A bon droyt*. The Sforza heraldic devices include three interlocking diamond rings and a large fountain.

Bursting Sun on Clothes

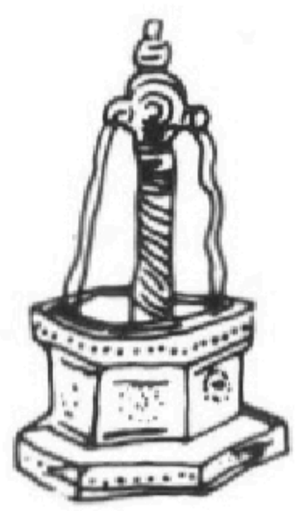


Motto:
A bon droyt

The Cary-Yale Visconti Tarocchi pack contains Visconti heraldic devices of a dove, a pelican, a ducal crown with branch and frond, a black imperial eagle, a knotted cloth, or *nodo*, and the motto *A bon droyt*. A coiled viper is shown on the ace and two of coins. The gold backgrounds on the Major Arcana and court cards in the Cary-Yale pack are decorated with repeating suns containing sixteen alternating wavy and straight rays.

The Cary-Yale Visconti pack is distinct in that the court cards in each of the suits are marked by a particular heraldic device or ornamentation. Thus, each suit forms a thematic unit. The garments of the figures in the suit of swords are decorated with pomegranates and foliage. The suit of staves depicts large fountains with droplets showering from them, the suit of cups contains the ducal crown traversed with branch and frond, and the suit of coins presents a dove in profile with bursting rays. All of the symbols appear on the garments of the court figures.

Pomegranate



Fountain

Ducal Crown

Dove

The court cards in the suit of coins feature the Visconti heraldic device of a dove facing to the left, above a ribbon apparently emblazoned with the motto *A bon droyt* and surrounded by sunbursts. This image differs from the device on the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck in which a bird, probably a pelican, faces to the front and is seen with young birds in a nest.

Nested Bird or Pelican

The Brera-Brambilla pack contains the heraldic devices of a ducal crown with branches or fronds, a bursting sun that appears both on the garments of the figures and in the background, a black imperial eagle, the motto *A bon droyt*, and a knotted cloth *(nodo)*. The group lacks all the Sforza devices and does not contain the Visconti dove or the Visconti viper.

Visconti Viper

The Visconti viper, the most famous symbol of the Visconti and, later, the Sforza is represented by a serpent or dragon with its body coiled six or seven times, ending in a pointed tail. In its gaping mouth struggles a half-devoured figure, arms flailing wildly in terror.

The device has an obscure origin. The first known portrayal of the viper is on a carved stone in the palace of Ottone Visconti, who died in 1295, but apparently the device had been used since the tenth century. One legend relates that Uberto della Croce slew a Saracen in combat while in the Holy Land and was given the crest in honor of his bravery, but the connection between della Croce and the Visconti is unclear.

An intriguing legend about the device relates that in 1002 Archbishop Arnolfo of Milan brought back from Constantinople a brass serpent, the one supposedly erected by Moses as protection for the Israelites in the wilderness. Arnolfo erected the sacred relic in the Cathedral of San Ambrogio, where it became an object of veneration to the Milanese, and it is still in the basilica today. When the First Crusade began at the end of the eleventh century, the citizens of Milan knelt before the brass serpent and prayed that their compatriots would remain safe during their

arduous journey. Upon their triumphant return from Jerusalem, the sign of a serpent devouring a Saracen became a symbol of their victory. By the middle of the thirteenth century, the device was well-known as Visconti heraldry.

The serpent on the Cary-Yale deck is coiled in the manner of the Visconti serpent. However, it does not wear the usual crown, and the figure of the struggling man is absent. The omission of the man is possibly unique to the Cary-Yale deck, as the author has not found the Visconti viper without the figure anywhere else. In fact, in most portrayals the figure is made prominent by being painted in a contrasting color. It is impossible to determine whether the figure was deliberately omitted according to the wishes of the patron of the deck, or whether the artist mistakenly left it out. Careful examination of the two of coins and the ace of coins, on which the serpent appears, reveals that the background areas around the serpent's mouth, where the man would be, and around the serpent's head, where the crown would be, are missing the tooling that covers the background of the coins. The condition of the cards makes judgment difficult, but perhaps a subsequent owner of the deck covered over the man and crown, finding the image unattractive or inappropriate.

Viper *From two and ace of coins in the Cary-Yale Visconti Tarocchi deck*

Although the Cary-Yale pack includes a viper, it is curious that the famous Visconti device does not appear in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo Visconti-Sforza pack which contains other well-known Visconti heraldic devices. It is unlikely that the Sforza who commissioned the deck resented the presence of the symbol by which the Visconti ruled Milan, since Francesco Sforza, the first Sforza duke of Milan, quartered the viper with the eagle and used it as his own coat of arms. If the deck was indeed commissioned on the occasion of Francesco's marriage with Bianca Maria Visconti, Sforza might have chosen not to use the viper on the cards, since he was not actually entitled to its use until after the death of Filippo Maria Visconti in 1447.

The imperial eagle was the signet of the authority of the Holy Roman Emperor. On many documents and decorations of the period, the imperial eagle was quartered with the Visconti device to indicate that the Visconti (and later the Sforza) ruled Milan under the legitimate appointment of the Holy Roman Emperor.

Imperial Eagle

The coins featured in the suit of coins of the Cary-Yale and Brera-Brambilla Visconti tarocchi decks depict a mounted horseman and a quatrefoil. These coins depict each side of the *fiorino* of Filippo Maria Visconti.

Fiorino of Filippo Maria Visconti

Another device, found on the two of coins in the Cary-Yale pack and on the knight of spades in the Brera-Brambilla pack, is a knotted cloth, or *nodo*. This device belonged to the Visconti and was adapted by the Sforza. The *nodo* seems to have originally been a personal device of Filippo Maria Visconti.

Knotted Cloth

The ducal crown traversed with a palm frond, symbolizing renown and victory, and a laurel branch, symbolizing courage and accomplishment, was used by both the Visconti and the Sforza. The Tarot of Marseilles, which may have originated in Italy, also has the ducal crown on the ace of swords, which shows a sword piercing a crown traversed by the palm and laurel.

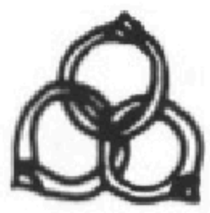
The heraldic device of a fountain has been credited to the Sforza family, suggesting the possibility that the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck was executed after 1441 when Francesco Sforza married Bianca Maria Visconti. The fountain is believed to have been bestowed on Francesco Sforza after he successfully completed in 1424 the campaign during which his father drowned. The ace of cups in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo pack is illustrated with a fountain topped with a bird whose wings are spread.

Fountain *From ace of cups in Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo Tarocchi deck*

Generally, the "Fountain of Youth" was a popular subject in art of the time. Paintings on the theme show an ornate fountain, usually with men and women happily bathing in it.

The droplets or *gutte* seen splashing from the fountains on the costumes of the figures on the court cards in the suit of staves in the Cary-Yale deck may refer to the symbols of male virility found in the Colleoni coat of arms. The Victoria and Albert ace of cups contains the Colleoni coat of arms at the base of the fountain. The condottiere Bartolomeo Colleoni served both under Filippo Maria Visconti and with Francesco Sforza.

The symbol of the three interlinked rings, shown on the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck and the Lombardy I group, has been used for centuries in fine art as a symbol of the Trinity and is well-known to scholars of heraldry and archeology. It can be seen today on houses and monuments in the city of Milan.



Three Interlinked Rings

Some historians believe the symbol of three rings is associated with the diamond ring given in 1409 to Attendolo Sforza by the Marquis d'Este. The hereditary crest of the Sforza depicts an old man holding in his hand the faceted ring. Francesco Sforza subsequently tripled and interlinked the rings for greater symbolic significance and distributed the device to Milanese patrician families as a special attestation of trust. The heraldic rings appear in Milan in the coats of arms of the Borromeo, the Sanseverino, the Birago, and the Cavazzi della Somaglia, and the device was granted to the families as an honor by Duke Francesco Sforza in the second half of the fifteenth century.

Sant'Ambrogio (1891) relates that the three crossed rings appear near the Church of Saint Maria Podone at the foundation of the statue of Saint Carlo Borromeo, archbishop of Milan in the fifteenth century. The heraldic rings also appear in the postern of the palace of the Borromeo family. They are carved in the coat of arms at the top of the palace of Adda-Borromeo on Via Manzoni, in the ancient Birago del Fusina monument at the Church of Saint Maria della Passione, and lastly on the breast of one of the decorative statues of the Duomo of Milan, at the top of the pillar which supports one of the spires toward the Corte Palace.

Another example of the three-ring device can be found in numismatics. Cabrino Fondulo, the feared lord of Cremona in the second decade of the fifteenth century, issued a thin coin of inferior silver preserved in the Collection of Medals of the Gherardesca, Pisa. One side of the coin depicts the legend *Cabrinus Cremone dominus* and a cross formée; the other side shows the device of three interlinked rings. The meaning of the three rings adopted by Cabrino Fondulo in his coin is not explicitly known, but Sant'Ambrogio writes that it may symbolically represent the great intimacy and intelligence existing in the government of the city of Cremona and surrounding territory between Fondulo, Emperor Sigismund and anti-Pope John XXIII.

Cabrino Fondulo himself alluded to this intimacy. When he was betrayed at the castle of Nicco by Oldrado Lampugnana and taken to Pavia in 1424 to be executed, he is said to have regretted that he did not, when visiting the famous tower of Cremona with the pope and the emperor in the days of good fortune, throw them both from the top of the tower. This story in itself is a remarkable coincidence to The Tower card found in tarot packs that postdate the Visconti and Visconti-Sforza decks.

It is not difficult to see a connection between the three interlinked rings of Cabrino Fondulo and the immediate predecessor of the Sforza, Filippo Maria Visconti, who in 1422 came into possession of the lordship of Cremona and eventually disposed of it as dowry in favor of his natural daughter Bianca Maria, who married Francesco Sforza in 1441.

A Visconti device, adapted by Sforza and frequently represented in miniatures of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, is a flaming torch hung with two wooden buckets. This device, a symbol of temperance, is not seen on the tarocchi cards. Another device "missing" is the Sforza device of a lion rampant, holding a quince in its paw.

The heraldic device of a haloed lion holding a book in its forepaws is a symbol of the city of Venice and is found on the king of swords in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck, the Lombardy I group, and the Von Bartsch group. It is not known why the Visconti or Sforza would desire the symbol of Venice on their decks. At the time of his marriage to Bianca Visconti, Francesco Sforza had made an agreement with Venice which helped prompt Bianca's father into releasing her to be married. If the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck was made to celebrate the long-awaited marriage, the presence of the Venice lion could have been a token of gratitude to the power that indirectly made the marriage possible. Another possibility is that the lion is an allusion to Bartolomeo Colleoni, who received the baton of Venice in honor of service he performed for the city.

Lion with Book

On the basis of the fiorino of Filippo Maria Visconti, other Visconti devices on the Brera-Brambilla and Cary-Yale packs, and the Sforza device of the three interlocking rings on the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck, it would seem that the Cary-Yale and Brera-Brambilla decks predate the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck. The Sforza device of three interlocking rings is not found in the Cary-Yale pack. Therefore, should future research indicate that the Visconti family used the fountain as a heraldic device, it would confirm that the Cary-Yale pack, void of other Sforza devices, logically predates the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck, which has many Sforza heraldic devices. If the arms shown on The Lovers card of the Cary-Yale deck are those of Maria of Savoy, Filippo Maria Visconti's second wife (married in 1428), the Cary-Yale deck could postdate the Brera-Brambilla deck. The *nodo* is another indication that

Filippo Maria Visconti commissioned the Cary-Yale deck, and possibly the Brera-Brambilla deck, since the *nodo* seems to have been his personal device. The pomegranate, which appears in the Cary-Yale deck, may also have been a personal device of Filippo Maria. The dating of the decks by heraldic devices can only be tentative, however. When Francesco Sforza took over the rule of Milan, he adopted most of the Visconti devices pictured on the cards, as can be seen in the documents and miniatures commissioned by him. Also, in some instances, particularly in the use of the droplets, or *gutte*, the fountains and the pomegranates, it is difficult to tell whether the devices were ornamental or were actually heraldic.

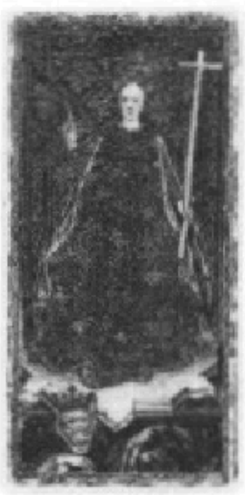
The accompanying chart designates the presence of heraldic devices that appear in the fifteen different groups of Visconti and Visconti-Sforza tarocchi cards. This chart is incomplete, of course, since many cards are lacking in the different groups. Single cards and the groups ranging from four to twenty-three cards are too incomplete to determine which heraldic devices may have been present in the original complete packs, assuming the packs were originally complete by today's standards.

HERALDRY IN VISCONTI AND VISCONTI-SFORZA TAROCCHI CARD GROUPS

	VISCONTI DEVICES										VENETIAN DEVICE	SFORZA DEVICES
	Dove	Nested Bird or Pelican	Ducal Crown	Bursting Sun on Clothes	Bursting Sun in Background	Imperial Eagle	Pomegranate	Motto: *A bon droyt*	Viper	Knotted Cloth	Lion with Book	Three Rings	Fountain
Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo 74 cards		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓			✓	✓	✓
Cary-Yale 67 cards	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓
Brera-Brambilla 48 cards			✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓			
Lombardy I 23 cards		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓					✓	✓	
Rosenthal 23 cards				✓	✓	✓		✓	✓				✓
Von Bartsch 13 cards			✓	✓	✓			✓	✓		✓		
Museo Fournier 6 cards				✓	✓	✓		✓					
Victoria and Albert 4 cards				✓	✓								✓
Lombardy II 4 cards				✓	✓								
Bonomi 4 cards				✓									
Guildhall 1 card													
Andrioletti 1 card				✓	✓								
Kaplan (Marzoli) 1 card				✓	✓								
Kaplan (Biedak) 1 card				✓	✓								
Lombardy III 1 card			✓	✓									

IV

THE VISCONTI FAMILY



THE PRESENCE OF Visconti and Sforza heraldic devices on the hand-painted fifteenth-century tarocchi cards confirms the involvement of these two important families in the patronage of the decks. The Visconti and Sforza families ruled Milan from the last quarter of the thirteenth century to the middle of the sixteenth century, and their history during Renaissance Italy provides a background to the people, places and events at the time when the earliest extant tarocchi cards were commissioned.

The delicate beauty of the Visconti and Visconti-Sforza tarocchi cards might make one imagine that the lives of the two families in Northern Italy centered on endless courtly pleasures and domestic tranquility. However, the decks present a vivid contrast to the cruelty and bloodshed perpetrated by the Visconti and the Sforza families. The leaders of both families were the proponents of conflict during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Endless and merciless wars exhausted resources and citizens alike. Countless peace pacts and alliances were made among cities to counterbalance threats from other cities, and the drive for power caused alliances to shift constantly.

Much of Italy's history was influenced by the often deadly conflict between two groups: the Guelphs who supported the pope, and the Ghibellines who favored the authority of the Holy Roman Emperor. Within the noble class of Milan there existed bitter rivalry. Before the Visconti rose to power, the Guelphs, headed by the della Torre family, were in constant struggle with the Ghibellines, led by the Visconti. Even after the della Torre were driven from Milan by the Visconti, the struggle between the Guelphs and the Ghibellines continued to sway Milanese politics. The Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck balances the two powers of the papacy and the Holy Roman Empire by The Pope and The Popess, and The Emperor and The Empress.

In 1395, Giangaleazzo Visconti purchased from Emperor Wenceslaus of Germany the hereditary title of duke of Milan and adopted the imperial eagle as part of his ducal coat of arms. The Ghibelline support of the Visconti family was replaced by popular Ghibelline support for Francesco Sforza after his ascension to the ducal throne of Milan in 1450. The Sforza were not officially invested with the ducal crown of Milan until 1495, when Lodovico "Il Moro" Sforza received the title from the Emperor.

The close ties among the cities under Visconti and Sforza influence quite likely served to spread tarocchi cards beyond Milan and Pavia. During the fifteenth century the game of tarocchi—known then as *trionphi* or *triumphi*—served as an amusing diversion for nobility, not only in Milan and Pavia, but probably also in Mantua, Ferrara and even Paris. The strong link between the Italian and French courts suggests that playing cards, including tarots, were readily exchanged between the two courts, especially toward the end of the fifteenth century and during the sixteenth century. A fascinating backdrop to the early tarocchi cards exists in the history of the Visconti and Sforza families, the fortunes of the cities and rival families they dominated, the conflict between the supporters of the nepotists and the followers of the pope, the rise and fall of the great condottieri—the men who made their fortune by the sword—and the sweeping events that highlighted the great families of the Renaissance.

The pictures on the Visconti and Visconti-Sforza cards likewise offer a glimpse into the scene of the early Italian Renaissance. The fascination with allegory and symbolism, which extended from the medieval period, the childlike delight in pageantry, costume and games, including tarocchi, and the roles of the nobility and commoners alike are all reflected in the pictures on the gilded cards.

The powerful and, to modern conception, contradicting roles that religion and the Church played are shown on the cards. While the Milanese dukes warred against the papacy, the pope was honored with a card of the Major Arcana, and reverence to the Holy Eucharist was given by the presence of the ornate monstrances in the suit of cups.

Although there is no proof that the tarocchi decks used by the Italian nobility of the Renaissance were valued as illustrations of esoteric concepts, it is known that many of the leaders of the time were fascinated by the occult sciences, including alchemy, and often consulted astrologers for advice in making important decisions.

It would be fascinating to identify the emotion or circumstance intended by each card. Some personages and scenes on the cards were probably drawn from actual people and events of the times, but the precise history represented by the cards remains a mystery. The golden-haired figures on the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo and Cary-Yale decks might well portray members of the Visconti family, who are described by historians as having blond hair. Perhaps the two figures in The Lovers card represent a

Collection of Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

Visconti Heraldic Devices *The allegorical female figure holds a shield and a helmet bearing the Visconti heraldic device of a viper or serpent clutching in its mouth a struggling man. Miniature taken from the codex* De natura deorum et de Divination *by Cicero, fourteenth century, originally belonging to the Visconti library*

duke of Milan and his bride. The papal authority represented on the Major Arcana card popularly named The Pope may have been intended to signify a specific pope. We can only conjecture, as the history of the families unfolds, when and where the tarocchi cards were actually commissioned and by whom.

During the reign of the Visconti family, commencing with Ottone Visconti (1207–1295), nine Visconti lords and three Visconti dukes rose to power, culminating with the third duke of Milan, Filippo Maria Visconti, who died in 1447 without a male heir. The consolidation of the Visconti and Sforza families occurred in 1441 with the marriage of Francesco Sforza and Bianca Maria Visconti, daughter of Filippo Visconti. The rise of Francesco Sforza to the rulership of Milan in 1450 began the reign of the Sforza family, which lasted until the ninth and final duke of Milan, Francesco Sforza II, died in 1535 without leaving an heir to claim the crown. The accompanying genealogical chart identifies members of the Visconti family. A legendary genealogy calls the goddess Venus mother of the Visconti line. Her child by Anchises, Aeneus, was supposedly the first mortal ancestor of the Visconti.

During the late thirteenth century and into the fourteenth century, the population of Milan numbered about 210,000 and the city served as an important crossroads of European trade with access to the Alps and a natural route to Venice, Genoa and the world beyond. The industrious middle class prospered in the wool trade and in the manufacture of famous Milanese armor, while the fertile lands surrounding Milan yielded important agricultural products. Milanese society was separated into classes of nobles, smaller nobility, tradesmen, workers and peasants. The rise of the great Ghibelline family of the Visconti offered the Milanese middle class the protection of a strong and powerful leader against the greed of the nobles and the encroachment of the peasantry.

OTTONE VISCONTI (1207–1295)

The members of the della Torre family under Napoleone della Torre were hated tyrants of Milan who held court with extravagant festivities in their castle. In 1262, Pope Urban IV declared Ottone Visconti the archbishop of Milan. Ottone and a group of nobles defeated the della Torre at Desio in 1276, and Ottone became lord of Milan in 1277. He ruled until his death in 1295.

The earliest portrayal of the heraldic device of the Visconti—a coiled serpent devouring a naked figure—appears on a carved stone in the Legnano palace of

Reprinted from *Vite dei Dodeci Visconti* by Paolo Giovio, 1645

Ottone Visconti, Archbishop of Milan

Archbishop Ottone. The serpent is depicted coiled once, while its mouth, facing to the right, devours a naked man. Later renditions of the serpent show seven coils, the serpent's head turned to the left and the half-devoured person appearing as a naked man or child. A coiled serpent appears in the Cary-Yale Visconti Tarocchi deck.

Collection of Fortress of Angera

Ottone Visconti *Detail from a fresco at the fortress of Angera, circa early fourteenth century, depicting Ottone Visconti entering Milan after defeating the della Torre at Desio*

MATTEO VISCONTI (1247–1322)

It was not uncommon for more than one Visconti to share power at the same time and in 1287 Ottone proposed that his great nephew, Matteo, serve as captain-general of Milan. To further his own position, Matteo also succeeded in securing an appointment as vicar of Lombardy from Emperor Adolf of Nassau.

Matteo, a scholarly man, studied at the University of Bologna. His marriage to Bonascossa of Squarcino Borri produced five sons. After Ottone died in 1295, Matteo continued to rule as lord of Milan, and Emperor Albert, successor to Adolf, confirmed Matteo's titled position.

In 1302, Matteo's rule was threatened by the return to Milan of some members of the della Torre family. During a visit to Milan by Emperor Henry VII, a plot against the emperor was uncovered—or concocted—and the della Torre were suspected. The emperor's troops killed some of the della Torre family leaders while the rest fled.

In 1311, the emperor reappointed Matteo lord and imperial vicar of Milan, this time for life, and for the remaining period of his reign Matteo ruled with a strong hand. Assisted by his five sons—Galeazzo, Marco, Luchino, Stefano and Giovanni— Matteo was able to extend his rule to Alessandria, Bergamo, Como, Novara, Pavia, Piacenza and Tortona.

Although the Milanese lost some freedom under Visconti rule, the populace gained an important degree of stability which permitted the expansion of trade and the development of commercial activities. Several nearby towns, including Bergamo, Novara and Vercelli, welcomed the stable leadership afforded by a loose federation under the dominance of the Visconti. Moreover, these same towns were both too small and too close to Milan to become rivals as did Ferrara, Mantua, Padua and Verona, which continued to be ruled by local despots.

Emperor Henry VII died, and in 1317 Pope John XXII challenged Matteo's title. Matteo agreed to drop the title of imperial vicar. However, when the pope demanded that the della Torre be permitted to return to Milan, Matteo refused. A force of soldiers sent against Matteo accomplished nothing. Then the pope accused Matteo and his sons of heresy and sorcery. Sentence was pronounced against them in February 1321 and again in March 1322, and Milan was placed under a papal interdict, which forbade other cities loyal to the pope from having dealings with it.

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Matteo Visconti, Lord and Imperial Vicar of Milan

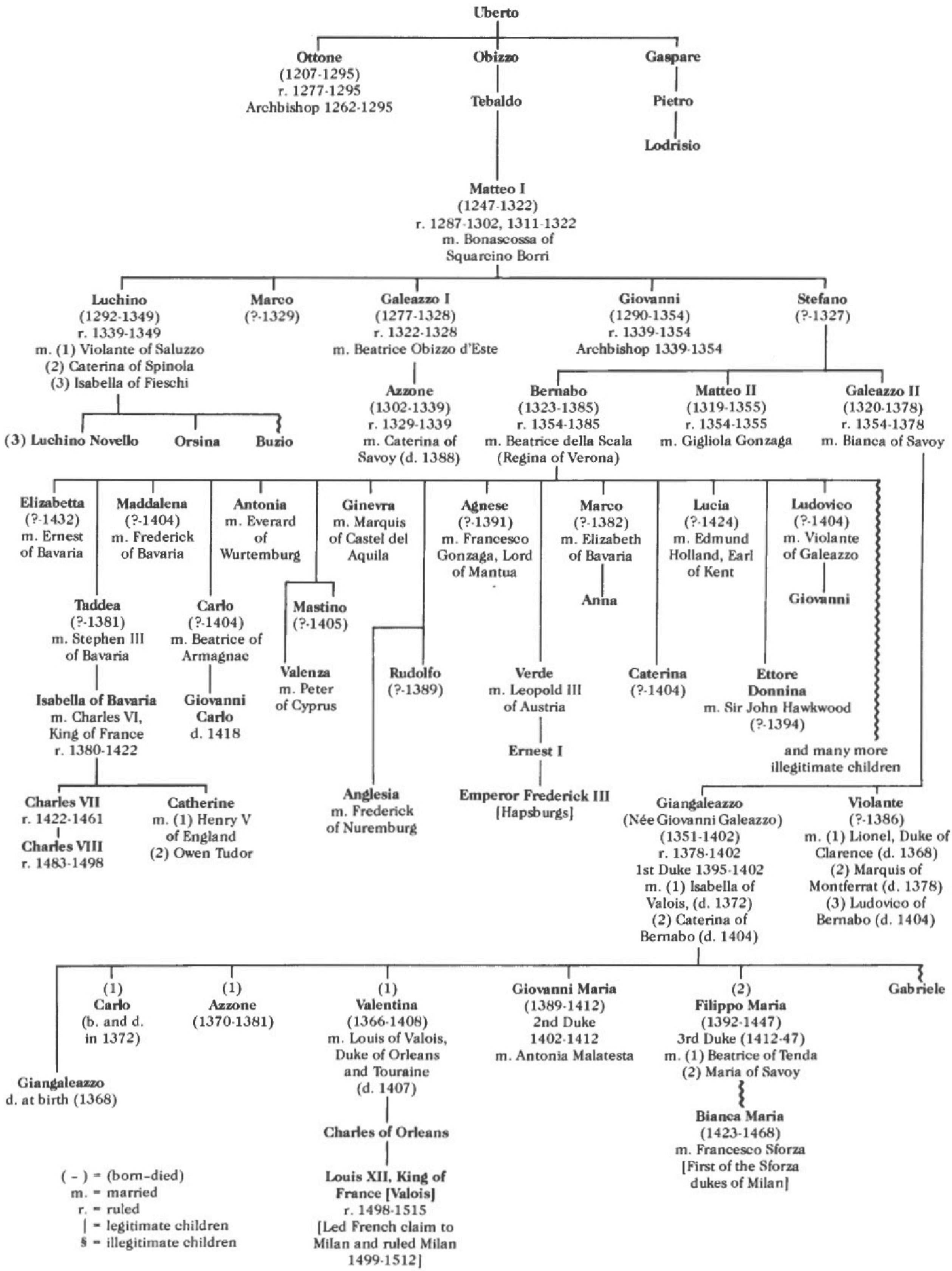
The Milanese grew discontent under the ban, which was stifling trade, and in 1322 they forced Matteo to turn over the government to his eldest son, Galeazzo. As Matteo was well into his seventies, his life was coming to a close. While returning to Milan from a visit to the Church of Saint Giovanni Battista at Monza, Matteo fell ill and died peacefully on June 24, 1322.

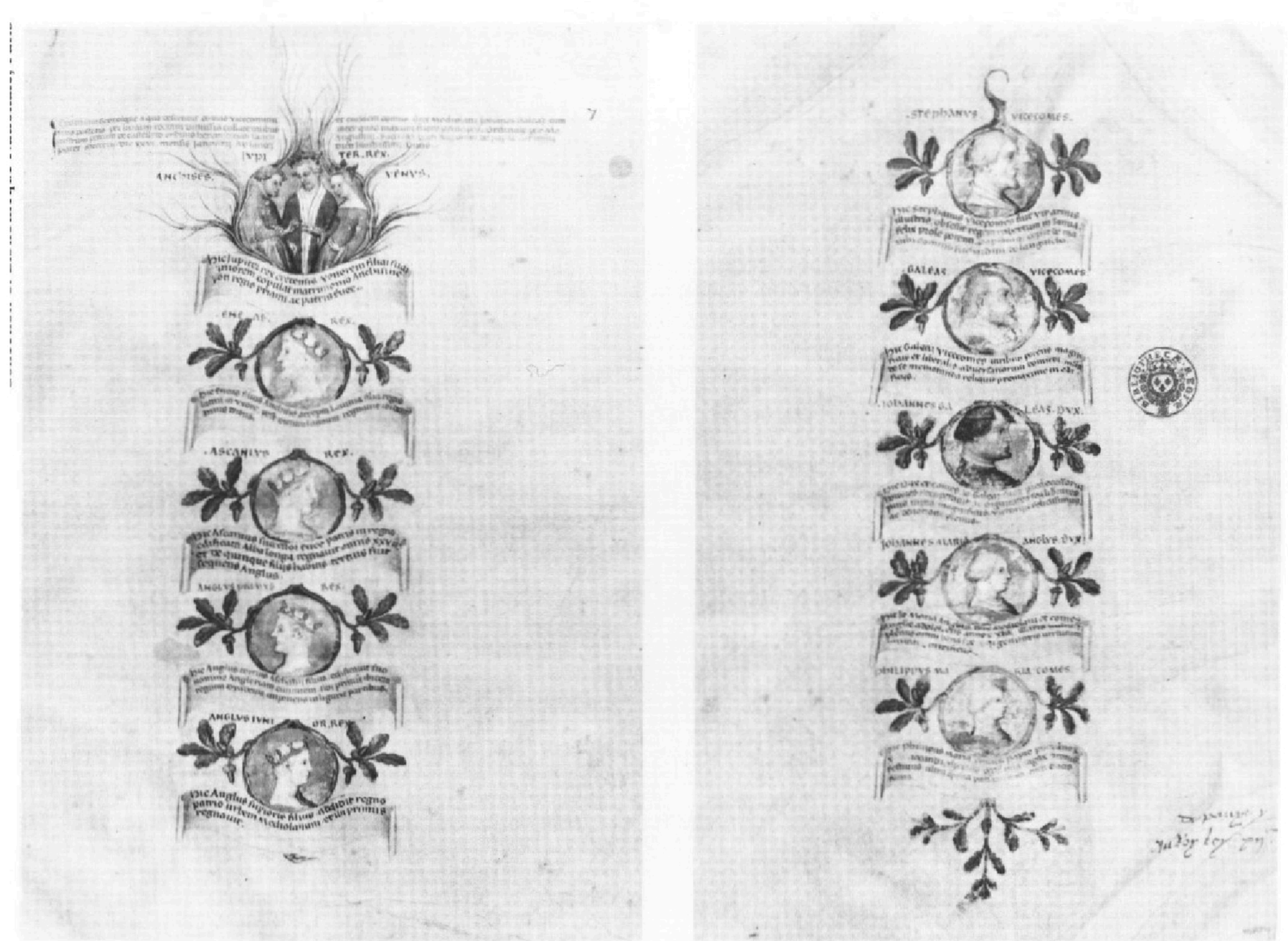
GALEAZZO VISCONTI (1277–1328)

Galeazzo's rule was short-lived. Not only did he inherit the problems of his father, but he suffered the resentment and defiance of other members of the Visconti family. Galeazzo was married to Beatrice Obizzo d'Este, sister of the marquis of Ferrara, and they had one son, Azzone, in 1302.

After his father's death in 1322, Galeazzo was officially

THE VISCONTI FAMILY (1263 - 1447)





Visconti Genealogy *Miniature by Michelino da Besozzo, to whom some researchers have attributed the fresco of the Tarocchi Players at the Casa Borromeo in Milan. The miniature accompanied the codice of the elegy for Giangaleazzo Visconti, by Pietro da Castelletto. At the top left, the marriage of Venus and Anchises is shown, with Jupiter presiding over the ceremony. The medallions continue down the left with Aeneus, then "Ascanivs Rex," "Anglvsprimvs Rex" and "Anglvs Ivnior Rex," who are the descendents of Aeneus' marriage with Lavinia, daughter of King Latinus. The right side commences with Stefano, son of Matteo I, continues with Galeazzo II, Giangaleazzo, first duke of Milan, and Giovanni Maria, second duke of Milan. At the bottom right Filippo Maria Visconti is shown as a youth. Filippo Maria was the third duke of Milan and the last Visconti to hold the duchy.*

Visconti Money *Silver coin on left, issued by Galeazzo Visconti in Piacenza, has eagle on the back. Silver coin on right, issued by Azzone Visconti in Milan, shows Saint Ambrogio, patron saint of Milan, on reverse.*

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Galeasso Visconti, Lord of Milan

acclaimed ruler by succession. Family dissension and opposition against Galeazzo by his cousin, Lodrisio Visconti, resulted in an uprising in Milan in November 1322, and heavy fighting drove Galeazzo and his brothers from the city. The papal legate, who governed the towns belonging to the papacy, gained Parma and Piacenza, and independence was regained by most of the Visconti acquisitions. Guelph factions outside the city seized the opportunity to spread discontent, leading to uprisings among the populace, while the armies of the papacy threatened Alessandria and Tortona.

Lodrisio Visconti soon realized that opposition to his cousin was inadvertently aiding his own foes—the Guelphs and the papal leaders—and in December 1322 he permitted Galeazzo to return to Milan. When papal troops continued their attacks, Galeazzo turned to Louis of Bavaria. Due to the assistance of troops sent by Louis, plus the internal discord of the papal troops and the military prowess of Marco, Galeazzo's brother, the invaders were vanquished by the end of 1324. Galeazzo sought to negotiate a peace with Pope John XXII, but nothing came of his overtures. Adding to Galeazzo's difficulties, his brother Marco conspired with Lodrisio to overthrow him.

Marco induced Louis of Bavaria, who had taken upon himself the title of Holy Roman Emperor, to visit Milan. In 1327, when Louis first arrived, he confirmed Galeazzo as vicar, but shortly thereafter, declaring his displeasure at Galeazzo's negotiations for peace with the pope, he imprisoned Galeazzo, his other brother, Giovanni, and his son Azzone, in the Monza dungeons that, ironically, Galeazzo had recently caused to be built. The emperor established William of Montfort as governor of Milan.

The anti-pope Nicholas V was the friar elected in 1328 by the people and clergy of Rome in the absence of Pope John XXII. The anti-pope Nicholas crowned Louis as emperor. Upon his departure from Italy, Louis stopped in Milan. Through the intervention of Castruccio of Lucca, the emperor decreed in August 1328 that his prisoners, including Galeazzo, were to be freed. Giovanni and Azzone had been released previously. The former lord of Milan, weak and in ill health, died on his way to Lucca to thank his old friend Castruccio.

AZZONE VISCONTI (1302–1339)

The pardon and release from prison of Galeazzo prior to his death enabled his only son, Azzone, to declare his valid succession to Milanese rule, and in January 1329 he was made imperial vicar of Milan. Recognizing the need for solidarity, the entire Visconti family rallied together, and Azzone entered Milan amid a joyous populace who were happy to rid themselves of foreign domination. Azzone was a deeply religious and moral ruler who did much to bring beauty and prosperity to Milan.

Although his father had failed to reach peaceful terms with Pope John XXII, Azzone eventually found the pope receptive to ending the long strife with the Visconti, especially since the pope needed as many allies as possible due to the presence of the anti-pope, Nicholas V. In September 1329, the pope designated Azzone's uncle, Giovanni, as bishop of Novara and administrator of Milan. The following year Azzone was recognized by the pope as ruler of Milan with full authority.

Azzone married Princess Caterina of Savoy and the

ceremony was held with great pomp and festivities at San Ambrogio. During the following nine years, Azzone successfully won back much of the territory lost during Galeazzo's reign and he served as lord of Bergamo, Como, Cremona, Lecco, Lodi, Pavia, Piacenza, San Donnino, Vercelli and Vigevano.

Azzone's uncle, Marco, caused dissent within the family, especially against Azzone. Marco died in 1329 under mysterious circumstances in the courtyard of the *palazzo,* but no accusations were leveled against Azzone. A serious threat against Azzone arose in 1330 when John of Bohemia unexpectedly crossed the Alps with a large military force and conquered Bergamo, Cremona, Parma, Modena and Vercelli. John's son, Charles, arrived with further reinforcements and Azzone was forced to negotiate with the invaders.

The following year several northern Italian cities formed a league comprised of Milan, Mantua, Ferrara and Verona. The league attacked the Bohemian forces only to be defeated at the battle of San Felice, but not before inflicting heavy losses on the invaders. Azzone's attack against Bergamo and Pavia proved successful and he secured both cities while Mastino della Scala captured Brescia. In April 1333, John of Bohemia was defeated at Ferrara and the following year, when he was again defeated at Cremona, the foreign threat to Azzone's rule was overcome.

The relationship with the papacy was strained. Azzone seized Martinengo, a papal fief, and he supported Bologna in a revolt against the ruling papal legate. However, when Pope John XXII died at the end of 1334, the conflict with the papacy subsided while Visconti power continued to spread.

In 1335, the famed artist Giotto painted a series of frescoes in Azzone's palace. The detailed frescoes were titled *Vanagloria* or Worldly Glory, but none of them remain today. Giotto had earlier painted the frescoed interior of the Arena Chapel at Padua which depicts many virtues and vices suggestive of some Major Arcana cards in the tarocchi pack.

The final family conflict during Azzone's reign occurred when his elderly cousin Lodrisio enlisted a band of Swiss and German mercenaries in 1339 and formed the Company of St. George. After a fierce battle against Azzone, Lodrisio and his sons were captured and imprisoned.

In August 1339, Azzone fell ill with gout and died at the age of thirty-seven without leaving any heirs. His wife, Caterina of Savoy, survived another forty-nine years and died in 1388.

LUCHINO VISCONTI (1292–1349)

Azzone's death without heirs left the Visconti line of succession open. There were three young cousins, Matteo II, Bernabo and Galeazzo II, the sons of Azzone's uncle Stefano who had died in 1327. There were also two uncles, Luchino and Giovanni, the sole remaining sons of Matteo. The younger of the two uncles, Giovanni, was archbishop of Milan. The grand council of Milan prudently proceeded to elect both uncles as joint *signori generali* in order to avoid any confrontation between contesting factions of the Visconti family.

Luchino, the more forceful of the two rulers and an industrious leader, embarked upon an aggressive program

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Assone Visconti, Lord and Imperical Vicar of Milan

Luchino Visconti, Lord of Milan

of territorial expansion. He showed a brilliant aptitude in finance and displayed a firm hand in daily affairs. When a rebellion broke out in Milan, Luchino crushed it with overwhelming force. Luchino suspected his three nephews were involved in the uprising and eight years later he drove them from the city. Not content with their exile, Luchino also forced the tiny state of Savoy to deny his nephews shelter and he demanded that the papacy refuse them marriage, and also burial in sacred ground. Luchino's vindictiveness so angered Bernabo that the young man vowed he would assassinate his uncle.

Luchino had three wives, the first two of whom were Violante of Saluzzo and Caterina of Spinola. His last wife, Isabella (Elisabetta) of Fieschi, was a beautiful, fun-loving woman whose indiscriminate extramarital affairs were common knowledge to all of Milan except Luchino. During a visit to Venice, where she enjoyed her freedom, one of her lovers allegedly was Luchino's exiled nephew, Galeazzo II. In the last years of his life, Luchino, an invalid, was not the sort of husband desired by Isabella and she is said to have murdered him in 1349, although the circumstances remain shrouded in mystery.

During Luchino's nine-year reign he secured Alessandria, Asti, Bobbio, Crema, Novara, Parma and Tortona, regaining some cities lost after Matteo's death. Luchino left four children, and the eldest, six-year-old Luchino "Novello," was tacitly recognized as heir.

GIOVANNI VISCONTI (1290–1354)

Giovanni was the quieter of the two uncles who shared the rulership of Milan. In 1339, he became archbishop of Milan and during the active reign of his brother, Luchino, he was content to occupy himself with ecclesiastical duties. Upon the death of Luchino in 1349, the day-to-day rule of Milan fell to Giovanni. One of Giovanni's first acts was to recall his three exiled nephews, Matteo II, Bernabo and Galeazzo II.

Within a year after Luchino's death, his widow created a scandal by declaring that two of her children, Luchino "Novello" and Orsina, were not conceived of Luchino but were the illegitimate children of Galeazzo II. In the resultant confusion, Giovanni was able to ensure his own control and deny the claims of Isabella's young children.

Giovanni was universally respected and admired, and he proved to be a capable leader. He expanded Milan's sphere of influence from a local Lombardy power to an Italian power of importance. Giovanni concluded peace treaties with Savoy, Mantua and Genoa. He purchased the city of Bologna for the huge sum of 200,000 florins from Pepoli, the tyrant banker of the city, and dispatched Galeazzo II to temporarily govern as administrator. Pope Clement VI excommunicated Giovanni for acquiring a city the papacy claimed as its fief, but Giovanni held firm and, possibly through bribery, the papal claim was withdrawn. In 1353, he acquired Genoa by supplying food relief during the siege by the Aragonese fleet. Thus, for the first time, the Visconti rule reached as far south as Bologna and as far west as Genoa.

It was during the reign of Giovanni that the poet Francesco Petrarch first appeared at the Visconti court. He came to Milan in 1353 and Giovanni pressed him into service for the cause of peace, sending him as emissary to Venice and then to the pope at Avignon. Petrarch's poem *Triumphi* describes six "triumphs" suggestive of the Major Arcana cards, according to Gertrude Moakley (1966).

By the time of Giovanni's death on October 7, 1354, the city of Milan enjoyed a prosperous period under the Visconti family.

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Giovanni Visconti, Lord and Archbishop of Milan

MATTEO VISCONTI II (1319–1355)

Upon Giovanni's death in 1354, the grand council of Milan passed the seat of power to the combined control of Matteo II, Bernabo and Galeazzo II, the nephews of Giovanni and the sons of Stefano. The ceremony took place in one of the public squares at the precise moment deemed most auspicious by an astrologer. Petrarch pronounced the oration and Boschino Mantegazza handed the symbolic baton of white wood to each of the three young men. The baton was traditionally used as a symbol of power in Italian cities and may have inspired either the baton held by the Magician in the Major Arcana or the suit of batons of the Minor Arcana.

Matteo II was married to Gigliola Gonzaga, daughter of Filippino Gonzaga of Mantua. As the eldest of the three brothers, Matteo II took over Archbishop Giovanni's palace. His rule extended to the turbulent southern territories including Bologna. Matteo II proved unsuccessful in controlling an uprising in Bologna and his self-indulgence and lack of administrative ability eventually contributed to the loss of the city.

In 1354, Charles of Luxemburg arrived in Italy to be crowned Holy Roman Emperor at Monza. The ceremony was rescheduled to take place in Pavia under the auspices of the Montferrat and Beccaria families, but the Visconti, effectively working together, convinced Charles the coronation should take place in Milan. An agreement was reached whereby Charles received an enormous subsidy

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Matteo Visconti II, Imperial Vicar of Lombardy

Galeasso Visconti II, Imperial Vicar of Lombardy

and the three Visconti brothers were made imperial vicars of Lombardy. The coronation ceremony took place in Milan at San Ambrogio Cathedral on January 4, 1355, and greatly enhanced the stature of the Visconti family.

Matteo II died in 1355, within one year of his succession. The cause of death was unknown, but rumors arose that his brothers poisoned him.

GALEAZZO VISCONTI II (1320–1378)

Galeazzo II and Bernabo were left as joint heirs after the death of Matteo II. Although the two brothers were not close, they sought to prevent personal differences from interfering with the best interests of their joint reign.

Galeazzo II was a reserved and pensive young man. His alleged indiscretions with Luchino's wife, Isabella, did not dampen the enthusiasm of the grand council of Milan to extend to him the title of lord shared with his brother, Bernabo.

In September 1350, Galeazzo II married thirteen-year-old Bianca of Savoy, thus forging the first link between the Milanese and the French. Orphaned as a child, Bianca had been raised at the court of her older brother, Amadeus of Savoy. Bianca's betrothal to Galeazzo was unusual for an arranged royal marriage in that the bride and groom knew each other, Galeazzo having spent his exile at Amadeus' court. The first child, born on October 15, 1351, was christened Giovanni Galeazzo, later shortened to Giangaleazzo.

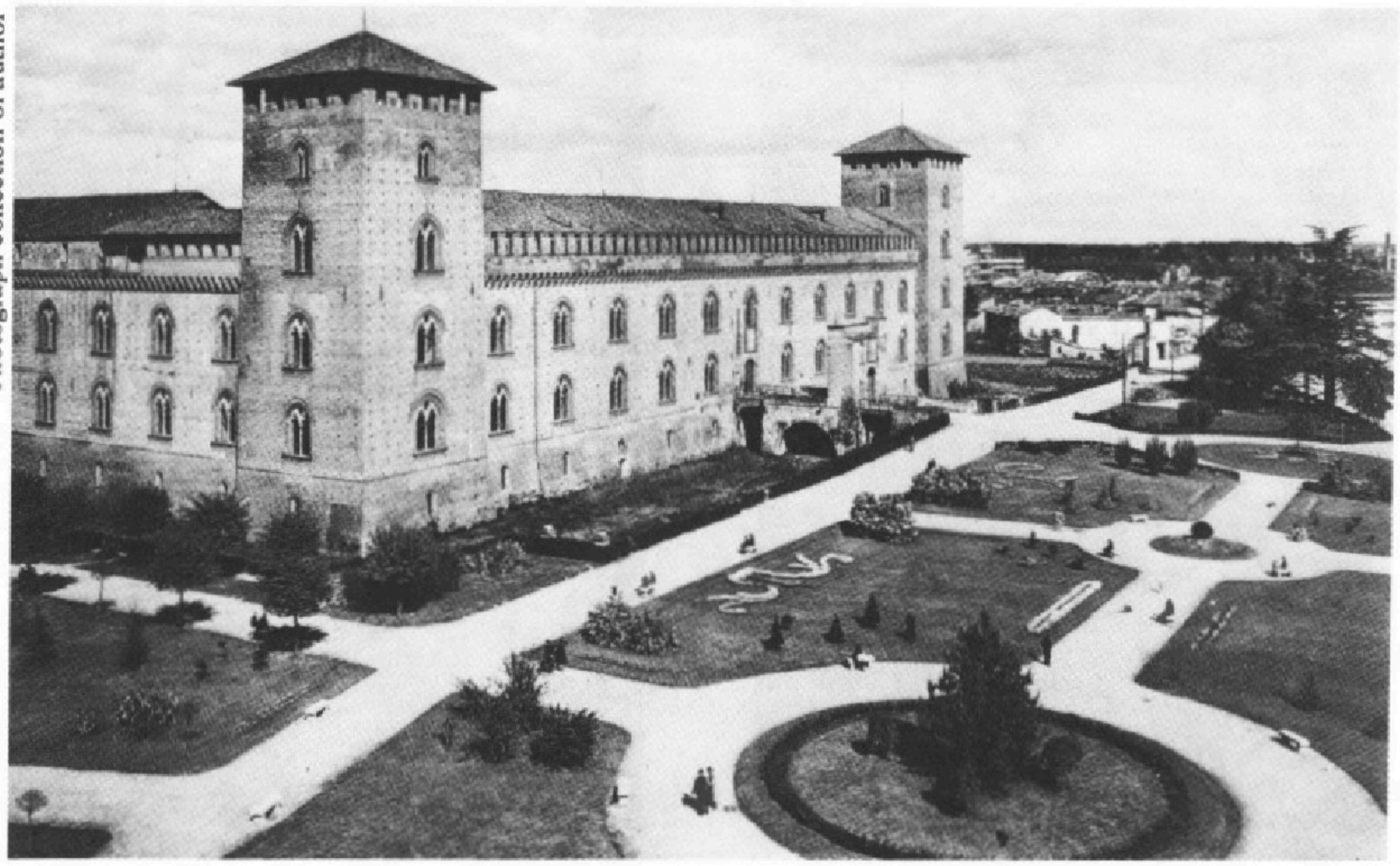
In 1354, after the death of Archbishop Giovanni, Galeazzo II took over the castle near the gate of Vercellina and ruled the western territory which included Alessandria, Como, Tortona and Vercelli. Petrarch, a member of Galeazzo's court, recorded that Galeazzo II suffered from gout and was a cripple. As the inevitable rivalry began to appear between Galeazzo II and his brother, Petrarch identified himself more closely with Galeazzo's court, which fostered scholarship and learning, in contrast to the boisterous court of Bernabo, which emphasized physical prowess and military skills.

Bianca deeply feared the treachery of her brother-in-law, Bernabo, and at her urging Galeazzo resolved to move his capital away from Milan to the city of Pavia, which stood at the junction of the Ticino and Po rivers, some twenty-two miles south of Milan. Its close proximity assured daily contact with Milan and during the summer months, when the heat rendered Milan unbearable, the cool breezes at Pavia were a welcome relief.

Fifty years earlier, Pavia had been part of the Milanese state, but the Pavians preferred independence and now enjoyed their freedom. Galeazzo II attempted to conquer the smaller and weaker Pavian forces led by Jacopo Bussolari, a zealous Augustinian monk, but Galeazzo was not a soldier and his troops were repulsed. The situation worsened when Galeazzo's forts around the city were captured and his fleet destroyed in the Ticino River. Even the marquis of Montferrat seized the opportunity to attack Galeazzo in an attempt to prevent his further expansion. Galeazzo appealed to his brother Bernabo for military assistance and, under the undivided weight of Milanese troops, the city of Pavia surrendered on November 13, 1359. An uneasy peace was made with Montferrat.

In March 1360, just four months after winning the city, Galeazzo began work on the famous castle of Pavia. Galeazzo enlarged the superb library started by his uncle,

Photograph collection of author



Pavia Castle *The castle was begun by Galeazzo II*

Giovanni, and he transferred the important collection to Pavia. After leaving Milan in 1360, Petrarch lived in Padua, but each summer the famous poet and scholar returned to Galeazzo's court in Pavia.

In 1360, Galeazzo's nine-year-old son, Giangaleazzo, married Isabella of Valois, daughter of King John of France. This important marriage to the twelve-year-old daughter of the French monarch greatly enhanced the prestige of Galeazzo's family.

In the following year, Galeazzo founded the University of Pavia, which attracted the leading professors and students of the day. By the autumn of 1365 the great castle of Pavia, comprised of two stories with forty rooms on each level, was ready for habitation and Galeazzo moved in permanently with his family.

The peace between Galeazzo and the marquis of Montferrat proved short-lived. In 1362 war broke out again when the marquis secured the services of the great English condottiere, Sir John Hawkwood, and his company of English mercenaries. The invaders proceeded to lay waste to Galeazzo's territory around Alessandria, and a large force of Galeazzo's troops was defeated. Galeazzo lost much territory, but he managed to save the day when he bribed the English leaders and their entire force of mercenaries. The English troops deserted Montferrat's cause to join the war raging between Florence and Pisa, and this turn of events enabled Galeazzo to take the offensive and recapture his lost territory. However, Montferrat employed the condottiere Count Lando, and Galeazzo was hard put to defend his territories, especially when the count of Savoy joined his enemies. The ravages of the plague finally overcame hostilities, and in 1375 a peace was signed between Galeazzo and his combined adversaries of Montferrat, Savoy and Ferrara.

The only surviving child of Galeazzo II and Bianca, besides Giangaleazzo, was a daughter, Violante. Another daughter, Maria, had died as a small child. On June 15, 1368, Violante married Lionel, duke of Clarence and son of the king of England. Present at the sumptuous marriage festivities was Geoffrey Chaucer, who had come to Italy with Lionel and a contingent of some two thousand troops. The important marriage alliance between Milan and England was a direct result of the huge dowry pledged by Galeazzo II. The consummation of the marriage served to add further to Galeazzo II's stature, but the prestige was short-lived as Lionel, unaccustomed to the Lombardy summer heat, fell ill and died in October from the plague.

During 1377, in order to gain a foothold in the city of Asti, which repeatedly evaded the advances of the Visconti, Violante was given in marriage to Secondotto, the fifteen-year-old marquis of Montferrat and lord of Asti. Violante's brother, Giangaleazzo, helped the marquis oust a German usurper of the rule of Asti, and in gratitude the marquis naively allowed Giangaleazzo to make certain changes in the civil and military governments of Asti, changes which proved favorable solely to the Visconti. When Secondotto traveled to Pavia in an attempt to convince Galeazzo to modify the agreement, Galeazzo refused to grant him audience and Secondotto departed in a rage of fury. Before he could avenge himself, however, a stable servant, abused by the marquis, stabbed him to death. Violante was thus widowed for a second time.

Galeazzo II and Bernabo ruled their own domains as separate states. Bernabo often entered into military situations that Galeazzo preferred to avoid. Unfortunately for Galeazzo, the enemies of the Visconti often did not bother to distinguish between the two brothers and Galeazzo frequently found himself defending the western territories.

Galeazzo devoted his life to enhancing Pavia and arranging for his children important matrimonial alliances, short-lived as they were. He died on August 4, 1378.

BERNABO VISCONTI (1323–1385)

Bernabo Visconti possessed a superabundant vitality, and he relentlessly pursued his goals of expansion. Bernabo was probably the coarsest and most savage of the three Visconti brothers, and his fierce temper and vengeful nature were dreaded by everyone around him. He did not hesitate to fight at the head of his troops during battle, instead of hiring a captain-general as did Galeazzo II. Crimes committed within Bernabo's dominion were dealt with harshly and swiftly, often with sadistic vengeance.

Reprinted from *Vite dei Dodeci Visconti* by Paolo Giovio, 1645

Bernabo Visconti, Imperial Vicar of Lombardy

Bernabo was appointed lord of Milan in 1354 along with his two brothers, Matteo II and Galeazzo II. He took control of the castle near the gate of Giovia. Bernabo's territory extended east and south from Milan and comprised many towns and cities including Bergamo, Bobbio, Cremona, Lodi, Parma and Piacenza. The city of Milan itself and the port of Genoa were held in common by all three brothers. Bernabo also claimed Bologna, and his continuous probing southward toward that city, which had slipped away from Visconti control, only served to ally the enemies of the Visconti in common defense.

Bernabo was betrothed to Beatrice della Scala of Verona, who was called Regina, and their wedding took place in September 1355. When their first son was born, Petrarch was godfather. Bernabo had thirty-six acknowledged children, sixteen being legitimate. Through carefully selected marriages, he succeeded in establishing an important network of alliances with neighboring cities and states.

When his brother, Galeazzo II, decided to move his capital from Milan to Pavia, the sphere of influence held by Bernabo quickly spread beyond its original boundaries. During much of his reign, Bernabo was in conflict with the papacy and he frequently warred with papal troops or mercenaries hired by the pope. Upon the death of his brother, Matteo II, it fell to Bernabo to try and recapture Bologna. Giovanni of Oleggio, the Bolognese usurper, secured the assistance of the papal legate against Bernabo, and war raged between Milan and Bologna until 1358, when a general peace was proclaimed. However, the following year Bernabo again attacked Bologna.

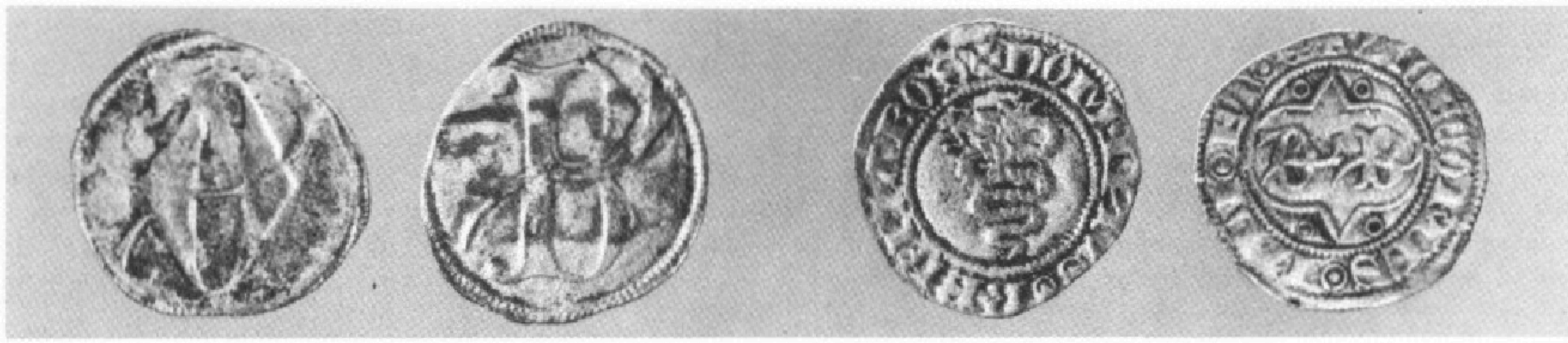
In 1362 Pope Urban V came into power. Due to an incident that had occurred in 1361, when Bernabo Visconti had humiliated the pope-to-be, Urban V was one of Bernabo's most implacable enemies. One of his first actions was to excommunicate Bernabo, supposedly for taxing the clergy and subjecting them to trial as if they were ordinary citizens. Bernabo and the papacy continued fighting until 1364 when Bernabo suffered a crushing defeat and was forced to relinquish all his Bolognese castles.

In 1367, the pope decided to renew the fighting and papal troops were sent to probe Bernabo's defenses. Bernabo succeeded in hiring the English condottiere, John Hawkwood, known as Acuto, and his army gained important victories for Milan at Mirandola and Rubiera. However, the tide of good fortune changed suddenly when Hawkwood and Bernabo quarreled over Giangaleazzo's high position in the army. Hawkwood quit and took service with the pope. The success in battle that always seemed to follow Hawkwood continued against Bernabo, who vainly sought to maintain his territory. Urban V died in 1370 and his successor, Gregory XI, carried on the feud with the Visconti.

The presence of The Pope card in the tarocchi pack may be based on the association of the popes with the Visconti, despite their continuing conflicts. On the basilica of Saint Paul's Cathedral in Rome, a series of medallions portrays the popes throughout history. Urban V's predecessor, Innocent VI (reigned 1352–1362), is shown wearing a two-tiered papal tiara. Urban V wears a three-tiered tiara, indicating that it was probably he who added the third tiara onto the crown. He also has a beard, in contrast to most of the other popes. The Pope shown in The Pope card of the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo Tarocchi deck wears a triple tiara and is bearded. The question arises as to whether the pope was intended to portray Pope Urban V. Given the enmity between Bernabo Visconti and Urban V, it is doubtful that Bernabo's eventual successor, Francesco Sforza, who later ruled Milan and who probably commissioned the deck, would wish to honor the pope with a card in the hand-painted deck. The portrayal was probably not intended as satire, as the features on the card are attractive and gentle. Francesco Sforza and his wife, Bianca Maria Visconti, were very friendly with Pope Pius II (reigned 1458–1464) and perhaps they intended the card as a gesture of peace to the papacy.

Pope Gregory XI recognized the important value of the great English condottiere, and in 1375 he dispatched Hawkwood against the city of Parmigiano. This action infuriated Florence, which had supported the papacy, and the city's leaders became incensed by the intrusion of foreign troops into Tuscany. Florence and Pisa joined together and tendered an enormous bribe of 130,000 florins in gold which successfully bought off the English mercenaries.

In one of the rare instances when the two great cities



Visconti Money *Front and back of two silver coins issued by Bernabo in Milan. The face of the coin on the right contains the Visconti viper.*

found themselves allies, Florence joined with Milan, and was followed by Pisa, Lucca and Genoa, to drive the English intruders from Italy. At the same time, more than eighty towns in the papal states revolted against the papacy. Hawkwood was defeated near Viterbo but the papal troops continued to battle. Bernabo reasoned that the best way to end the fighting was to win back the support of Hawkwood, which he did with the promise of a large sum of money and the hand in marriage of his illegitimate daughter, Donnina, child of his beloved mistress Donnina of Porri. After the festive marriage, Hawkwood once again took the field of battle in behalf of his father-in-law. Shortly thereafter the pope realized the futility of his situation and agreed to a peace settlement.

In 1379, a year after the death of Galeazzo II, Bernabo decided to divide his territories among his four sons with the understanding that upon his death each son would become ruler of his own domain. The eldest, Marco, was given control over half of Milan; Ludovico was designated lord of Cremona and Lodi, while Carlo became lord of Borgo San Sonnino, Crema and Parma. Mastino, who was still a child, was declared ruler of Brescia, Riviera and Valcamonica under his mother's regency. Galeazzo II's son, Giangaleazzo, became uneasy at sharing the rule of Milan with one of Bernabo's sons and the allocation eventually led to Bernabo's downfall.

In 1380, Bernabo's daughter Agnese married Francesco Gonzaga, son of Lodovico Gonzaga, lord of Mantua. A medal made in commemoration of the marriage united the Visconti serpent with the arms of the Gonzaga. Eight years later, Francesco Gonzaga became captain-general and lord of Mantua. Thus, for a while, an intimate connection existed between the Visconti of Milan and the Gonzaga of Mantua.

During the mid-fifteenth century, the marquis Lodovico Gonzaga and his immediate successors ruled Mantua, which was an important center of culture and arts during the Renaissance. It is interesting to note that Countess Aurelia Visconti Gonzaga owned the Cary-Yale Visconti Tarocchi deck in the early nineteenth century. Due to its prominence among Renaissance courts, the Gonzaga family may well have influenced the imagery of fifteenth-century tarocchi decks.

The Great Schism of the Western Church, which began after the death of Pope Gregory XI in 1378, complicated the internal affairs and foreign policy of Milan and other Italian cities. When the conclave of cardinals met in Rome to choose a successor to Gregory XI, the populace rioted and demanded an Italian pope. The conclave elected as pope the archbishop of Bari, an Italian who took the name Pope Urban VI. He enjoyed the favor of most of Italy as well as Hungary, Germany, England and Scotland. However, his imperiousness lost him much of his support. The church cardinals reconvened to elect Robert of Geneva, who took the papal throne under the title Clement VII and received support from France, Spain and Savoy. Thus, with two popes in power simultaneously, the Great Schism began. It was not until 1429 that the Schism was resolved and a single pope returned to power.

In 1379, the anti-pope Clement VII departed for Avignon, where he sanctioned Queen Joanna of Naples in her plan to adopt Louis of Anjou as her heir. In the meantime, Pope Urban VI remained in Rome. King Charles V of France died in 1380, leaving his son, a child of twelve, to succeed him under a regency. Thus Louis of Anjou, the young king's uncle and one of his guardians, was not free to leave France for Naples.

Bernabo viewed with concern the problem of Neapolitan succession. Since Louis came from a distant country, Bernabo mistakenly viewed him as the lesser of two evils compared to Charles of Durazzo, nephew of Louis of Hungary and contender for the throne of Naples. Bernabo feared that Charles might cause considerable trouble in Italy for the Visconti, and thus he agreed to support the claim of Louis of Anjou.

Queen Joanna died at the beginning of 1382 and Louis hurriedly made preparations to cross the Alps and to march on Naples in hopes of gaining the crown. It was essential that Louis make prior arrangements with Bernabo to enable French troops to travel safely southward across Milanese territory. The two leaders held negotiations through emissaries and quickly came to terms. Louis agreed to the marriage of his eldest son to Bernabo's daughter, Lucia, and Bernabo promised money and troops in support of the French expedition.

Louis crossed the Alps and in August 1382 he proceeded toward Naples. During the next two years the war did not progress smoothly for the French, and Naples successfully fought off French conquest. Louis suddenly died of the fever at Bisceglie in August 1384, and the state of the French siege was plunged into confusion. The French king, Charles VI, could offer little help since he was already warring with England. Louis's wife, Maria, sought to carry on the struggle and she pushed Bernabo to take up the fight so that Bernabo's daughter, Lucia, and her own son, Louis II, might someday rule Naples. When everything seemed in readiness for a massive advance of combined French and Milanese troops, a completely unexpected event upset all of Bernabo's plans.

Bernabo's nephew, Giangaleazzo, the ruler of the western half of the Milanese dominion, had viewed with increasing alarm the expanding influence of his uncle. Bernabo's alliance with France and the innumerable well-placed marriages he arranged for his children provided a network of useful and powerful allies that overshadowed Giangaleazzo's sphere of influence.

Giangaleazzo's wife, Isabella of Valois, had died in

childbirth in 1372. Giangaleazzo planned to marry the heiress Maria of Sicily, but Bernabo viewed such an alliance as a potential threat against his own power. At Bernabo's urging, Giangaleazzo agreed instead to marry Bernabo's daughter, Caterina, and the wedding took place in November 1380.

Bernabo may well have hoped that his daughter would spy on her new husband, but the marriage proved successful despite the hostility Giangaleazzo harbored toward his overbearing uncle. The announcement of Bernabo's alliance with Louis of Anjou proved the last straw for Giangaleazzo and he decided the time had come to take matters into his own hands.

On Friday, May 5, 1385, Giangaleazzo sent word that he wished to pay respects to his uncle as he passed Milan on the following day en route to the Madonna del Monte, near Varese. Lombardy was accustomed to Giangaleazzo making frequent pilgrimages accompanied by a large escort of bodyguards and pilgrims. Bernabo suspected nothing and readily agreed to meet Giangaleazzo outside the city gates to avoid any disturbance within the city.

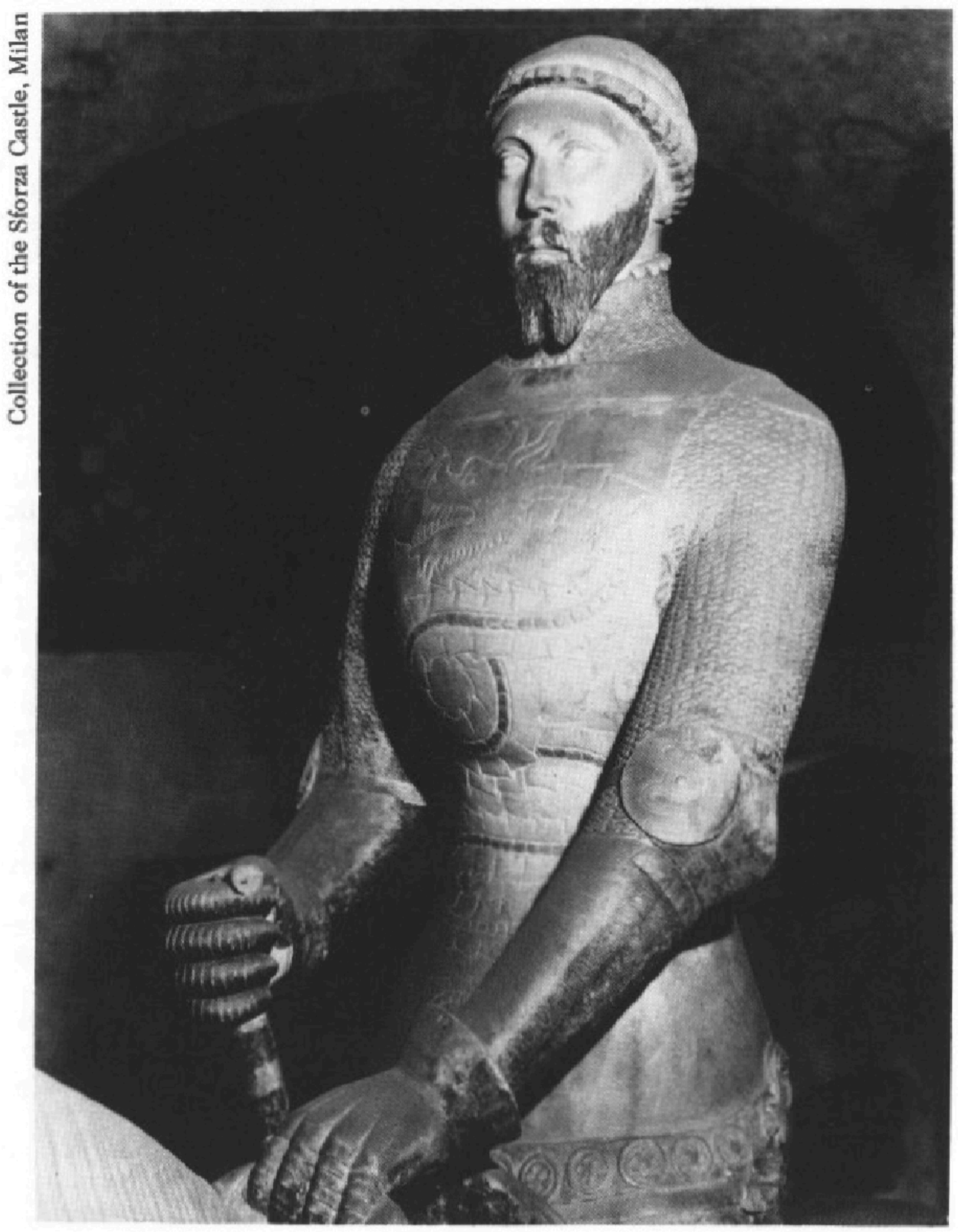
The following morning Giangaleazzo approached Milan accompanied by 1200 "pilgrims" who carried olive branches and sang hymns. But underneath the pilgrim's robes, the men wore armor and bore arms. Bernabo rode from Milan with two of his sons, Rodolfo and Ludovico, and he sent them ahead to greet Giangaleazzo. Upon their arrival, Giangaleazzo's soldiers surrounded them and they were taken prisoner.

Bernabo soon arrived and his nephew calmly greeted him. They talked, still mounted on their horses, as Giangaleazzo's "pilgrims" pressed closer and, to Bernabo's complete surprise, he was declared under arrest. The coup d'etat was accomplished quickly and without bloodshed.

Giangaleazzo's troops rode into Milan, still disguised as pilgrims, and secured strategic points throughout the city, arresting Bernabo's sons who were soldiers holding important commands. Bernabo was transferred to his own castle at Tresi where he was held prisoner until his death in December 1385 at the age of sixty-one. The great equestrian statue of Bernabo still stands at the Sforza Castle in Milan.

GIANGALEAZZO VISCONTI (1351–1402)

Giovanni Galeazzo, who shortly after birth became known as Giangaleazzo, was born on October 15, 1351, to Bianca and Galeazzo Visconti II. At the age of nine he was married to Isabella of Valois, daughter of the king of France, thus uniting the Visconti with the powerful French court. As was the custom, the marriage remained unconsummated



Bernabo Visconti, Imperial Vicar of Lombardy *Equestrian statue by Bonino of Campione*

until Giangaleazzo's thirteenth birthday. The marriage was an important alliance for the Visconti, but it was regarded as a comedown for the French king who essentially gave his daughter in exchange for a large sum of money offered by Galeazzo.

The fief selected for Isabella's dowry was the county of Vertus, located some eighteen miles from Chalons-sur-Marne. Giangaleazzo was granted the title, count of Virtue.

Giangaleazzo was a quiet, withdrawn person who preferred the privacy of solitary walks and the comfort and safety of his court. He did not enjoy physical activity or the field of battle. He often sought out knowledgeable persons with whom to discuss problems of state, and he was willing to hear other viewpoints before reaching his own decision. The Visconti motto *A bon droyt,* was first used by Giangaleazzo, and legend relates that Petrarch created the motto.

Reprinted from *Vite dei Dodeci Visconti* by Paolo Giovio, 1645

Giangaleasso Visconti, First Duke of Milan

Despite his timid and outwardly conciliatory nature, Giangaleazzo was responsible for numerous acts of cruelty and malicious crimes. Above all, Giangaleazzo resented his uncle, Bernabo, and always secretly conspired to depose him.

In 1372, Giangaleazzo's wife, Isabella, died at the age of twenty-three while giving birth to their fourth child. She had been frail and the children inherited her weak physical condition. The last-born child, Carlo, died at seven months and her first born died four years later at the age of ten. Only a daughter, Valentina, and one sickly son, Azzone, survived.

In 1372, at the age of twenty-one, Giangaleazzo was placed at the head of his father's army. His reluctance for battle was well-known, and his father prudently arranged for the presence of other military leaders in a nearby field. Nonetheless, Giangaleazzo and his troops were soundly defeated near Asti by a force of mercenaries headed by the English condottiere, John Hawkwood.

When Galeazzo II died in 1378, Giangaleazzo, who was then twenty-seven years old, assumed control of Pavia and the western territory of the Milanese domain. Giangaleazzo's mother, Bianca, remained mistress of the castle at Pavia for the benefit of her widowed son.

Giangaleazzo attempted to marry the orphaned Maria, heir to the throne of Sicily, but Bernabo and the rest of Italy became alarmed at the possibility of Giangaleazzo expanding his rule to be king of the south and lord of the north. In 1380, Giangaleazzo accepted a fair-sized dowry from Bernabo to marry his daughter, Caterina, and this same dowry was returned when Giangaleazzo's sister, Violante, married for the third time to Bernabo's son, Ludovico. Thus, a link, temporary and superficial at best, was forged between Giangaleazzo and his uncle, Bernabo.

By the end of the first two years of marriage, Caterina had not borne a son, and tragedy struck with the death of Giangaleazzo's sole surviving son, Azzone. Only Giangaleazzo's twelve-year-old daughter, Valentina, still survived, and she was betrothed to Bernabo's son, Carlo, an engagement that would eventually be broken when Carlo married Beatrice of Armagnac. The line of inheritance for Giangaleazzo's family seemed to be running out in favor of Bernabo and his many children.

Giangaleazzo possessed a family trait of timidity that contrasted sharply with the boisterous temperament of Bernabo, yet he was able to muster the strength and courage to overthrow his uncle in the bloodless coup d'etat of May 6, 1385. In one sudden action, Giangaleazzo altered the course of Lombardy history and defied the claims and rights of Bernabo's descendants.

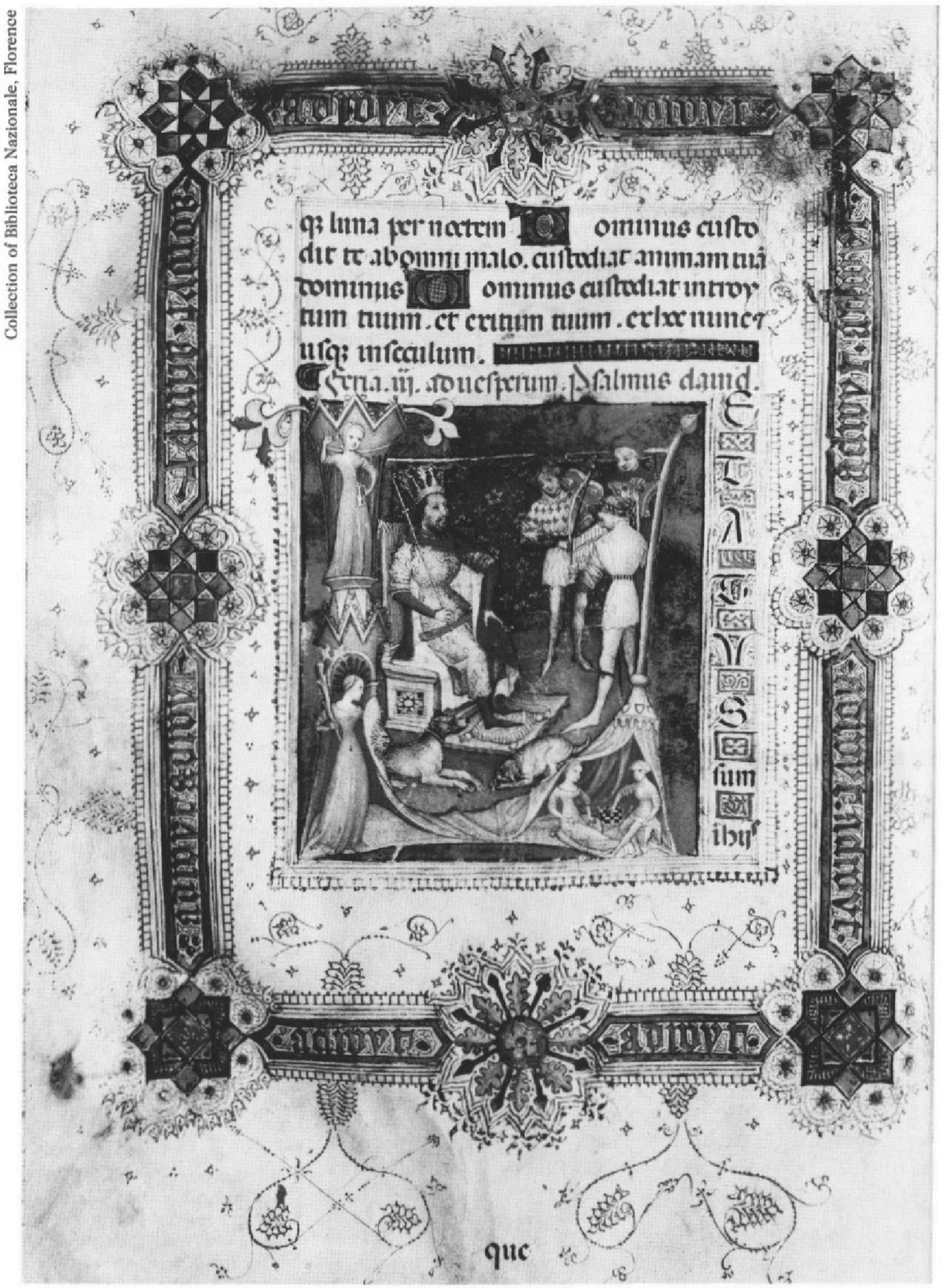
For Giangaleazzo's sister, Violante, the coup against Bernabo meant the imprisonment of her husband, Ludovico, who was very much like his father in coarseness and cruelty. Violante returned to her home at Pavia and died in November 1386.

By May 22, 1385, Giangaleazzo and his generals could count for support upon almost all of the outlying cities including Bergamo, Crema, Lodi, Parma, Reggio and Soncini. The populace accepted Giangaleazzo as a welcome relief from the harsh tyranny of Bernabo.

For the first time since the rule of Azzone Visconti (1329-1339), a single lord performed all the duties of the Milanese state. The size of the Milanese dominion doubled and Giangaleazzo instituted sweeping administrative reforms designed to assure himself continued support. The statutes of government were revised and the foundations were laid for a law code that would endure for centuries. Administrators of government were selected by merit, not by bribery or nepotism.

Giangaleazzo created a privy council comprised of trusted advisers, soldiers, politicians and financiers who had easy access to him, and a general council that performed the day-to-day tasks of government. He completely revised the tax structure, absolutely forbade the populace from carrying arms, and insisted that military forces engaged by the state be led by condottieri only of Italian descent, rather than by foreign opportunists. The University of Pavia rapidly expanded and became an important center for the study of law.

Giangaleazzo was not afraid to delegate authority. He



Visconti Book of Hours *A leaf from the early part of the work, commissioned by Giangaleazzo Visconti and executed by Giovannino of Grassi. King David sits listening to courtiers playing a viol, a psaltery and a portative organ. Two dogs are at his feet, and in the lower right corner, a man and woman play chess in a pavilion. On the left are two women representing virtues. The top woman is Temperance, and like the figure on the tarot card of the same name, she pours water from one vase to another. The woman below is Fortitude, or Strength, and she bears a club and a shield. As the count of Virtue, Giangaleazzo used the allegorical virtues as personal symbols.*

allowed his trusted supporters to assume considerable responsibility and, in turn, they effectively managed the daily rule of the Milanese domain while remaining totally loyal to the count.

Two months after the coup against Bernabo, the fallen lord's fifteen-year-old granddaughter, Isabella of Bavaria, married King Charles VI and became queen of France. The marriage was politically expedient for the French, who sought an alliance with a German house to offset any threat from England. King Charles VI was subject to periods of deep melancholy and instability which eventually developed into madness, and the story is often repeated that Jacquemin Gringonneur was commissioned in 1392 to paint and gild three packs of playing cards to amuse the king during his periods of depression. The king's weakness was eventually exploited by Isabella when she started to create her own political intrigues.

Giangaleazzo realized that the marriage between Bernabo's granddaughter and King Charles VI represented a political threat. Valentina, Giangaleazzo's only daughter, who six months earlier had been betrothed to Bernabo's son, Carlo, and then spurned for a better match, now commanded greater stature in the European courts due to the rise in power of her father. Besides, Valentina was a beautiful young woman, fluent in German and Latin and acquainted with many of the great classics. She loved books and doted on the treasures housed in the great library in one of the tower rooms at the castle of Pavia.

After lengthy negotiations, Valentina was married by proxy in January 1387 to Louis of Valois, duke of Orleans and Touraine, and brother of King Charles VI. Valentina's dowry comprised 450,000 florins and the town of Asti. When Giangaleazzo arranged for the marriage of Valentina and Louis of Valois he looked upon his new son-in-law as an important ally, but Louis, intelligent and independent, rejected Giangaleazzo's overtures and remained loyal to the French cause.

The marriage of Valentina and Louis was not consummated for over two years while Giangaleazzo sought to raise the enormous dowry. Giangaleazzo was hampered by his costly, grandiose plans for eastward expansion by which he sought to control Verona, Vicenza and Padua.

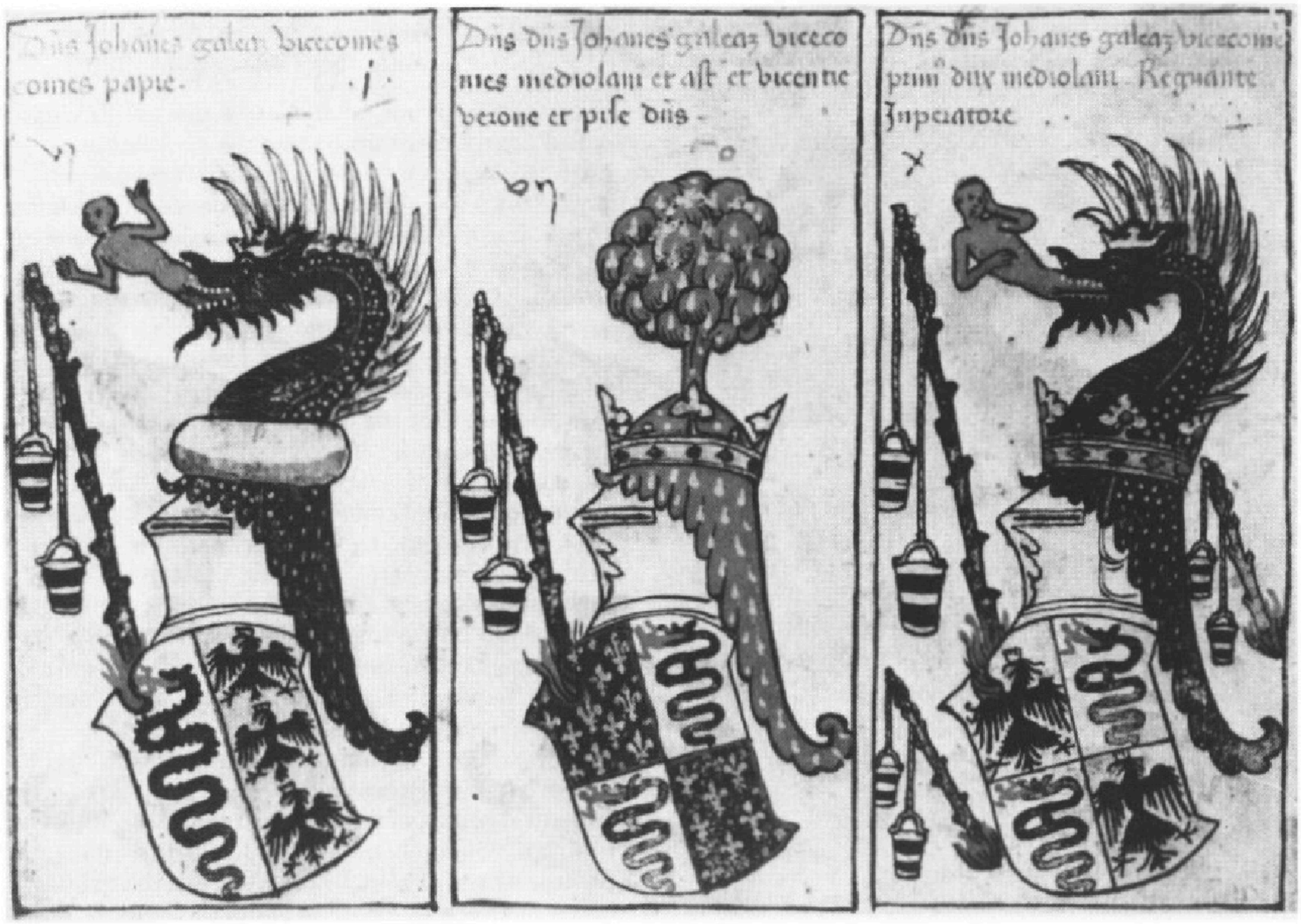
A dangerous provision in Valentina's marriage contract provided that, should Giangaleazzo die without a male heir, the state of Milan would pass by inheritance to Valentina or her descendants. From Giangaleazzo's standpoint, both he and his second wife, Caterina, were young and healthy, and there was every reason to expect the marriage would produce children. Caterina and Giangaleazzo were blessed with two sons, Giovanni Maria, born in 1389, and Filippo Maria, born in 1392. Both sons were destined to follow in their father's footsteps as lords of Milan, but they died without leaving male heirs. Thus, the prenuptial arrangement between Valentina and Louis opened the door to eventual French claims that brought the French army of Louis XII to Milan a century later and threatened the existence of the Milanese state. Valentina is burdened in history with the accusation that her marriage contract was the underlying cause of French aggression against Italy.

By 1386, Giangaleazzo was well-prepared for his role as ruler and he did not hesitate when opportunity arose to expand his rule eastward. When Antonio della Scala, ruler of Verona, clashed with Carrara of Padua, Giangaleazzo supported Francesco "il Vecchio" Carrara of Padua and

Collection of Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

Miniature of Valentina Visconti
Valentina Visconti receiving a book, depicted in a codice from the end of the fourteenth century. Note the fleur-de-lis and Visconti heraldic viper united on one shield.

Civica Biblioteca Trivulziana, Milan



Heraldic Devices of Giangaleasso Visconti *Shows the Visconti viper clutching a naked figure plus the imperial eagle and fleur-de-lis. The center helmet is topped with a sphere of feathers.*

claimed Verona through his wife, Caterina, who was the daughter of Bernabo and Regina della Scala. In view of the new alliance between Padua and Milan, Venice abandoned its ally, Antonio della Scala of Verona. Thus, the Veronese family of della Scalla fell, and the city was left open along with the city of Vicenza.

During the following year, Milan and Venice combined forces against Padua. The unpopularity of Carrara of Padua had forced the aged leader to abdicate in favor of his son, Francesco "Novello" Carrara. Pressured by Giangaleazzo and threatened by open revolt of the Paduans, the young Carrara made a naive agreement that permitted Giangaleazzo to exercise temporary control over Padua during the period of negotiations. Novello's father was stunned when he learned of the foolish arrangement, but Giangaleazzo refused to see him and Carrara was helpless to change the situation. The citizens of Padua drew up a formal treaty of submission to Giangaleazzo and presented it with thanks for bringing Padua "from slavery to liberty."

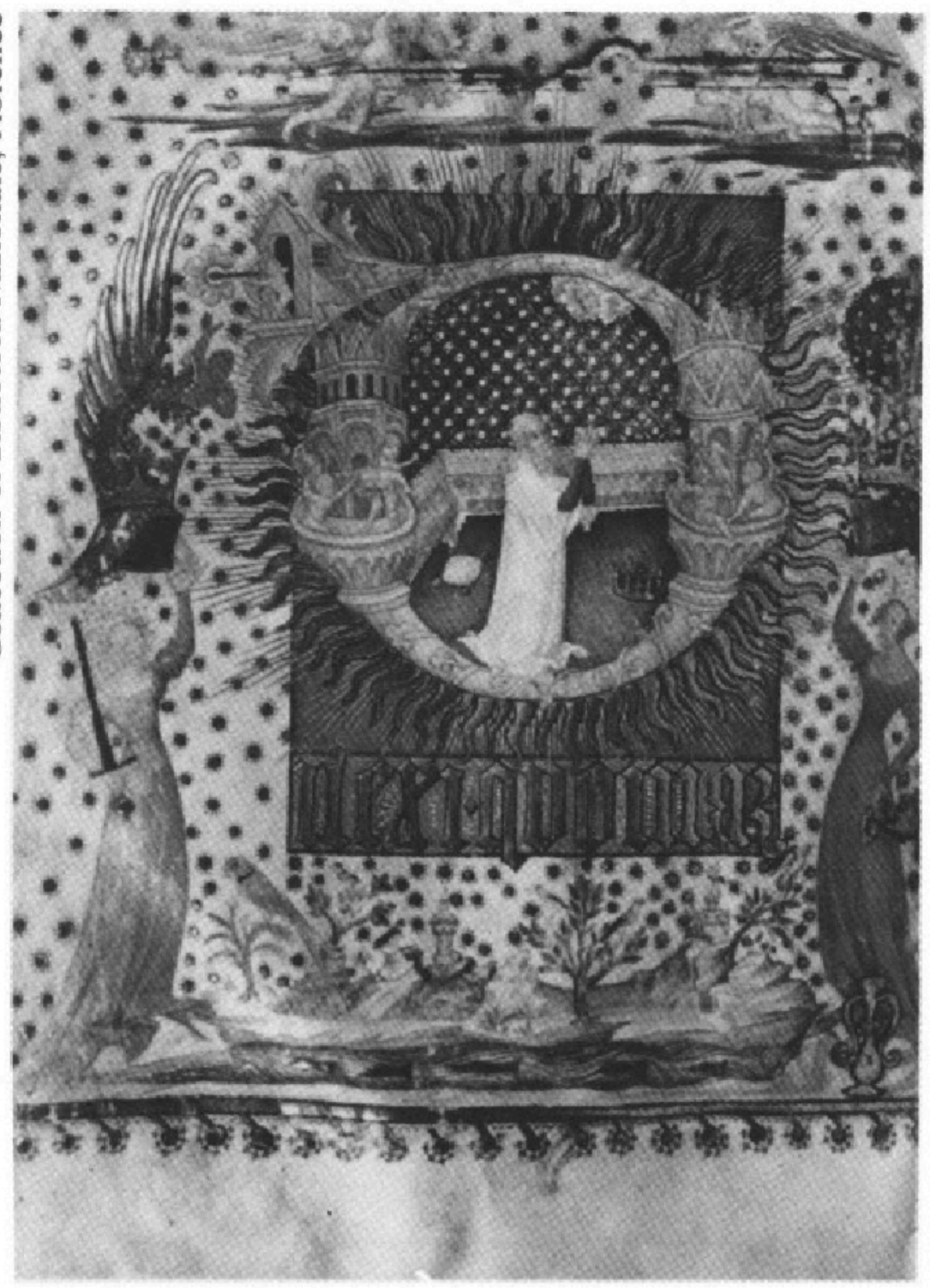
By January 1389, Novello, stripped of all power and dependent upon Giangaleazzo, had no choice but to cede the city and state of Padua. Novello was ruined and, in revenge, he plotted Giangaleazzo's assassination, but the count appointed him lord of a remote fief in the impoverished hills of Piedmont and he was forced to leave Milan.

Giangaleazzo could now look back with satisfaction on that fateful Saturday morning when he had risked everything in a coup against his uncle. In less than four years he had risen from a weak lord of Pavia to the ruler of almost all of Lombardy. Only Mantua and Ferrara remained independent and these two states, under Francesco Gonzaga and the Marquis d'Este respectively, pledged their loyalty and support to Milan.

With peace restored and a cessation to the drain of money for war and territorial expansion, Giangaleazzo now prepared the first installment of Valentina's enormous dowry. On June 24, 1388, Valentina and an escort of 1300 knights under the command of Francesco Gonzaga of Mantua left Pavia for the long journey north across the Alps to Melun, near Paris, where she was to meet her bridegroom. Giangaleazzo was so saddened by his daughter's departure that he could not bring himself to say goodbye to her.

Valentina was accompanied by many personal servants. According to one legend, Valentina brought with her a vast collection of gowns and finery, jewels, silverware, fine china, books, her harp and a tarocchi deck. As part of her trousseau, Valentina brought to France a necklace of gold with the heraldic emblem of a white dove in a golden sunburst above a ribbon scroll that contained the motto, *A bon droyt*. This Visconti heraldic device can be seen in the Cary-Yale and Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo tarocchi decks. Along the route, Valentina stopped at Asti during the Festival of Asti, which the townspeople celebrated with feasts and horseraces. The journey lasted five weeks. On August 17, Valentina and Louis of Valois were married at Melun and the marriage served to establish close social contact between the French and Milanese courts.

No documentation exists to substantiate the legend that Valentina carried with her a tarocchi deck, but her presence in France greatly influenced Charles VI and his court. Since the account books of Charles Poupart, treasurer to Charles VI, record that fifty-six sols of Paris were paid to Jacquemin



Collection of Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence

Gringonneur for three packs of gilded cards, we know that playing cards, tarot or not, were popular at the French court three years after Valentina's arrival.

Further evidence of the existence of playing cards in France dates from an ordinance proclaimed on January 22, 1397, wherein the provost of Paris forbade "working people from playing tennis, ball, cards, or ninepins, except on holidays." Another reference to the presence of cards in the court of Valentina Visconti appears in the duke of Orleans' inventory. In 1408 an entry reads, *un jeu de quartres serrasines—unes quartes de Lombardie.* This entry may be a reference to two kinds of playing cards or to different parts of one deck.

It appears that the Italian court, which eventually produced the beautiful Visconti-Sforza tarocchi cards, either introduced cards to France or learned of them through contact with the French court. Although it is possible that Valentina brought cards to France, the lack of previous written references to cards at the Italian court and the existence of several recorded notations to playing cards at the French court suggest the likelihood that the French court was first to enjoy the pleasure and amusement of playing cards. However, the Visconti probably commissioned the earliest extant tarocchi deck.

Giangaleazzo commenced construction of the Duomo, the great Gothic cathedral in Milan. Progress on the cathedral might well have continued smoothly to completion had Giangaleazzo not turned his attention to new territorial expansion toward the south, primarily to the cities of Bologna and Florence, draining the ducal fund. War broke out in May 1390, with Florence and Bologna combining their forces against Milan. Giangaleazzo lost Padua in the course of the war. However, within two years both sides wearied of fighting and a peace treaty was signed at Genoa on January 26, 1392.

Collection of Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence

Visconti Book of Hours *Giangaleazzo Visconti commissioned the first part of the manuscript, which was executed by Giovannino of Grassi and his workshop.* TOP: *Illustration for Psalm CXIV shows the psalmist at prayer beneath the head of the Lord. At either side putti play, and the entire scene is encircled with rays. At the left appears Justice, sword in hand, holding a large helmet decorated with the Visconti viper, and to the right Temperance pours liquid from one vessel to another while holding aloft a helmet topped with a sphere of feathers.* BOTTOM: *The Holy Father and Son sit together on a large throne surrounded by angels. Above is a radiant dove, which symbolizes the Holy Spirit. The portrait of Giangaleazzo appears at the bottom.*

Meanwhile the Church Schism remained unresolved despite the plan of Louis of Valois, Valentina's husband, to forcibly remove the Roman pope, Boniface IX, in favor of Clement VII of Avignon. Although Giangaleazzo personally favored Clement VII, the Milanese citizenry preferred the Roman pope and Giangaleazzo did not wish to cause dissension among the populace.

In the spring of 1392, the League of Bologna was created as an alliance against Giangaleazzo. The League comprised the two republics of Florence and Bologna, plus the domains of Faenza, Ferrara, Imola, Padua and Ravenna. In order to bolster his own position, Giangaleazzo dispatched Niccolo Spinelli to Paris to secure French support. Spinelli's reception in Paris was cool at first, but Giangaleazzo's cause found strong support from an envoy of Clement who saw a chance to advance the papal claims of Avignon.

Spinelli cleverly argued for the creation of a kingdom in central Italy to be formed out of the papal states and to be headed by a French prince such as Louis of Valois. The proposed project, known as the kingdom of Adria, was planned as a buffer zone between Milan and Giangaleazzo's southern enemy, Florence. Giangaleazzo welcomed the idea of his son-in-law being in close proximity. However, a recurrence of the mental illness of Charles VI delayed decision on the proposal for some five months and popular French opinion swung away from the repugnant idea of forcibly removing Boniface IX. Events changed suddenly in September 1393 when Clement VII died. His successor, Benedict XIII, proved a weak contestant for the Roman throne and the idea for a kingdom of Adria passed into oblivion.

The French court still desired to establish a viable kingdom in Italy and the next opportunity arose when dissidents in the city of Genoa sought French assistance. Giangaleazzo supported the move to establish his son-in-

Collection of Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence

Collection of Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence

Visconti Book of Hours *Giangaleazzo Visconti commissioned the first part of the manuscript, which was executed by Giovannino of Grassi and his workshop.* TOP: *King David is seen kneeling in a meadow before a vision of God. The miniature is decorated with daisies and around the edges appear heraldic devices and a portrait of Giangaleazzo.* BOTTOM: *King David is seated on one side, and on the other side, the full-length figure of the Deity holds an orb and scepter. In the center are a ladder and two men, with an angel at the top of the ladder. The M (part of the word "Mirabilia") consists of angels' heads and clouds and the ladder. The two side borders contain Visconti vipers.*

law, Louis, in Liguria and he dispatched assistance to the French troops. Genoa quickly capitulated and in November 1394 it was declared a French city.

Giangaleazzo expected his son-in-law would prove to be a friendly neighbor and ally, but in February of the following year Louis suddenly ceded Genoa to his brother, Charles VI, for 300,000 francs. Giangaleazzo found the French monarchy firmly ensconced at his doorstep, in addition to having the League of Bologna poised against him. Shortly thereafter Giangaleazzo lost a valuable ally, Francesco Gonzaga of Mantua.

Agnese, the wife of Francesco Gonzaga of Mantua, harbored a deep hatred toward Giangaleazzo for having overthrown her father, Bernabo. Francesco was a moody person, often suspicious and distrustful. In 1391, when rumors came to his attention about his wife's alleged adultery, Gonzaga had Agnese brought before a secret court of Mantua. She was found guilty, and later she was executed. Afterward, it was rumored that some of the evidence against Agnese had been fabricated by Giangaleazzo, who desired to be rid of the vile-tongued woman who referred to him in public as the "count of all filth." Gonzaga, possibly tormented and bitter at the part Giangaleazzo allegedly played in the intrigue against his wife, deserted his Milanese ally of long standing and joined the League of Bologna. Giangaleazzo now faced a formidable group of hostile cities: Bologna, Ferrara, Mantua and Padua.

The murder in October 1392 of Pietro Gambacorta, the ruler of Pisa, by his long-time secretary, Jacopo Appiano, created sufficient unrest to enable Giangaleazzo to bring the city of Pisa under Milanese control and thus partially offset the tide of sentiment rising against him.

Many Milanese believed that only a permanent ruler with natural successors could bring an end to the merciless conflict between Italian cities. Charles VI of France seemed less likely than ever to grant a hereditary title to Giangaleazzo and, as a last resort, the count of Virtue turned to the only other possible source, Wenceslaus the Holy Roman Emperor.

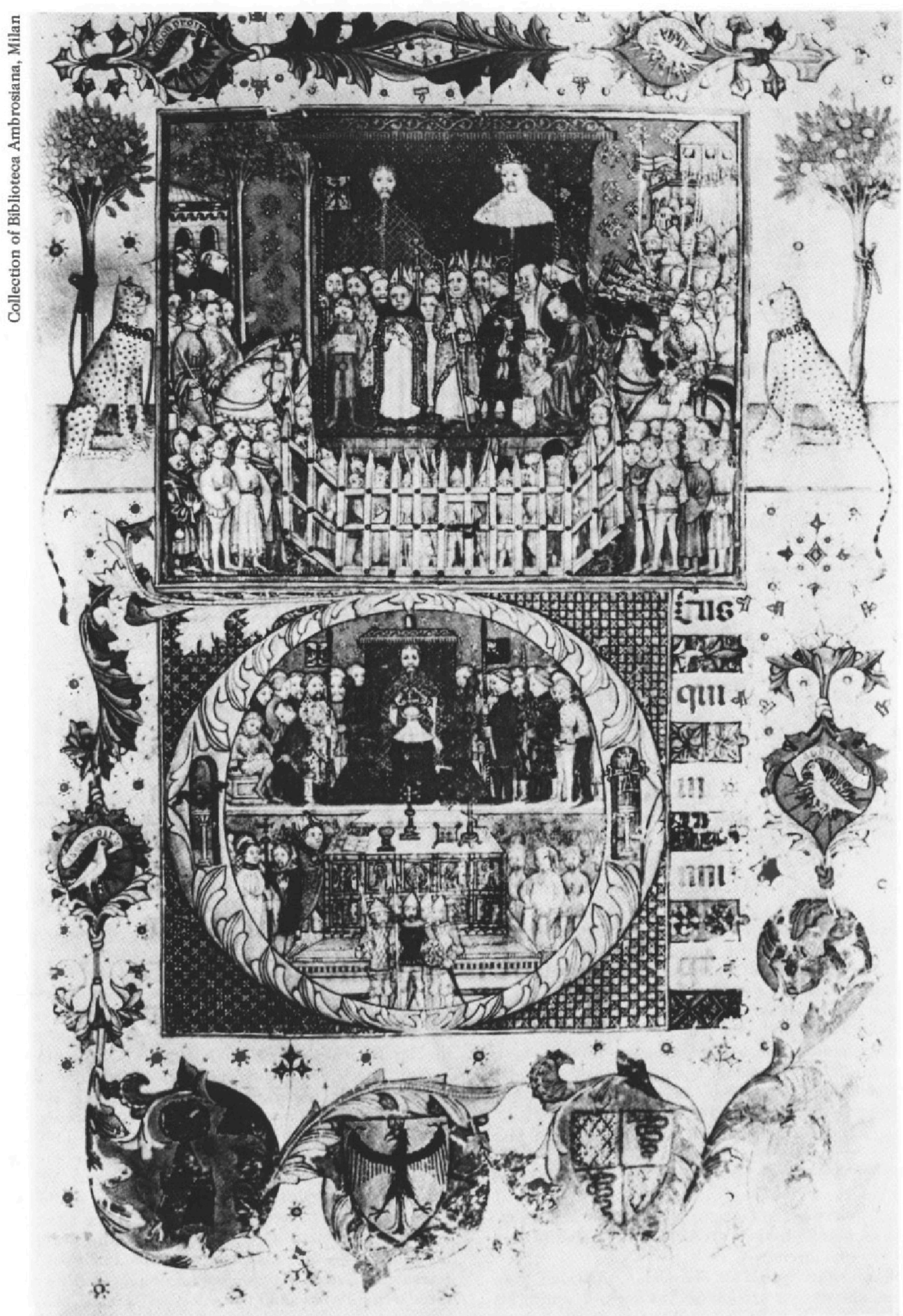
Giangaleazzo entrusted Pietro Filargo, then bishop of Novara but later to become the anti-pope Alexander V, to represent him at the court of Prague. Filargo conducted successful negotiations with Wenceslaus, who promised to appoint Giangaleazzo the duke of Milan in return for 100,000 florins. It was arranged that Giangaleazzo would assume authority over twenty-five cities and the natural succession of power would pass to his heirs. Henceforth, the Visconti viper would be quartered with the imperial eagle on all Visconti arms. The imperial eagle appears as a heraldic device on the Cary-Yale deck, the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck and the Brera-Brambilla deck.

The formal coronation of Giangaleazzo as duke of Milan took place on a Sunday morning, September 5, 1395, at the square in front of the ancient basilica of San Ambrogio. While drums rolled and trumpets shrilled, Giangaleazzo mounted the wooden platform and stood before Benasio Cumsinich, the imperial lieutenant, who read "by the merits of Visconti and the loyalty of his ancestors, with the consent and counsel of the princes, barons, nobles and magnates of the empire, by Wenceslaus's own motives and not at the insistence of Visconti, Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia, deigns to transfer the count of Virtue from servant and official of the empire to hereditary duke." Thus, the title, imperial vicar of Milan, was replaced by the title of duke and Giangaleazzo secured the privilege denied to each of his predecessors.

The coronation ceremony was witnessed by representatives of virtually every major power in Italy except Francesco Gonzaga who still harbored his bitter grudge against

Collection of Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

Coronation of Giangaleazzo *Miniature by Michelino da Besozzo depicting the coronation of Giangaleazzo Visconti by the child Jesus*



Collection of Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan

Coronation of Giangaleasso *Miniature by Anovelo da Imbonate from* Missale Ambrosianum

Collection of the Certosa, Pavia

Church at the Certosa *Giangaleazzo is shown holding a model of the church at the Certosa of Pavia, the great Carthusian monastery begun under his direction. The sunbursts on the duke's clothes are symbols of the Visconti and appear on the clothing of the figures in most of the Visconti and Visconti-Sforza groups of tarocchi cards.*

Giangaleazzo. Five months after the coronation, new laws were promulgated and the citizens of Milan became subjects of the dukedom under statutes that remained virtually unchanged for some two hundred years.

The continuing seizures of madness which overcame the French king, Charles VI, enabled Queen Isabella to exert her strong hand against Giangaleazzo. Isabella long harbored the desire for revenge against Giangaleazzo, who had usurped her grandfather, Bernabo Visconti, thus disinheriting the Bavarian house of Wittelsbach.

Although Isabella had been frivolous during the first years of her reign, by 1395, when she was twenty-five, she was fully capable of political intrigue. Her brother-in-law, Louis of Valois, still dreamed of an Italian kingdom. Often the French duke was at odds with the queen, but as Charles' madness increased, Isabella grew closer to Louis and they secretly became lovers.

Isabella conspired to rid the French court of Louis' wife, Valentina, who was of great comfort to Charles VI during his times of insanity. Isabella spread the story that Valentina used sorcery to derange the king's mind and, in April 1396, Isabella succeeded in having Valentina exiled for life to her country residence at Asieres on trumped up charges of sorcery.

In 1396, the French monarchy and the Florentine republic conspired to launch an expedition to overthrow the duke of Milan. However, on Christmas Eve of 1396 news arrived in Paris that the French army had been defeated by the Saracens at the battle of Nicopolis. France mourned and the hopes for a Lombard expedition were abandoned.

Giangaleazzo waited until March 1397 before suddenly striking against Mantua and Francesco Gonzaga. The Milanese fleet on the Po River, commanded by dal Verme, was dispatched against the Mantuan fleet under command of the Venetian, Francesco Bembo. On land, Milanese troops, pitted against the combined forces of Bologna, Ferrara, Florence, Lucca, Padua and Venice, assembled under the command of Carlo Malatesta. During the ensuing naval battle the Milanese fleet was routed and dal Verme retreated, leaving behind valuable equipment and a sizable force of men who could not safely cross the river. Venice gained an overwhelming victory and Giangaleazzo's plans for expansion were temporarily stymied.

A truce was arranged in May 1398 between Giangaleazzo

and the League of Bologna. Venice was reluctant to support any further wars in Lombardy, and Francesco Gonzaga of Mantua had no choice except to make peace with Giangaleazzo, as did the leaders of Ferrara shortly thereafter. By the year 1400, Siena accepted Giangaleazzo as sovereign, followed by Perugia, the lords of the Apennines, and Lucca.

A new danger arose when on August 20, 1400, Emperor Wenceslaus IV was deposed and replaced by Rupert of the Palatine, a cousin of Isabella of Bavaria, queen of France. The new imperial court freely acknowledged the desire to partake in the riches of the Italian states, and Rupert, supported wholeheartedly by Queen Isabella, was charged with the task of annulling the dukedom of Milan.

Florence, the perennial enemy of Giangaleazzo, sent Buonocorso Pitti to conspire with Rupert, but the emperor wanted at least 500,000 florins to engage in the overthrow of Giangaleazzo. Pitti was not authorized to offer more than 200,000 florins and Rupert remained steadfast. By subtle duplicity, Pitti convinced Rupert that Giangaleazzo's agents were attempting to poison him. Three weeks after Pitti's warning, a stranger was apprehended near the emperor as he was going to mass. The prisoner implicated the emperor's doctor, Herman Polein, who confessed under torture that he was being paid in a plot to poison Rupert's entire family. Rupert was enraged and ordered Giangaleazzo to give back to the empire the territories he held. Giangaleazzo denied the accusation and firmly replied his territory was possessed by authority of "Wenceslaus king of the Romans," and he would defend it to the death.

Pitti's plot of intrigue spurred Rupert into premature action and, before receiving any financial payment from Florence, he invaded Giangaleazzo's territory. The Italian force at Brescia under the command of Facino Cane fought furiously to defend their homeland against Rupert's foreign army of paid soldiers twice in number. The battle of Brescia proved a total victory for the Italians. On April 15, 1402, Rupert admitted defeat and withdrew from Italian boundaries.

On August 13, 1402, Duke Giangaleazzo suddenly fell ill. He grew progressively worse, and on August 25 he prepared his will. His last days were spent carefully planning a way in which his domain could pass without conflict to his sons. Giangaleazzo remained at the palace at Melegnano on the Lambro River, some fourteen miles from Milan, where he died on September 3, 1402.

Giangaleazzo had cherished beautiful possessions and

Collection of the Certosa, Pavia

Funeral Monument of Giangaleazzo *Scene depicts Giangaleazzo directing the construction at a castle. The bas-relief was prepared by Gian Cristoforo Romano and his assistants.*

employed miniaturists to embellish the volumes at the Pavia library. Among these was an illuminated Book of Hours that is presently housed at the National Library in Florence. The book depicts many Visconti armorial devices and its text refers to Giangaleazzo as count, making it apparent that the text and most, if not all, of the illuminations predate the coronation of 1395.

The scribe who wrote the text of the Visconti Book of Hours signed his name as Frater Amadeus, and two different artists illuminated the book. Giovannino dei Grassi and his workshop are credited with the first folios. Work on the missal ceased upon Giangaleazzo's death in 1402 and was not resumed until after Giangaleazzo's youngest son, Filippo Maria, became duke in 1412 and commissioned Belbello da Pavia to complete the work.

Giangaleazzo also founded the Certosa of Pavia, in fulfillment of a vow made by Caterina in 1390 during a difficult pregnancy. Giangaleazzo loved his castle in Pavia and welcomed the idea of a private chapel nearby. In December 1393, Giangaleazzo granted the land and monies necessary for the Certosa, and in July 1395 construction began under the architect Bernabo of Venezia. The commencement of work on the Certosa at Pavia along with the construction of the enormous Duomo in Milan, attracted the leading architects and craftsmen of the day from all over Europe.

Many of the voluminous archives that described Giangaleazzo's reign unfortunately do not survive. The records kept at Pavia were destroyed by the French, and the state archives housed at the castle in Milan were destroyed in 1447 by Milanese mobs under the Ambrosian Republic. The few archives preserved at Vertus were lost during the sack of the city by the duke of Buckingham.

Reprinted from *Vite dei Dodeci Visconti* by Paolo Giovio, 1645

Giovanni Maria Visconti, Second Duke of Milan

GIOVANNI MARIA VISCONTI (1389–1412)

Giangaleazzo's will provided for the transfer of power to his elder son, Giovanni Maria, who at the age of fourteen became the second duke of Milan and ruler over twelve cities. His younger brother, Filippo Maria, aged ten, became lord of Pavia, Verona and the western cities, all held as a fief of Milan.

Giovanni's mother, Caterina, served as regent for her son. But the unity that strengthened Milan during Giangaleazzo's reign as duke greatly weakened under the regency of his son, and important families such as that of Muzio Attendolo Sforza asserted their desire to form their own dynasties. Caterina further compromised her own position by accepting the guidance and romantic favors of Giangaleazzo's former secretary of state, Francesco Barbarava, who openly showed Guelph sympathies to the consternation of the Ghibelline nobles.

During the reign of Giangaleazzo, the Guelphs and Ghibellines had been firmly prevented from breaking into warring factions, but now the repressed hostility between the two groups appeared in the open, and disturbances forced Barbarava to flee. The families of local cities seized power—Parma was taken by the Rosci, Piacenza by the Scotti, Cremona by the Cavalcanti, and Crema by the Benzone, all Guelph families. The city of Como was seized by the Rusca, and Lodi was seized by the Vignate, both Ghibelline families. Siena asserted her independence. The cities of Casale and Vercelli were occupied by the marquis of Montferrat. Francesco Carrara attacked and occupied Vicenza and Verona. Soardi and Colleoni strove for mastery in Bergamo. Facino Cane, the most ruthless and unpredictable of the condottieri, returned to Piedmont and carved out a niche for himself from the Visconti dominions.

Caterina desperately appealed for assistance to Venice, offering to cede Belluno, Bassano and Feltre if Venice would help restore Verona and Vicenza to Milanese control. Venice dispatched her armies and defeated Francesco "Novello" Carrara and his two sons. The three were taken as prisoners to Venice where they were condemned and put to death, thus ending the Carrara dynasty.

The situation facing Giovanni Maria Visconti deteriorated rapidly. The young duke was not capable of meeting the mounting problems of the dukedom. His inexperience and insane cruelty earned him the reputation as a worthless lord. Giovanni had a falling-out with his mother and she was imprisoned at Monza where she died in October 1404. Popular opinion suspected foul play by Giovanni.

Several rival members of the Visconti family appeared on the political scene to claim their rights. Two of Bernabo's illegitimate sons, Ettore and Lionello, along with Mastino, Bernabo's youngest and only surviving legitimate son, attempted to establish their authority, and Duke Giovanni was obliged to buy them off. Bergamo was given to Mastino, who died shortly thereafter, in 1405.

Almost all the important captain-generals fled the Milanese despot, except Facino Cane, who remained allied with the duke while actually advancing his own personal cause. Cane was virtual lord over Alessandria, Novara and Tortona. He also exerted considerable control over the Milanese people and a fair amount of influence over the duke himself. Giovanni Maria sought to counter Cane's influence by securing support from a force of French troops garrisoned in Genoa and led by the French governor, Bouccicault. To gain French cooperation, the duke offered to accept the sovereignty of France and to give the rule of

Milan to Bouccicault. As the governor led his troops to Milan, the city of Genoa revolted and, when Bouccicault hurried back, Cane met and defeated the French forces.

Facino Cane became governor of Milan and virtually its lord to the great consternation and jealousy of the duke. Even the duke's brother, Filippo Maria Visconti, was not immune to Cane's ambitions, and the young lord, living peacefully in Pavia, was made prisoner. When Facino Cane's fortunes seemed at their apex, and Cane was poised at the moment of possible appointment as duke, he fell gravely ill and was forced to retire to Pavia.

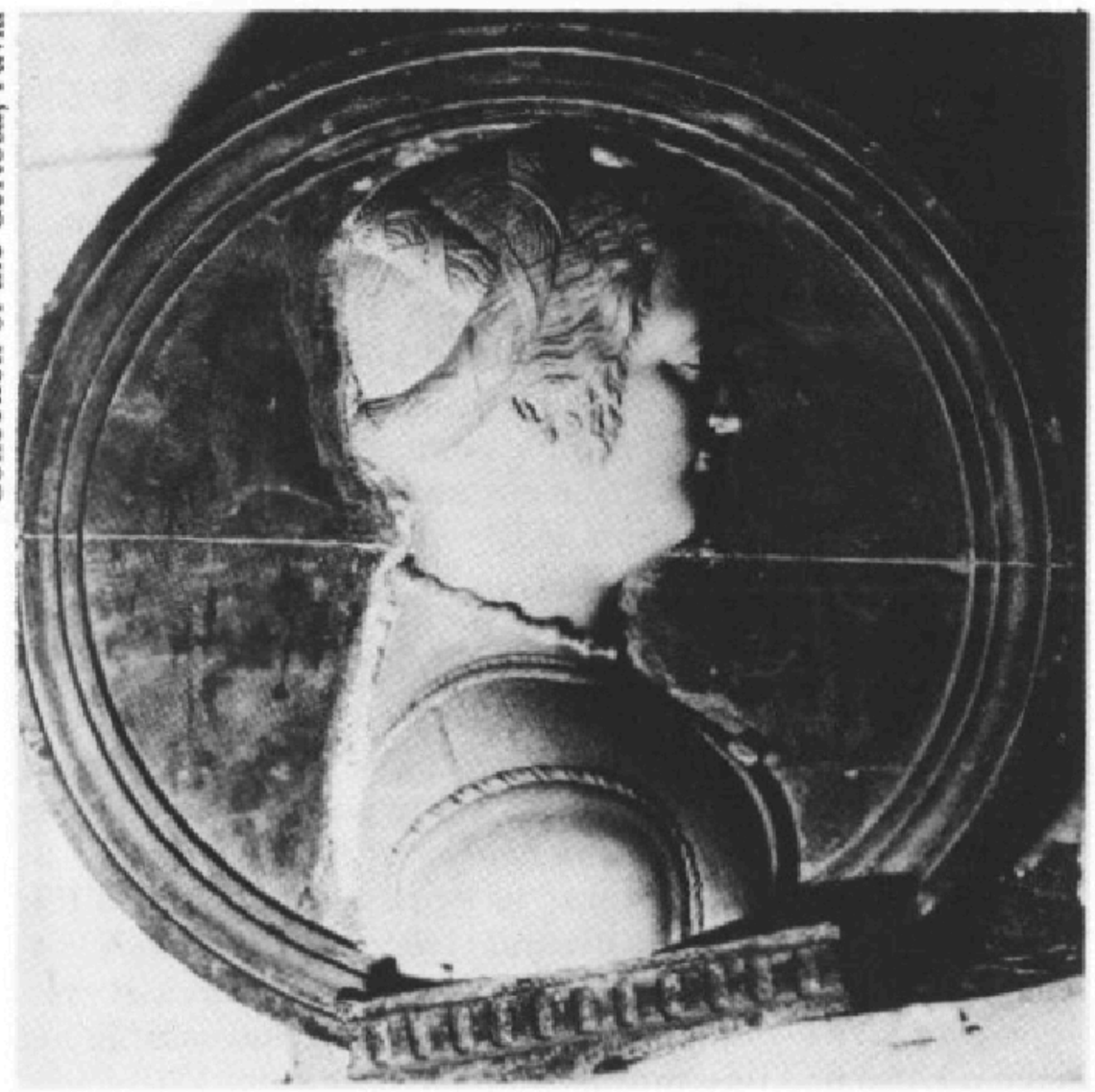
Duke Giovanni's Guelph sympathies drew the support of the experienced condottiere, Carlo Malatesta, head of the Guelph party in the Romagna region and lord of Rimini. The alliance between the two leaders was cemented by Duke Giovanni's marriage to Carlo's niece, Antonia Malatesta. Unfortunately, while Giovanni welcomed advice from Malatesta, he did little to heed it.

A group of conspirators plotted the assassination of Duke Giovanni and on May 16, 1412, the duke was stabbed to death in the Church of San Gottardo. On the very same day, Facino Cane died in Pavia. On his deathbed, Cane advised his wife, Beatrice of Tenda, to marry again, and he urged her to secure, if possible, the new duke, Filippo Maria, as her husband.

FILIPPO MARIA VISCONTI (1392–1447)

After the assassination of his older brother in 1412, Filippo Maria assumed the ducal title. The third duke of Milan was the opposite in many ways of his cruel brother. Filippo was unattractive and he avoided public ceremonies whenever possible. He disliked sports and exercise and preferred instead to play chess and cards. Astrology was one of his great interests. The duke was regarded as a good ruler and his subjects viewed him with affection.

One of the tutors of Filippo Maria while he was lord at Pavia was the scholar and artist Marziano of Tortona who had access to the vast library of manuscripts at Pavia. Eventually, Marziano became secretary to the duke. Sometime between the arrival of Marziano at Pavia around 1409 or 1410 and his death between 1423 and 1425, Duke Filippo Maria paid fifteen hundred gold pieces for a deck of playing cards, highly decorated but probably not *trionfi* or tarocchi cards since Decembrio, the official court biographer, refers to them as containing images of gods, emblematic animals and birds.



Collection of the Certosa, Pavia

***Beatrice of Tenda** Widow of condottiere Facino Cane of Pisa, she later married Duke Filippo Maria Visconti. Relief by Benedetto Briosco, circa 1490*

Reprinted from *Vite dei Dodeci Visconti* by Paolo Giovio, 1645

Filippo Maria Visconti, Third Duke of Milan

Urged by the archbishop of Milan, Duke Filippo married Beatrice of Tenda, widow of Facino Cane. The marriage in 1413 to a woman twenty years his senior was a political expedient that protected the vast personal fortune accumulated by Cane, while bringing to Duke Filippo the loyalty of Cane's troops with all the territory they occupied, including Alessandria, Novara, Pavia and Tortona.

After Cane's death, Francesco Bussone offered his support to the new duke. Bussone was a young condottiere who had greatly impressed Facino Cane. Born in 1390, Bussone was known by the name Carmagnola. Together with local Cane troops, Duke Filippo marched upon Milan. Except for Ettore Visconti, who tried to bar his entry at Porta Giovia, Filippo was welcomed by the Milanese and entered the city at the head of a triumphal procession. Carmagnola was dispatched to pursue Ettore Visconti and, after a brief engagement, Ettore was killed in Monza.

Filippo relied upon Carmagnola to help reestablish the ducal authority and the young condottiere regained many towns and cities for the ducal crown. Within several years, the Visconti fortune was again in ascendancy and Duke

Filippo counted upon allegiance from numerous cities including Alessandria, Camago, Cantu, Como, Crema, Lodi, Melzo, Monza, Tortona, Trezzo, Varese, Velate and Vimercato. When Filippo took Monza in 1413, Bernabo's surviving descendants settled with him, taking a pension for themselves. Emperor Sigismund, who succeeded Rupert in 1411, entered into a friendly treaty with the Visconti and a truce was made with Montferrat and Malatesta.

In 1415, Duke Filippo's elderly wife was accused of infidelity with one of her pages, Michael Orombello, an accomplished musician who often played the lute for Beatrice's enjoyment. Beatrice and her alleged lover were arrested and imprisoned at Binasco and, as was usual at the time, each was put to torture. Both confessed guilt. At the trial Beatrice renounced her confession, but both Beatrice and Orombello were condemned to death.

A new phase of development in Italy dawned with the ending of the Great Schism of the Church. Just prior to the resolution, there were three popes. Gregory XII was a successor in the Roman Obedience, which originated with Urban VI and had its court in Rome. Benedict XIII was a successor in the Avignon Obedience, whose originator was Clement VII and which had its court in Avignon, France. The third line of popes, the Pisan Obedience, originated when the Roman pope and the Avignese pope were deposed for refusing to appear before a counsel of dissidents that met in Pisa in 1409. The Pisan council elected Alexander V, and his successor was John XXIII.

The Roman Catholic Church considers the Roman Obedience as the line of legitimate successors to the seat of the pope, and the anti-popes of the Pisan and Avignon Obediences are not acknowledged by the Church. There have been several other anti-popes in the course of Vatican history, including Nicolas V who was in power from 1328 to 1330, a turbulent time in the history of the Visconti.

The Council of Constance, in April 1415, deposed the hated anti-pope, John XXIII, and Gregory XII was induced to resign in July of the same year. Benedict XIII was deposed in 1417, although he refused to acknowledge his removal and had one more successor, Clement VIII. Duke Filippo and Cardinal Oddo Colonna were personal friends and the duke sent delegates to the Council of Constance to assist in the election of Colonna, who took office as Martin V. In 1429, Clement VIII was bribed into renouncing his claim, and Clement's cardinals reconfirmed Pope Martin V with another election.

Interestingly, there exist today at the British Museum two early-seventeenth-century fragmented sheets of playing cards that include several tarot cards and the inscription *Alla Colona in Piazza Nicosia* (see Volume I). The maker of the cards may have been commissioned by the Colonna family of Rome, whose arms appear on the page of spades.

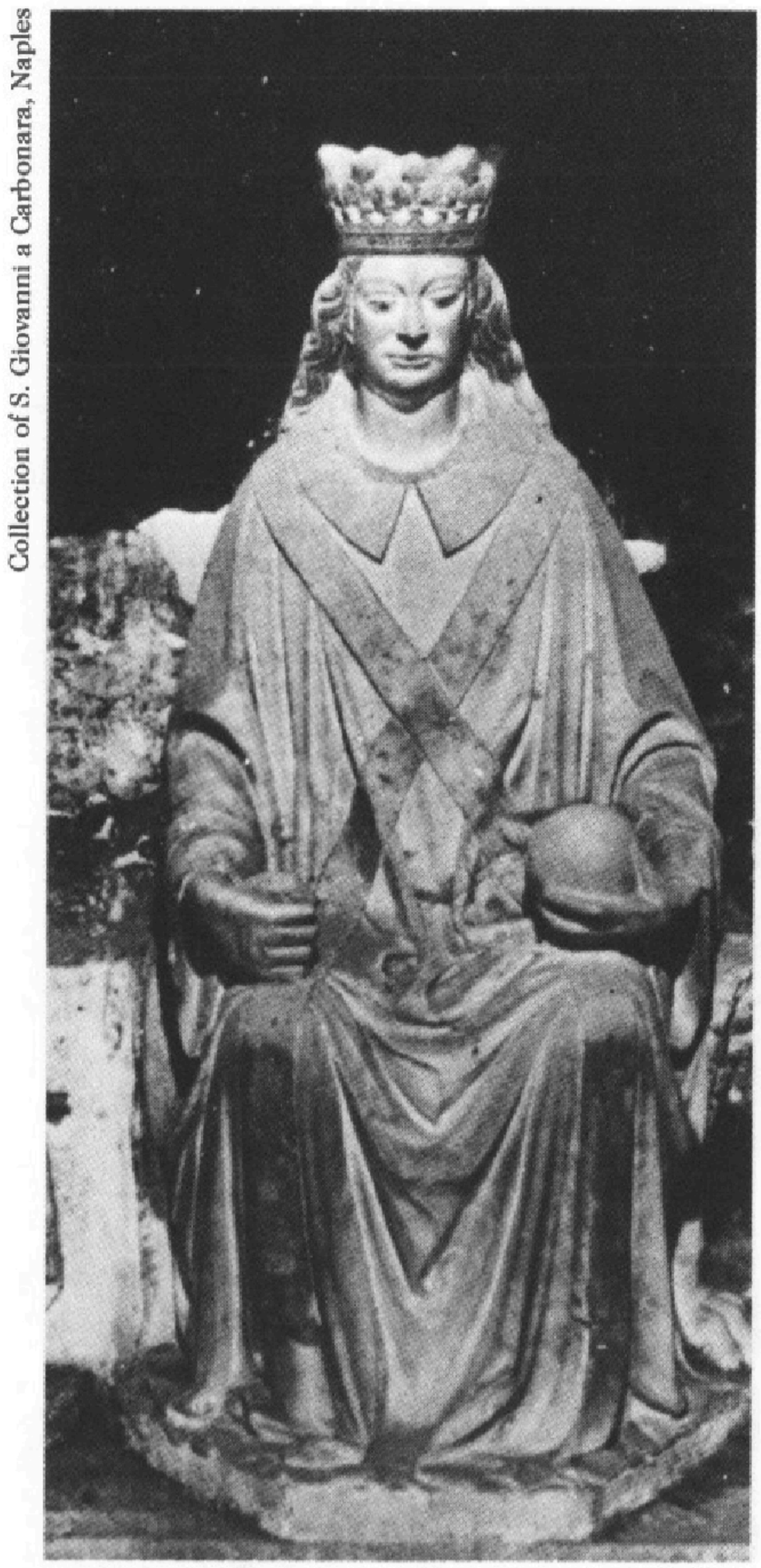
The papal states were under siege in 1416 by Braccio of Montone, a formidable condottiere. Queen Joanna II of Naples, daughter of Charles of Durazzo and wife of Jacques of Bourbon, hired Muzio Attendolo Sforza to lead an army in the defense of Naples and the pope. However, Sforza found Queen Joanna unreliable and began to negotiate with Louis of Anjou.

In the meantime, Duke Filippo entered into conflict with Genoa in 1417 in an attempt to offset the rising importance of Venice. The war lingered until 1418 when a temporary peace was made.

In 1419, Pope Martin V traveled to Pavia to pay a visit to Duke Filippo. The pope and the twelve cardinals who accompanied him were given a tumultuous welcome by the entire court led by the duke. The pope consecrated an altar at the Duomo in Milan, and numerous banquets and feasts marked the festive occasion.

Carmagnola continued his brilliant success in the field on behalf of the duke, and in 1420, he took Bergamo from Malatesta, captured Lecco, and marched with his troops into Bresciana. The duke arranged for Carmagnola to take as his wife Antonia Visconti, the duke's cousin. Carmagnola promptly began construction of a palace in Milan called the Broletto Nuovo and Carmagnola's escutcheon was displayed with the Visconti arms.

In 1422, Carmagnola was sent against Cremona, and he successfully restored the town to the dukedom. Genoa surrendered and the doge, Campofregoso, fled. The victory for Filippo caused much rejoicing in Milan. Duke Filippo was careful to avoid a repetition of the problem previously experienced by his brother when Facino Cane's popularity



Queen Joanna II of Naples *Detail from the tomb of Ladislaus of Naples by Andrea of Firenze, 1428*

Collection of Museo Civico, Carmagnola, Italy

Carmagnola *Francesco Bussone, known as Carmagnola, served as a condottiere under Duke Filippo Maria Visconti.*

as a condottiere threatened to eclipse the ducal rule. In order to check any further rise in Carmagnola's popularity, Filippo prudently dispatched him to Genoa as presiding governor.

In southern Italy, the situation at Naples deteriorated rapidly. Queen Joanna II was threatened by Muzio Attendolo Sforza who was employed by Louis of Anjou. Joanna turned to the pope for assistance, but none was forthcoming. In desperation, she sought help from King Alfonso of Aragon, who was quite willing to revive the ancient claims of his house. In return for Queen Joanna adopting him as her son and heir, Alfonso dispatched a fleet to the aid of Naples.

Rivalry and intrigue arose almost immediately on all sides. Relations between Joanna and Alfonso grew uneasy. Muzio Attendolo Sforza and Braccio of Montone were powerful condottieri who had served together under Alberico of Barbiano, but now they were enemies. Joanna hired Braccio to war against Sforza, but the two great captains reconciled their hostilities and the fighting slackened. Sforza encouraged Queen Joanna to modify her policy in favor of Louis of Anjou. After a quarrel with Alfonso, the queen sent emissaries to Louis of Anjou, who welcomed her overtures, and she declared him heir instead of Alfonso. Braccio sided with Alfonso, and again Sforza and Braccio found themselves adversaries.

Against Alfonso's wishes, Braccio proceeded to lay siege against the town of Aquila. Muzio Sforza made preparations to relieve the city and on January 3, 1424, while his troops crossed the flooded river Pescara, Sforza fell off his horse and drowned attempting to rescue his favorite page. Muzio Sforza's twenty-two-year-old son, Francesco Sforza, regrouped his father's soldiers and crushed the Braccio camp. It is possible that around this time Francesco was awarded the heraldic emblem of the fountain for successfully completing his father's campaign.

With the capture in 1422 of Genoa, Duke Filippo had gained access to the sea. The duke was opposed to the threatening claims of King Alfonso and he firmly opposed his accession to Naples. Filippo dispatched a fleet of ships under Guido Torello to assist Queen Joanna. The relief of Aquila had brought Francesco Sforza to the attention of Duke Filippo Visconti. Torello also knew Francesco Sforza and he was sufficiently impressed by the young condottiere to recommend him to the duke. Their high opinion of Sforza was confirmed when the young condottiere succeeded in wresting Naples from Alfonso.

In 1423, Duke Filippo's illegitimate daughter, Bianca

Maria, was born to his mistress, Agnes del Maino. Bianca Maria remained the only child of the third duke of Milan and she was destined to play a key role in the rise of the Sforza family as the future dukes of Milan.

Carmagnola chafed at his inactivity in Genoa and his resentment boiled over when Filippo ordered part of his troops detached from his command to serve under Torello. In addition, he was instructed to step down as governor of Genoa in favor of Isolani. Carmagnola sped to Milan and demanded to see the duke. Filippo refused to grant the condottiere an audience and directed him to the court astrologer, Riccio. Rebuffed and insulted, Carmagnola stormed out of Milan and proceeded straight to Venice where he offered his services to the doge, who had been contemplating war with Milan. In January 1426, Carmagnola was appointed captain-general of Venetian forces.

Florence and Venice formed a league against Milan, and they were joined by Ferrara, Montferrat, Mantua and Savoy. The early campaigns against Duke Filippo were successful. Sforza was dispatched to defend the town of Brescia from an attack by Carmagnola, but Sforza and his fellow captain, Piccinino, quarreled, and when Piccinino left the field of battle, Venetian troops overwhelmed Sforza and the town of Brescia fell.

During the siege of Brescia, Duke Filippo sent numerous messengers directly to Carmagnola bidding his former soldier to return to Milanese employ. Carmagnola refused, but the constant exchange of messages succeeded in angering the Venetians who grew distrustful of their captain-general's frequent and unorthodox communication with the enemy.

Cary Collection of Playing Cards, The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut

The Lovers *Cary-Yale Visconti Tarocchi card*

Venetian forces pressed ahead on land, and the Venetian fleet sailed up the Po River to Cremona. Meanwhile, Duke Filippo began to grow dissatisfied with his leading condottieri, Sforza and Piccinino. Whereas the preceding duke, Giovanni, had failed to heed the advice of Carlo Malatesta, Duke Filippo decided to add Malatesta as a third general to his staff. The newly appointed general was anxious to prove himself to the duke, and he made a hasty and ill-advised decision to attack Carmagnola's forces near Maclodio. In October 1427, most of Carlo Malatesta's forces were either killed or captured by Venetian troops. However, the Venetians, ready to celebrate total victory, were outraged when they learned that Carmagnola had released a large body of prisoners who safely retreated to Milan.

Filippo also made an agreement with Savoy whereby he yielded the town of Vercelli and agreed to marry Maria of Savoy, daughter of Amadeus VII. Although the marriage was never consummated, the alliance secured Savoy's support. In April 1428 the duke and Venice made peace, and the towns of Bergamo and Brescia were yielded to the Venetians.

Some researchers believe that The Lovers card in the Cary-Yale Tarocchi deck depicts the arms of Savoy and, therefore, the figures might be Duke Filippo and Maria of Savoy.

The leaders of Venice remained dissatisfied with Carmagnola, voicing the accusation that the condottiere had intentionally failed to press the advantage at Maclodio, thus losing a splendid opportunity against the Milanese dukedom. On Filippo's part, the duke was annoyed at himself for the repeated offers of conciliation he had dispatched to a stubborn and unyielding Carmagnola.

Additionally irritated by the defeat of Milanese forces under Sforza's command, Filippo imprisoned Francesco Sforza. The condottiere wasn't released until he was urgently needed by the duke to help defend the town of Lucca from advancing Florentine forces.

In 1431, war again broke out between Milan and Venice. Emperor Sigismund planned to travel to Italy for his coronation in 1433, and he requested Amadeus of Savoy, already bound to the Milanese cause, to render help against Venice, the foe of the empire. Florence joined the Venetian side and the cities of Venice and Florence hired the marquis of Montferrat to lead their troops. Montferrat invaded Milanese territory and captured with little resistance at least twenty castles before Filippo secured aid from Amadeus on the promise that Savoy could keep whatever territory he won. Amadeus had schemed for just such an arrangement and he now willingly undertook the western defense.

In the east, Duke Filippo pressed Sforza into service to defend against the powerful forces of Carmagnola and the marquis of Mantua. Venice tried to outbid Milan for the services of Sforza, but the duke offered Francesco the hand in marriage of his illegitimate daughter, Bianca Maria, plus a dowry that included the key town of Cremona.

The Venetian flotilla sailed up the Po and was soundly defeated at Bina. On land, Carmagnola was defeated by the Milanese at Soncino. During the naval attack, Carmagnola and his troops remained idle, maintaining they expected an attack by Milanese forces under Piccinino. Carmagnola's laggard actions again became suspect. He was recalled to Venice and his army was entrusted to the command of Gianfrancesco Gonzaga, the marquis of Mantua. Upon

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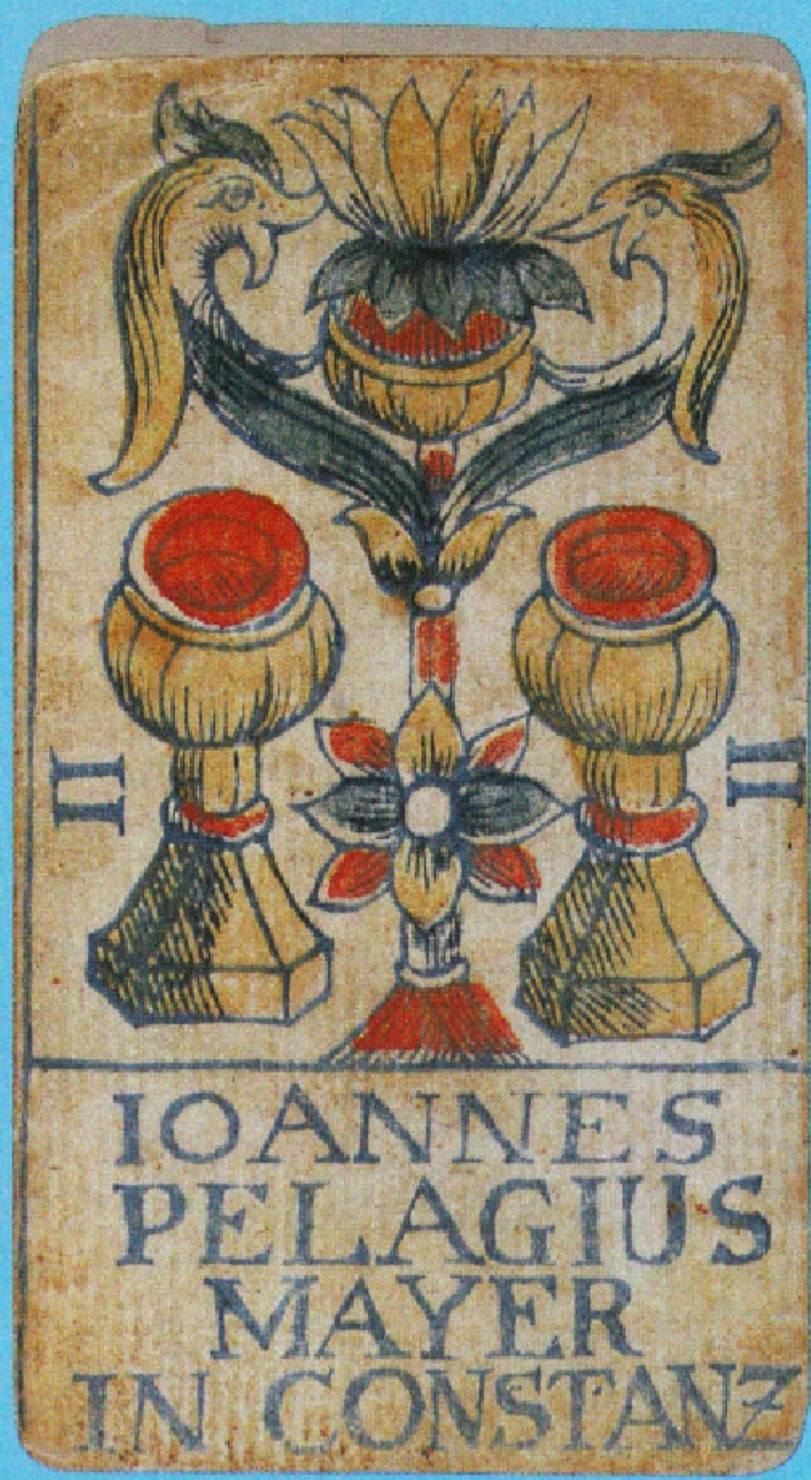

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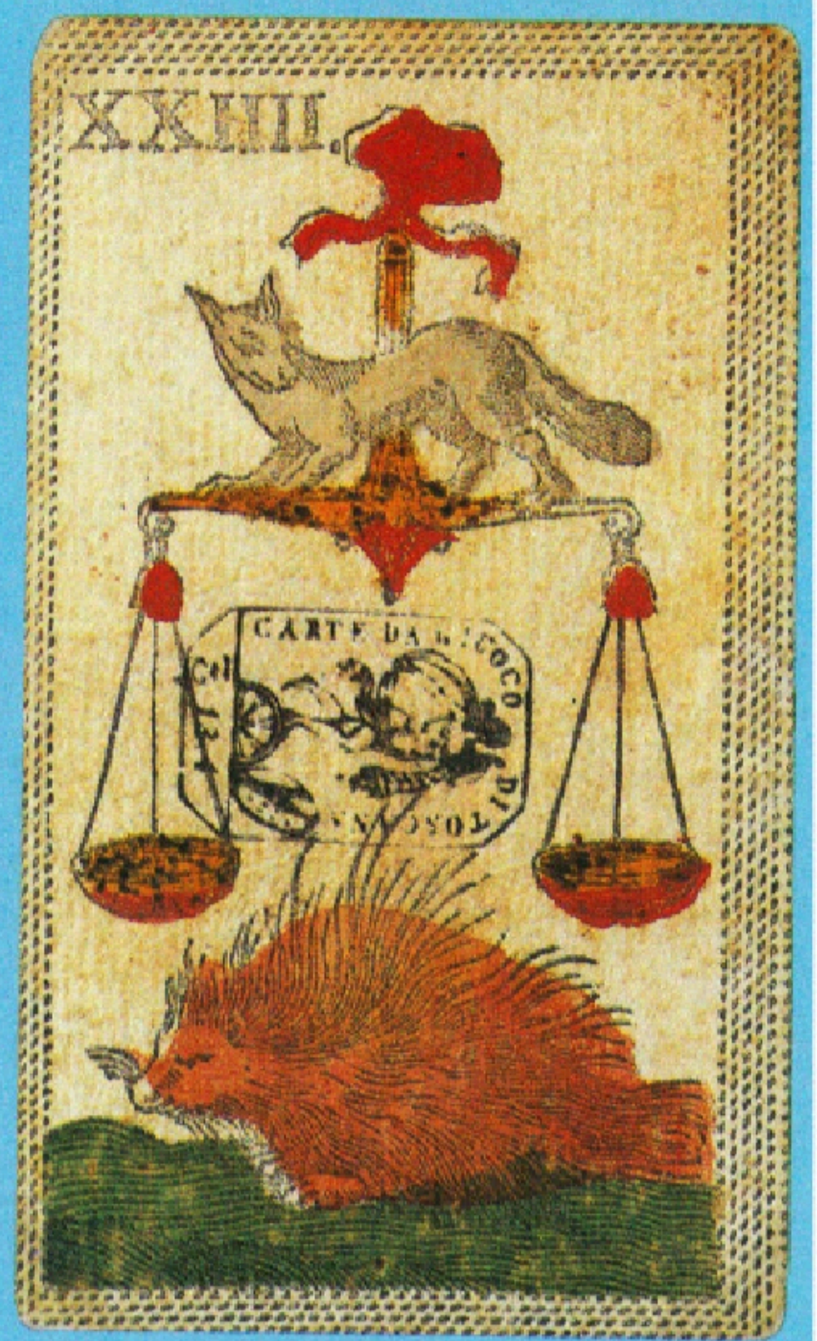

6

Except when otherwise indicated, the cards in this section are from the collection of the author.

1 & 2. IIII The Emperor and two of cups (slightly reduced) from Joannes Mayer Tarot, Constance, circa 1750 (collection of The United States Playing Card Company Museum, Cincinnati, Ohio)

3 & 6. XV The Tower and XXIIII Libra the Balance, minchiate pack by an unknown maker of Tuscany, circa 1820

4 & 5. I The Magician and XI Strength from Grandprêtre Tarot, late eighteenth century (collection of The United States Playing Card Company Museum, Cincinnati, Ohio)

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7 & 8. King of batons and XXI The World, designed by C. Dellarocca and published by F. Gumppenberg of Milan, circa 1823–1840

9. X Faust of Goethe's drama, Theatrical Tarock, Joseph Glanz, Vienna, circa 1858–1877

10. V The Pope, Giuseppe Lando Tarot, Turin, circa 1760

11 & 12. III The Empress and ace of coins, Edoardo Dotti Tarot, Milan, circa 1862–1865

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13. Trump XIII/13, Johann Nejedly Tarock, Vienna, circa 1881–1900

14. XIX The Sun, J. Vieville Tarot, Paris, circa 1643–1664

15. VI The Lovers, F. Gumppenberg Tarot, circa 1823–1840

16. XV Moral, Revolution of 1848 Tarock, Joseph Glanz of Vienna

17. I The Juggler, Bordoni Tarot, Milan, circa 1890

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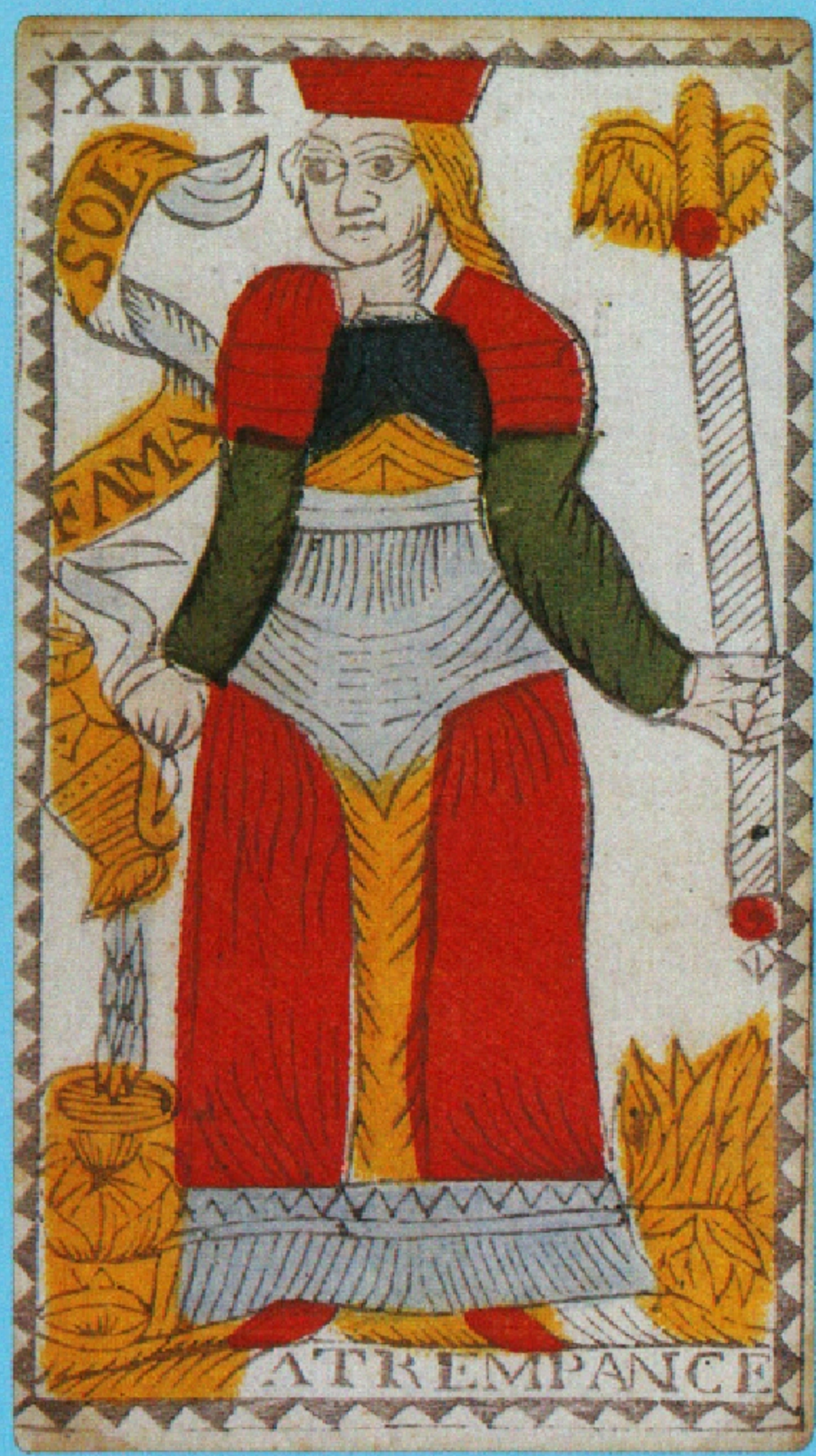
18. The Fool, Amedeo Candiana Tarot, Novara, circa 1900

19. Death, tarocco Siciliano deck by an unknown maker, late seventeenth or eighteenth century

20. Trump XX, Military Tarock, Ferd. Piatnik & Söhne, Vienna, circa 1882

21 & 22. XX Judgment and engraved back design from Edoardo Dotti Tarot deck, Milan, circa 1862-1865

23. 16 The Tower, Oletto Tarot, Turin, circa 1862



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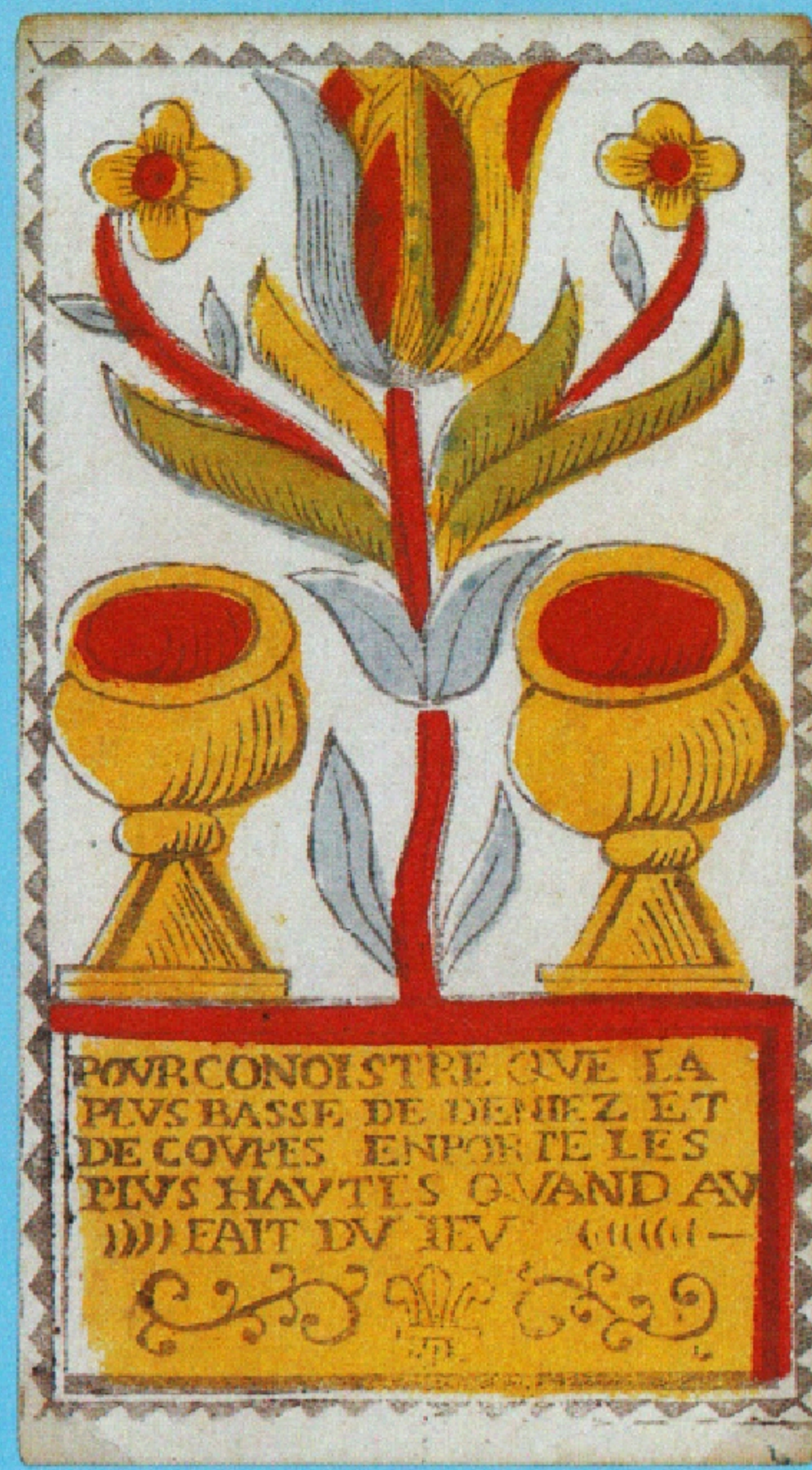

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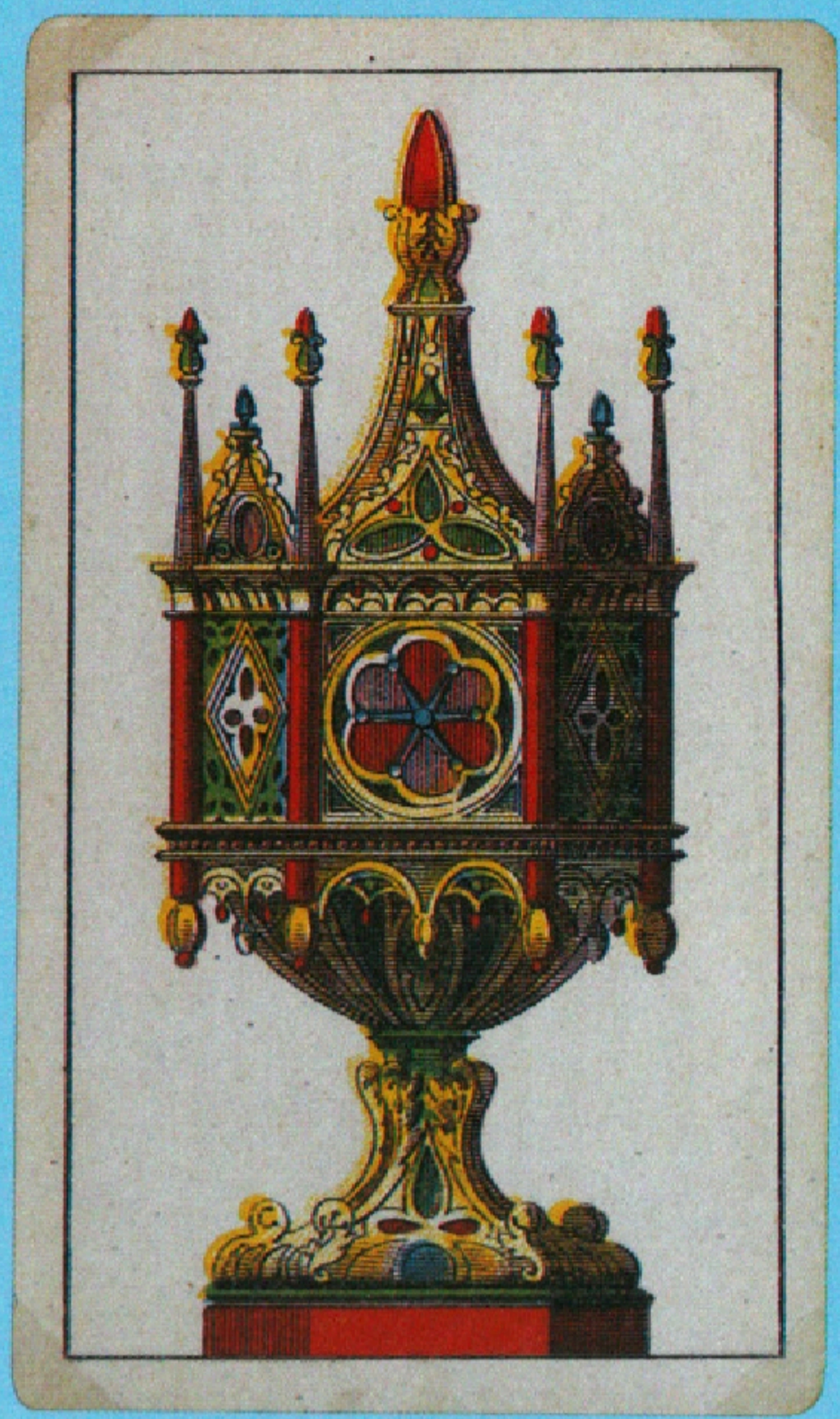

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24 & 25. XIIII Temperance and two of cups, Cartes de Suisses pack by Antoine Jar, Bouvigne-sur-Meuse, eighteenth century

26 & 27. Ace of cups and 17 The Star, Fratelli Armanino Tarot, Genoa, circa 1885

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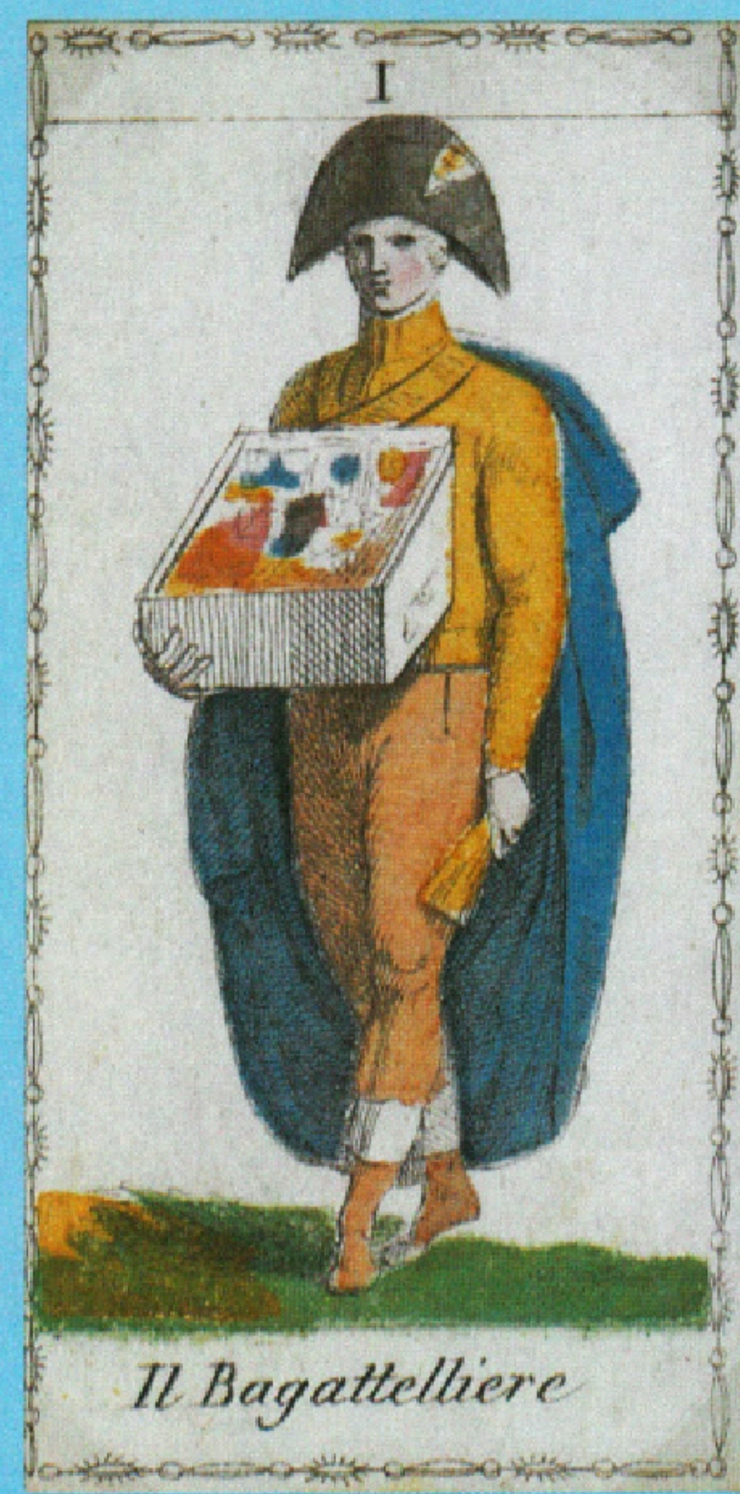

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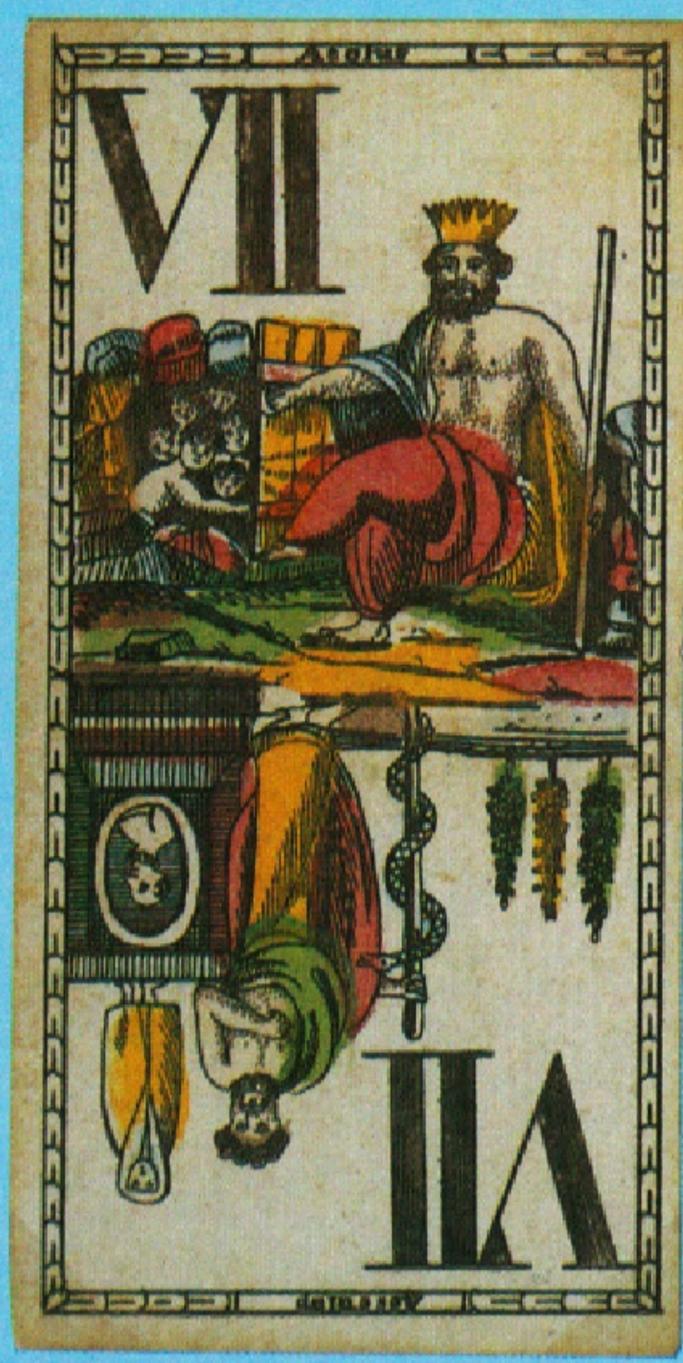

33

28. XIX The Sun, F. Teodoro Dotti Tarot, Milan, circa 1857-1858

29 & 30. The Fool and I The Juggler, F. Gumppenberg Tarot, Milan, circa 1807-1815

31. XI Strength, L. Lamperti Tarot, Milan, circa 1860-1865

32. Trump VII from Classical Deities Tarock, Jos. Schneider, Pest, circa 1830

33. 4 The Emperor, Francesco Fantini Tarot, Novara, circa 1862

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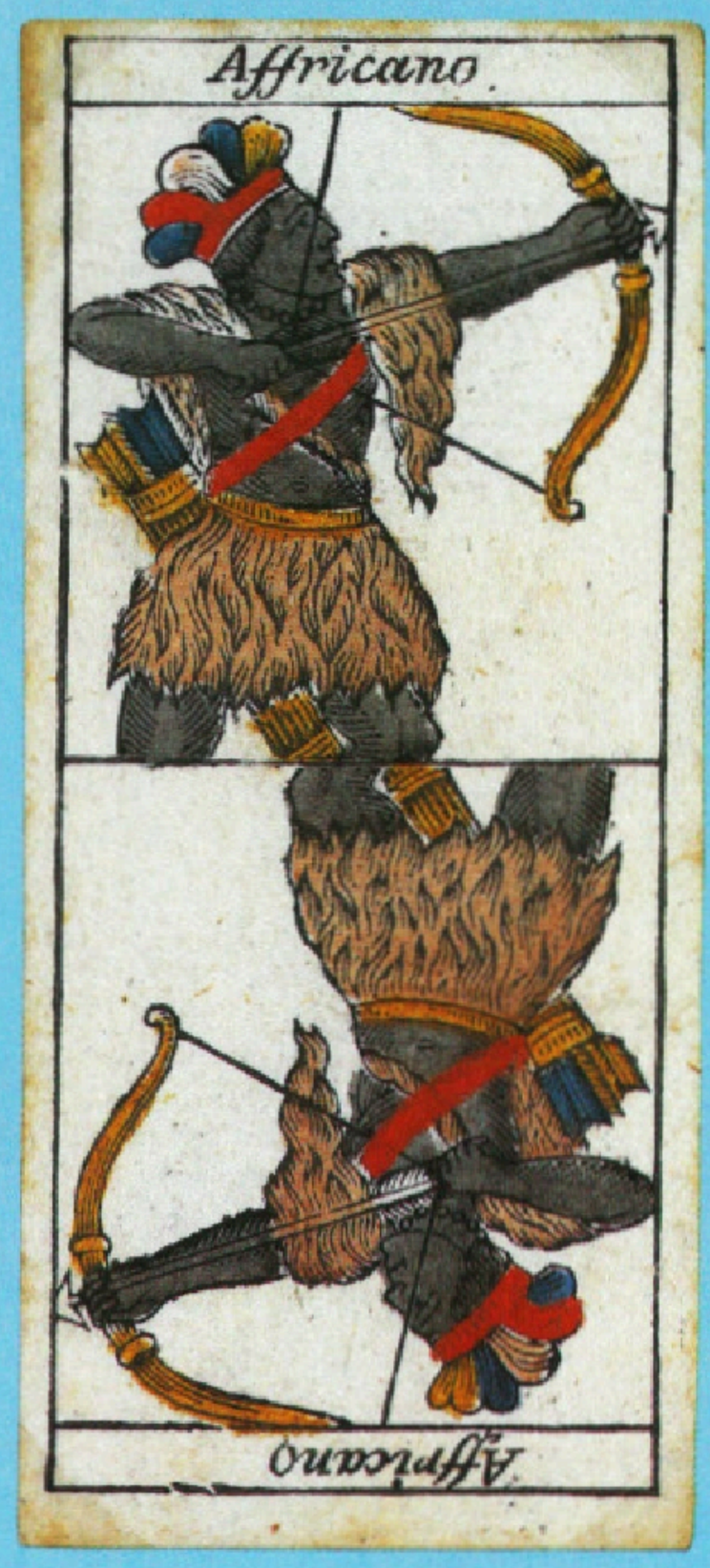

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34. Trump 15 from B. Dondorf Tarock No. 246, Frankfurt, second half of nineteenth century

35 & 36. African and 5 Love, F. Gumppenberg Tarocchini of Bologna, Milan, circa 1807–1815

37 & 38. The Fool and ace of coins, Giacomo Recchi Tarot, Oneglia, circa 1820

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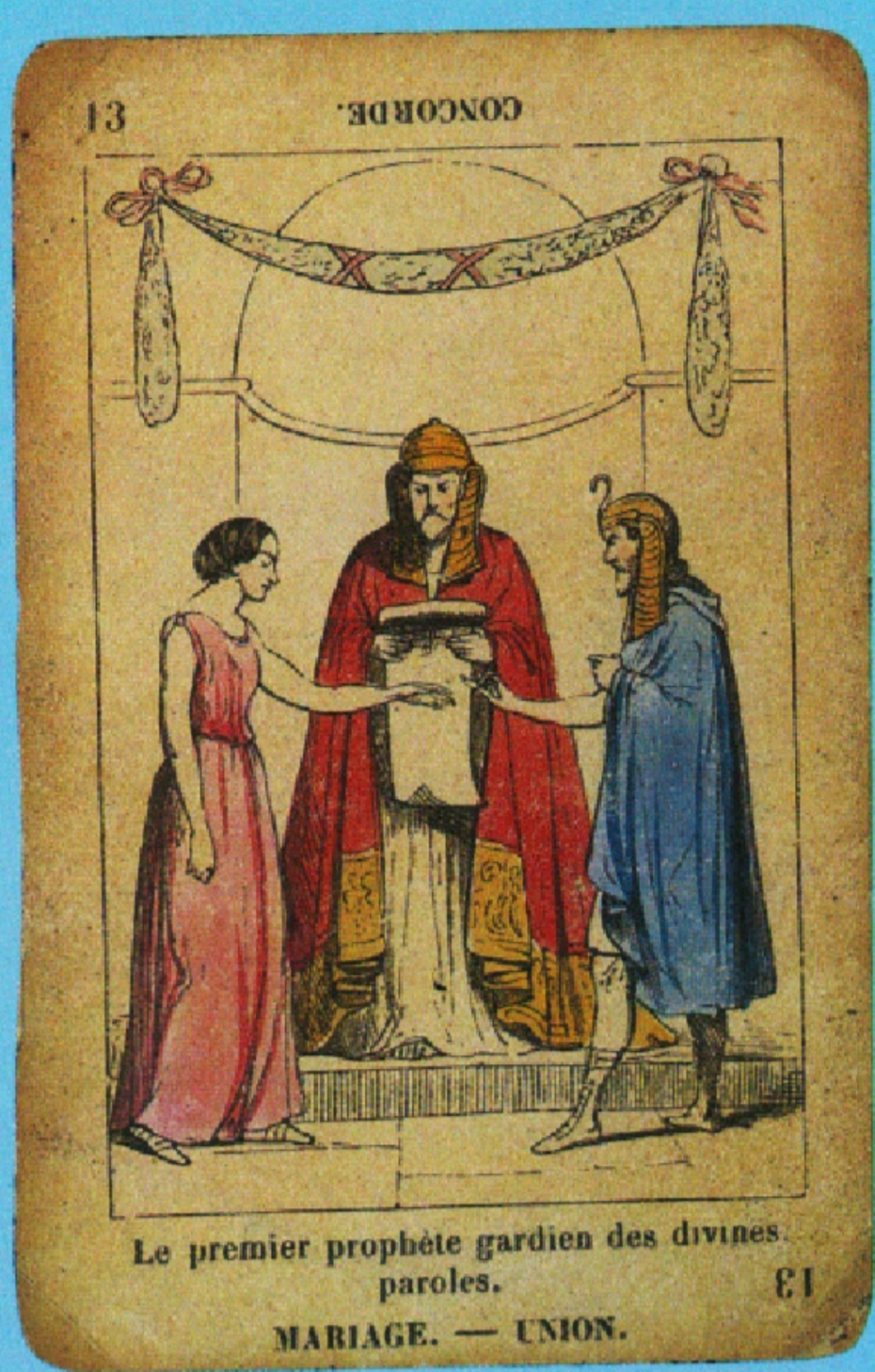

42

39 & 40. Page of spades and trump VIII from Animal Tarock by F.-J. Vandenborre, Belgium, circa 1770–1780

41 & 42. 13 Marriage and 78 Folly, Etteilla-type tarot, France, nineteenth century

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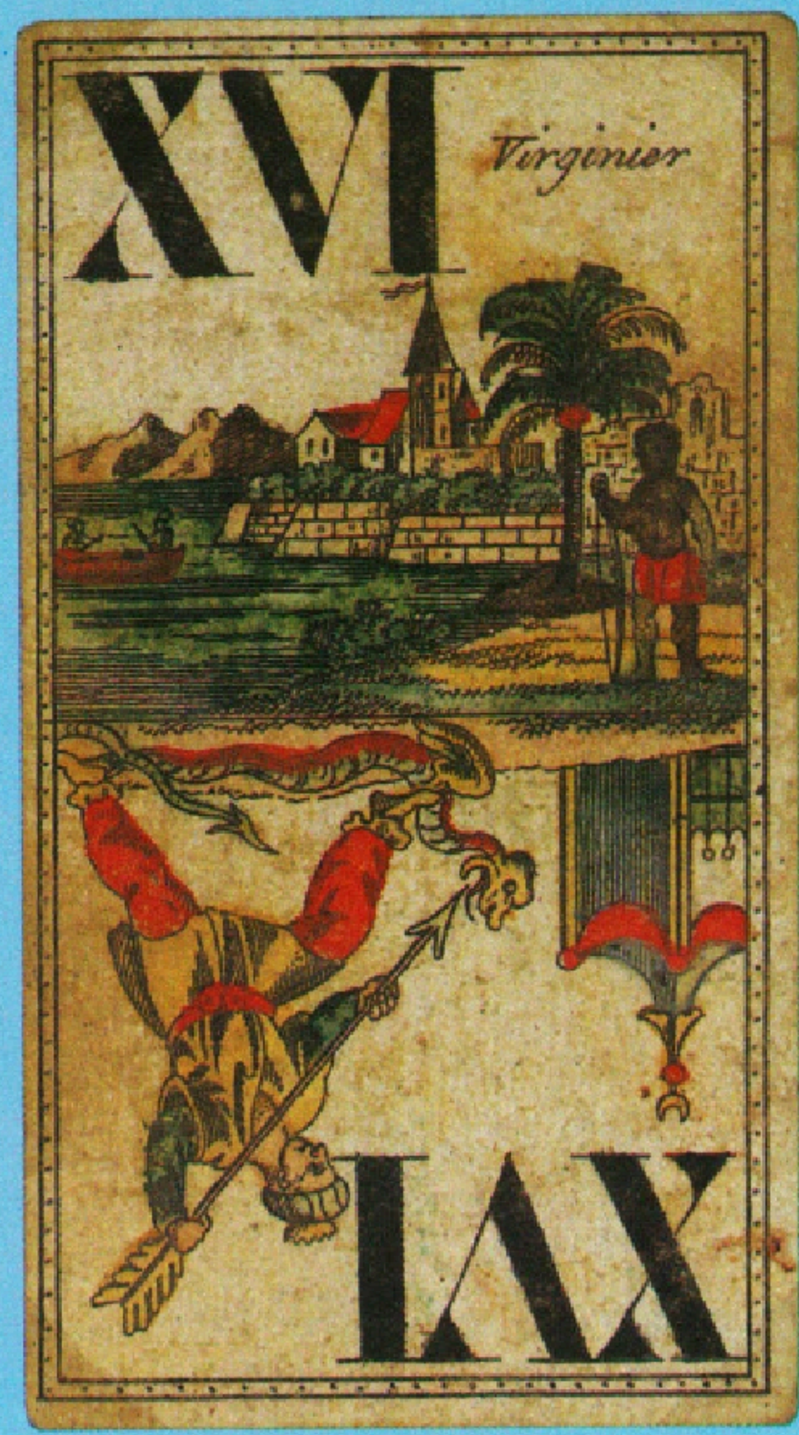

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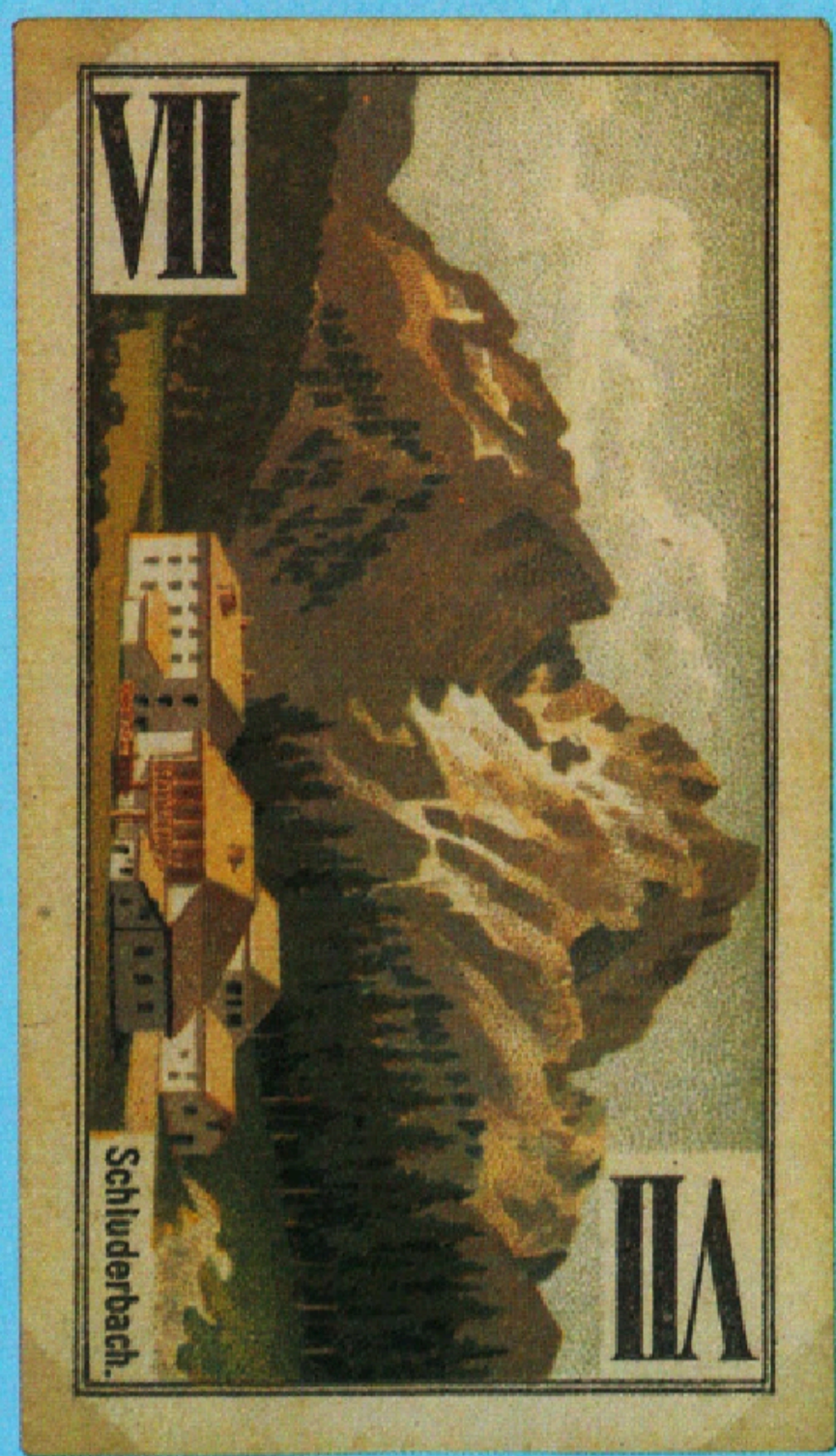

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43. The Magician, Tarocchini of Bologna by Gaetano Provasi, late eighteenth century

44. XX Judgment from F. Gumppenberg Tarot, Milan, circa 1807-1815

45. Trump XVI from Mathias Koller World Scenic Tarock, Vienna, circa 1825

46. Trump VII, Scenic Tarock by Ferd. Pittner, Graz, circa 1860

47. Trump XIV, Genre Tarock by Josef Glanz, Vienna, circa 1882-1889

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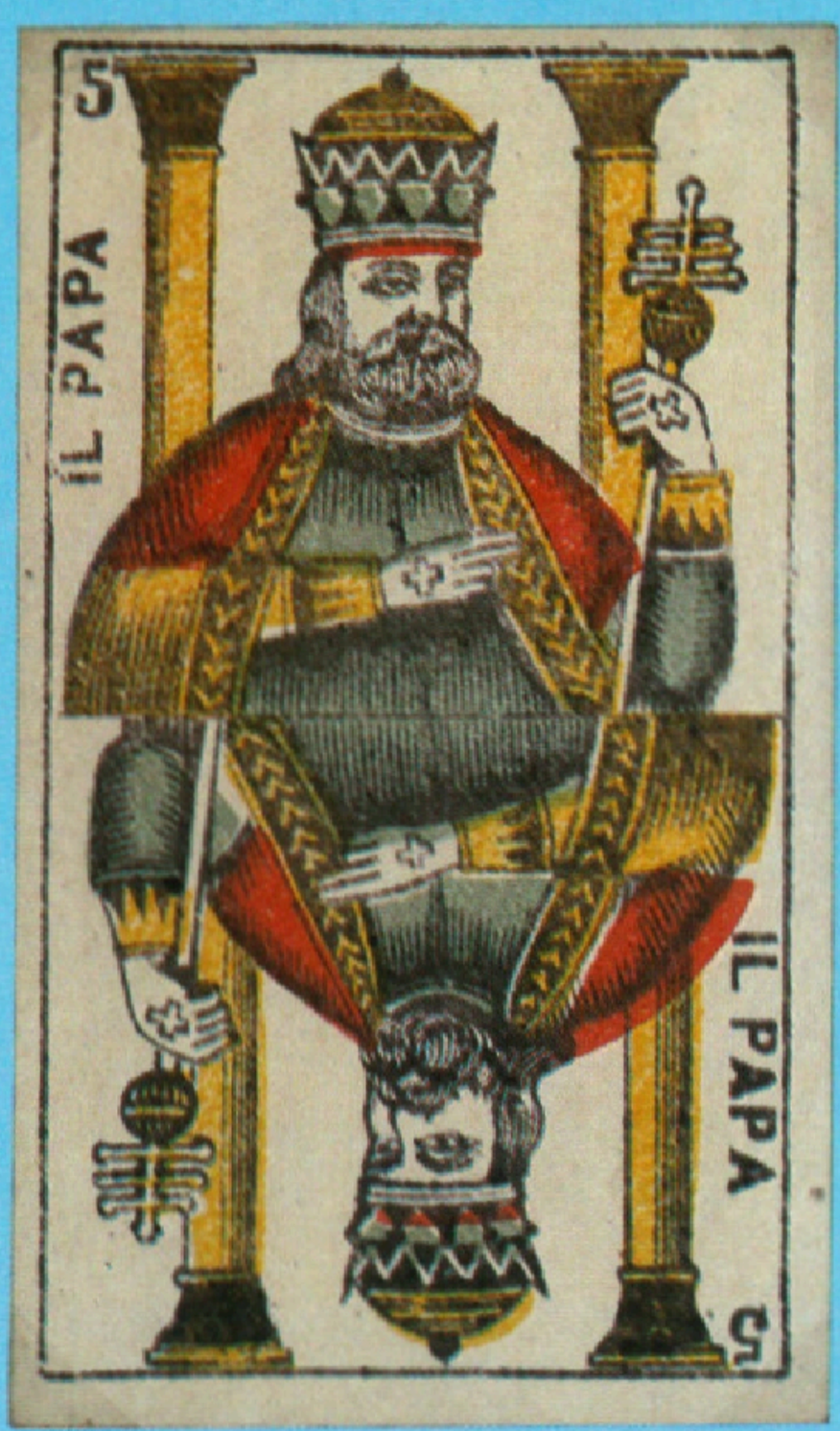

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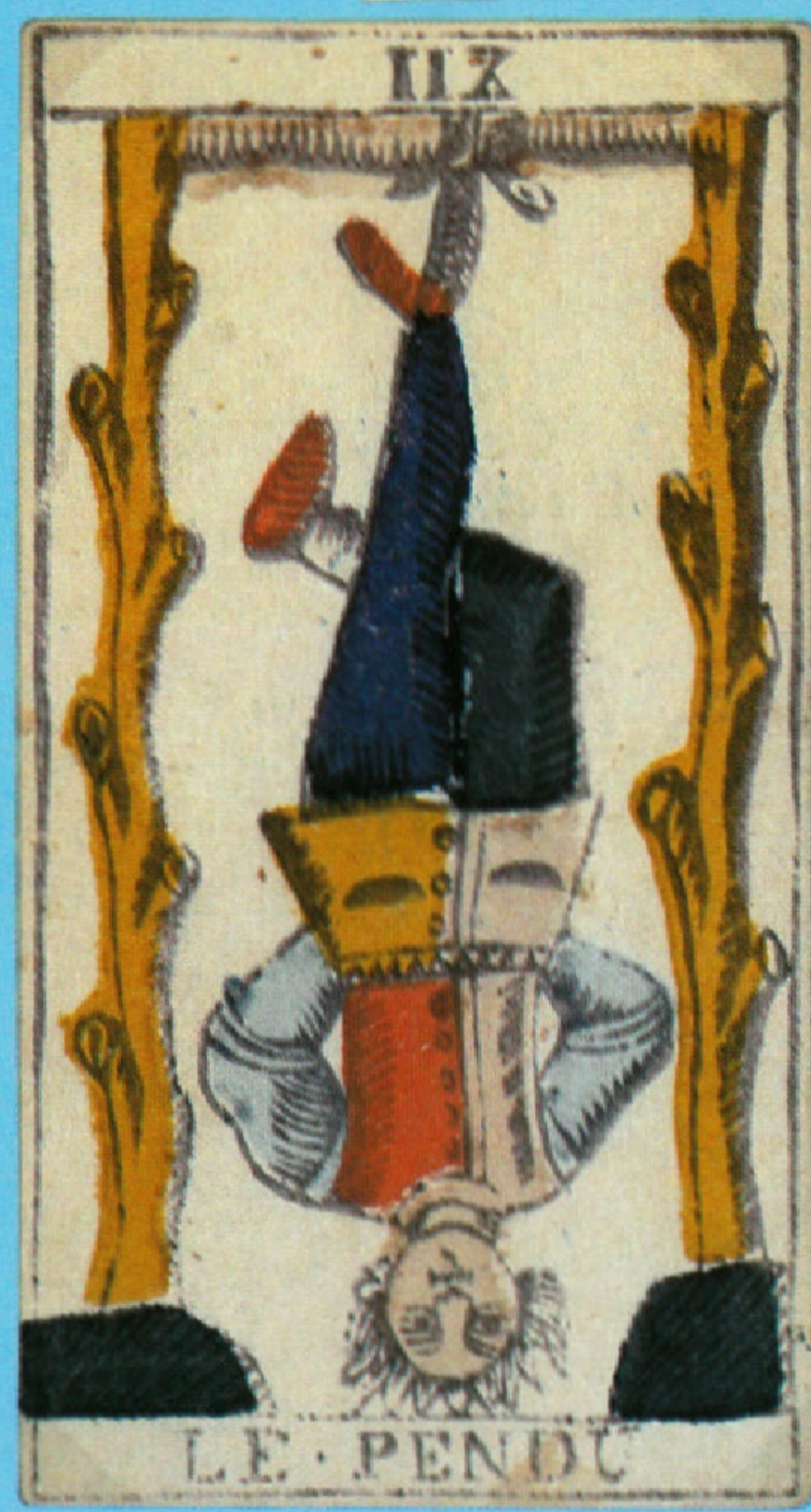

52

48. King of swords, Tarot Classic deck, Johannes Müller II of Schaffhausen, Switzerland, late nineteenth century

49. Trump 9 from Classical Deities Tarock, LeQuart, France, late nineteenth century

50. Trump II, La Fontaine Tarock by Peter Friedrich Ulrich, Leipzig, late eighteenth century

51. 5 The Pope, Alessandro Viassone Tarot, Turin, circa 1890

52. IIX [sic] The Hanged Man, C. F. Carrajat Tarot, Chambéry, circa 1780

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53. XI Strength, Pietro Milesi Tarot, Bergamo, circa 1823-1840

54. XXVII Aries the Ram, from minchiate pack by an unknown maker, late seventeenth or early eighteenth century

55. VIIII The Hermit, Giro. Montalenti Tarot, Turin, circa 1840-1860

56 & 57. VIII Justice and page of coins, Rivero Tarot, Geneva, nineteenth century

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58. XXXII Aratro from Historical Minchiate pack, maker unknown, engraved with the assistance of C. Migelli, circa 1721–1731

59. 17 The Star, Antonio Rossi Tarot, Alessandria, circa 1875

60 & 61. VII The Chariot and two of coins, Claude Burdel Tarot, 1751

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62 & 63. III The Empress and V The Pope, Edoardo Dotti Tarot, Milan, circa 1862-1865

64. XXI The World, P. Negri Tarot, Milan, circa 1862

65 & 66. Trump VIII and king of clubs from Titze and Schinkay Genre Tarock, Vienna, circa 1885

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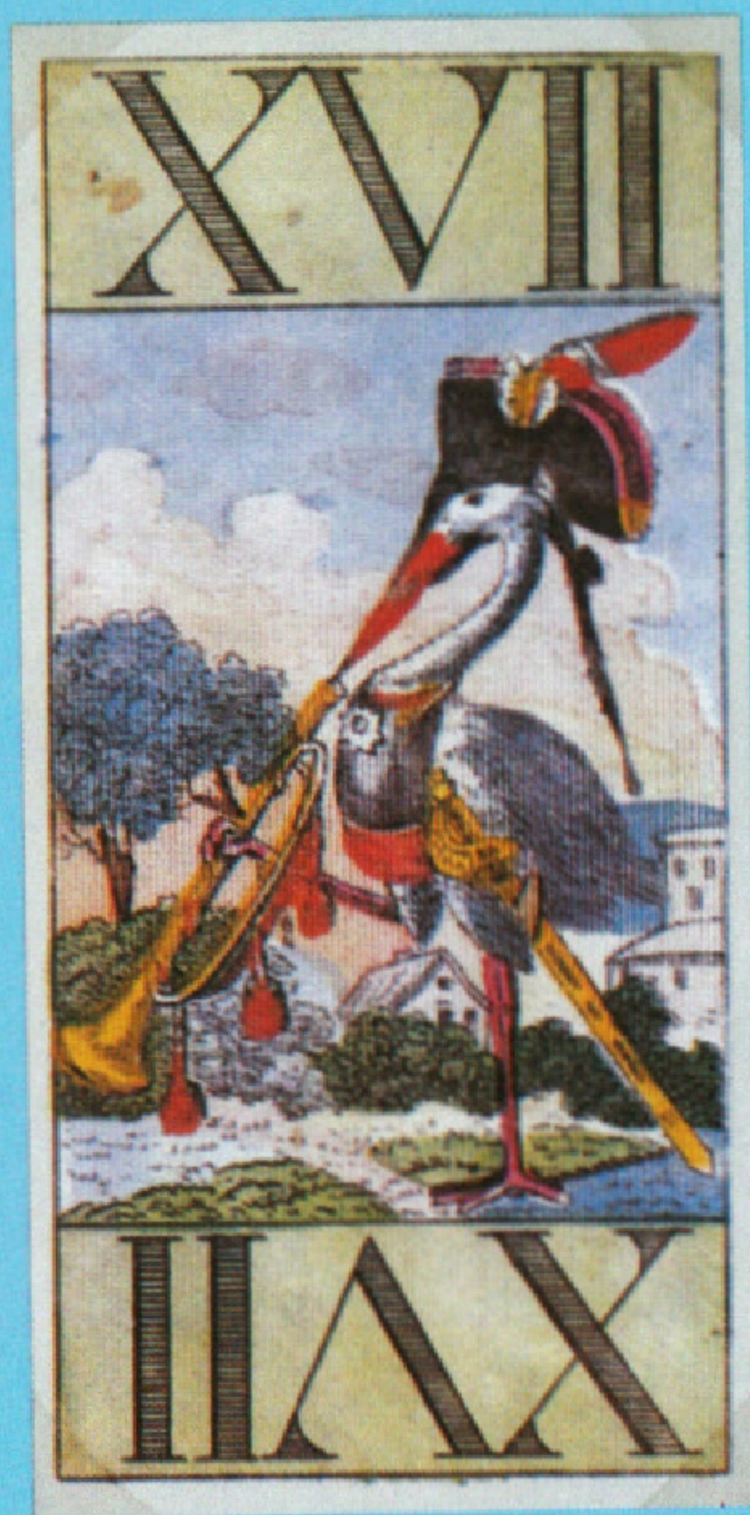

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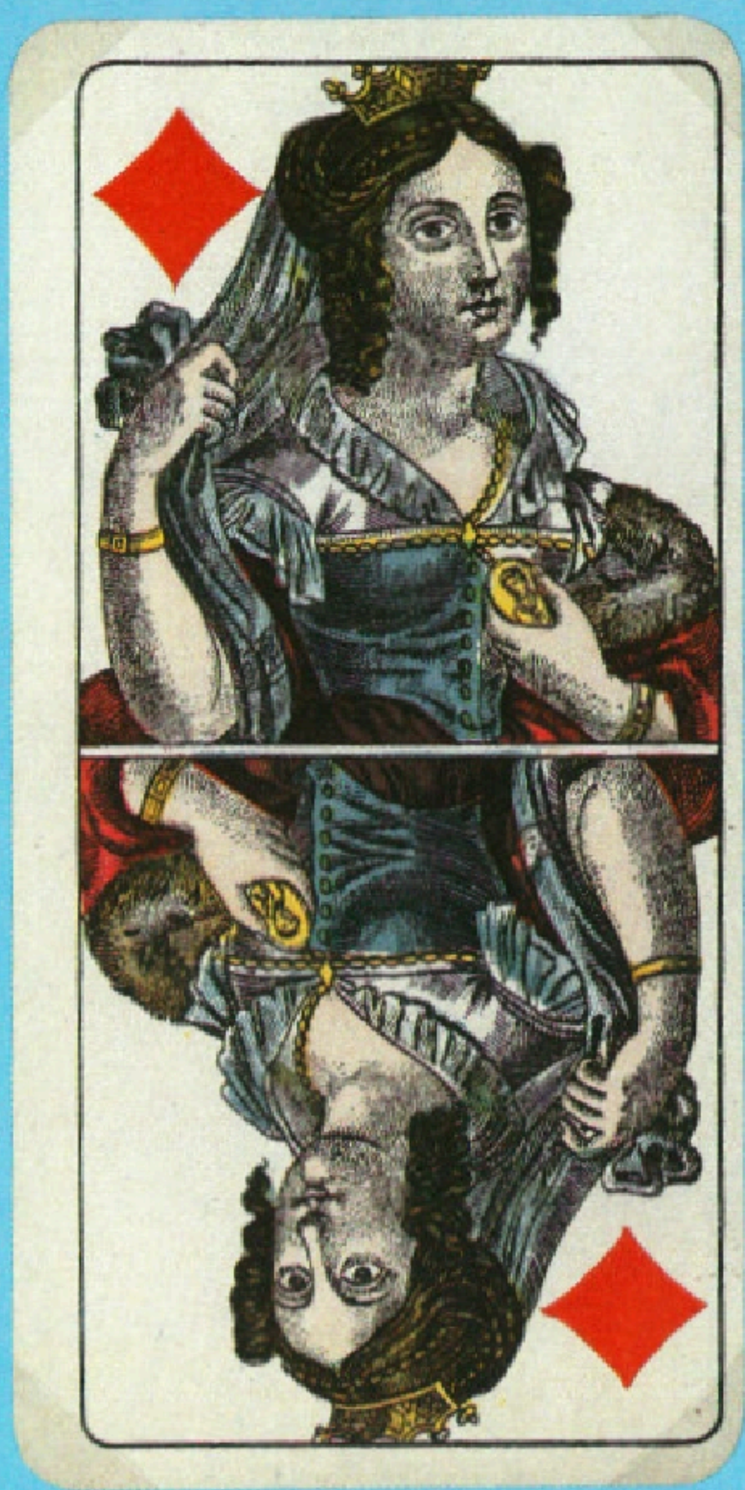
67. *Page of hearts, Animal Tarock, Geûens-Willaert, Bruges, circa 1910*
68. *XV Troubadour, Costume Tarock, Joseph Glanz, Vienna, 1865*
69. *Trump XVII from Topsy-Turvy Tarock, Otto Sutor, Leipzig, circa 1854*
70. *11 Strength, Etteilla Tarot in German language, unknown maker, mid-nineteenth century*
71. *XVII America, Geographical Tarock, Abbe Desprotte, 1780*



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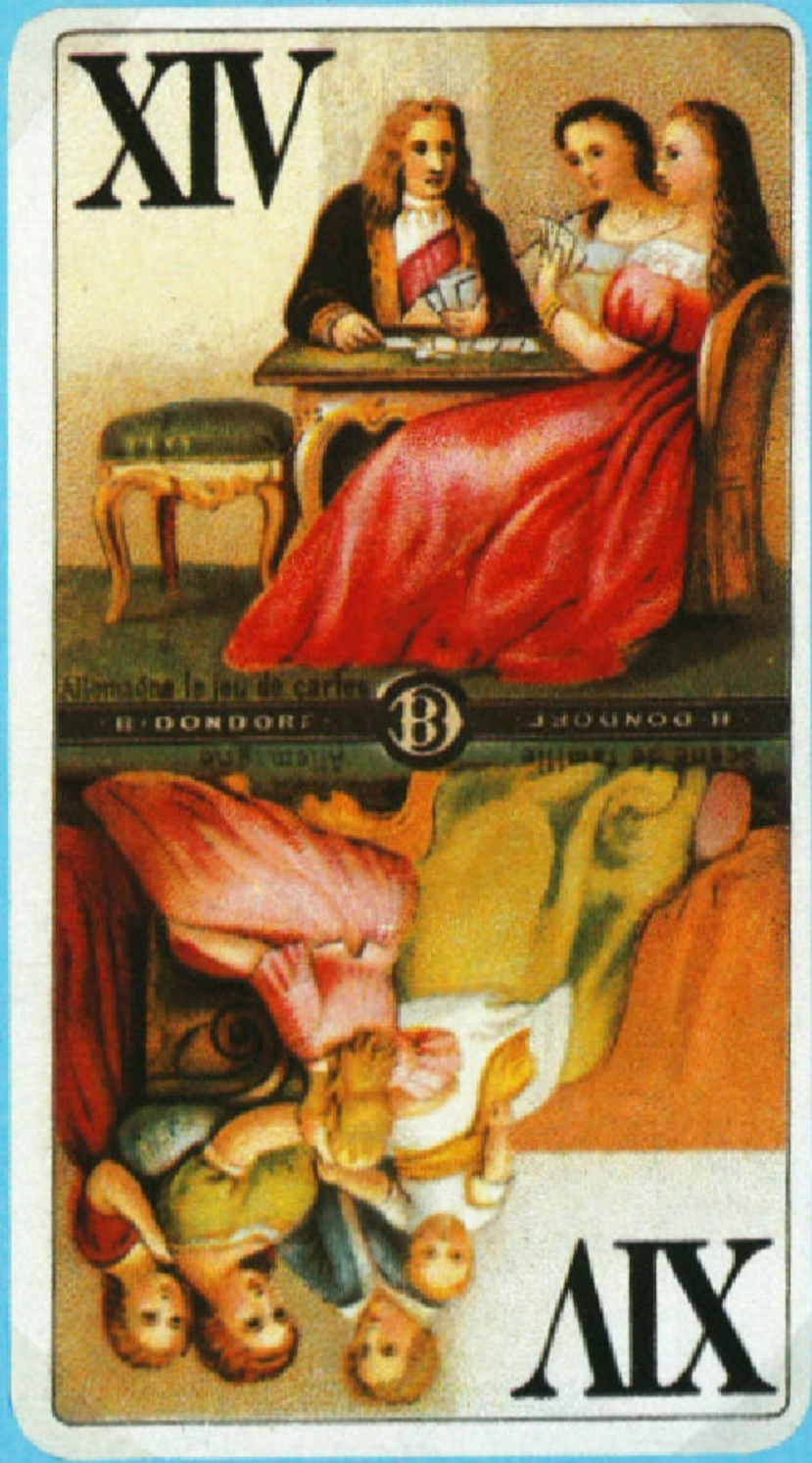

76

72 & 73. Queen of diamonds and trump VII, Proverb Tarock, designed by Baumgartner and manufactured by Vereinigte Stralsund Spielkarten Fabriken, Stralsund, circa 1875

74. 13 Marriage, Etteilla Tarot by unknown maker, late eighteenth or early nineteenth century

75 & 76. Trump XIV and king of hearts from B. Dondorf Tarock No. 345, early twentieth century

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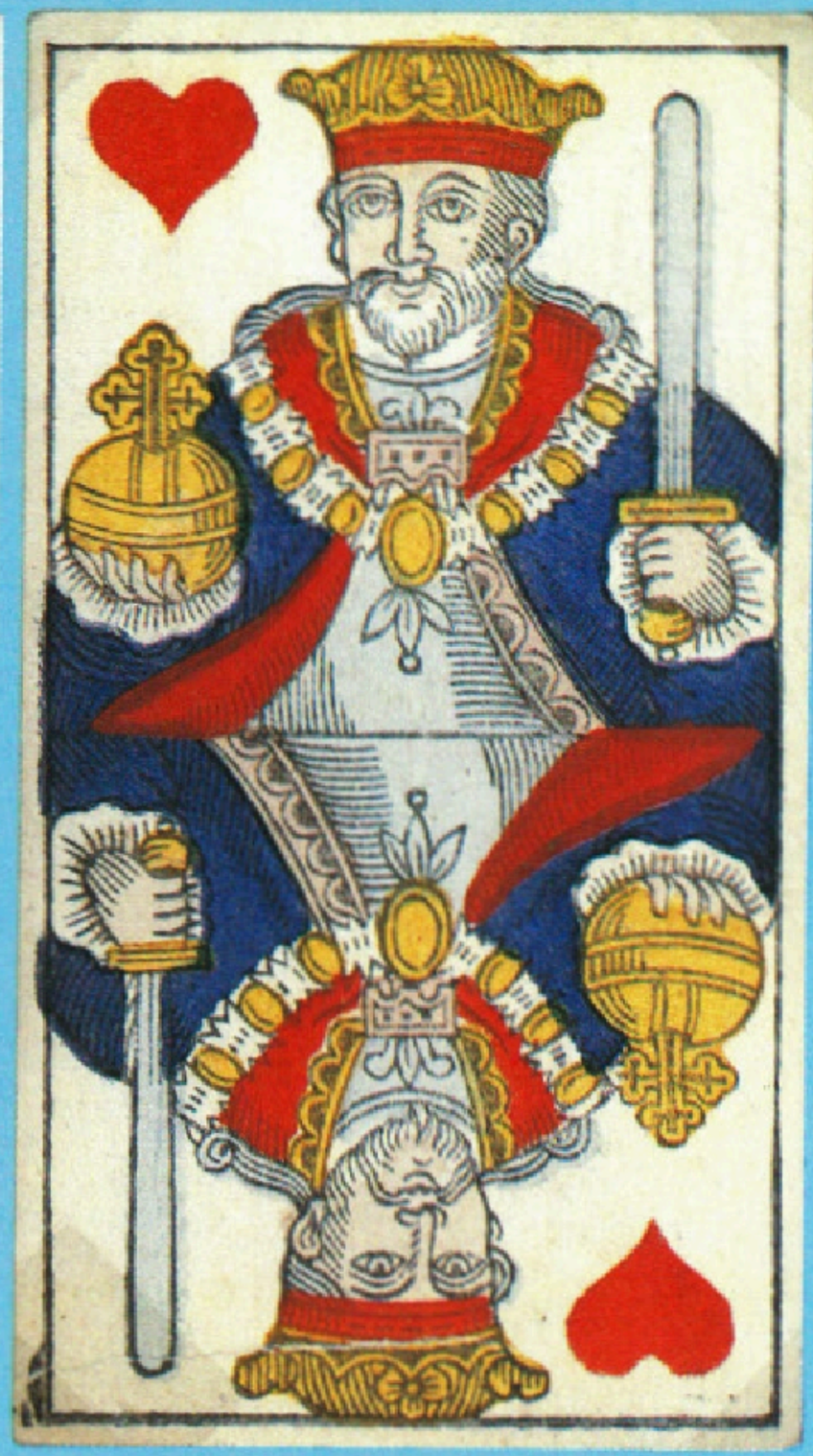

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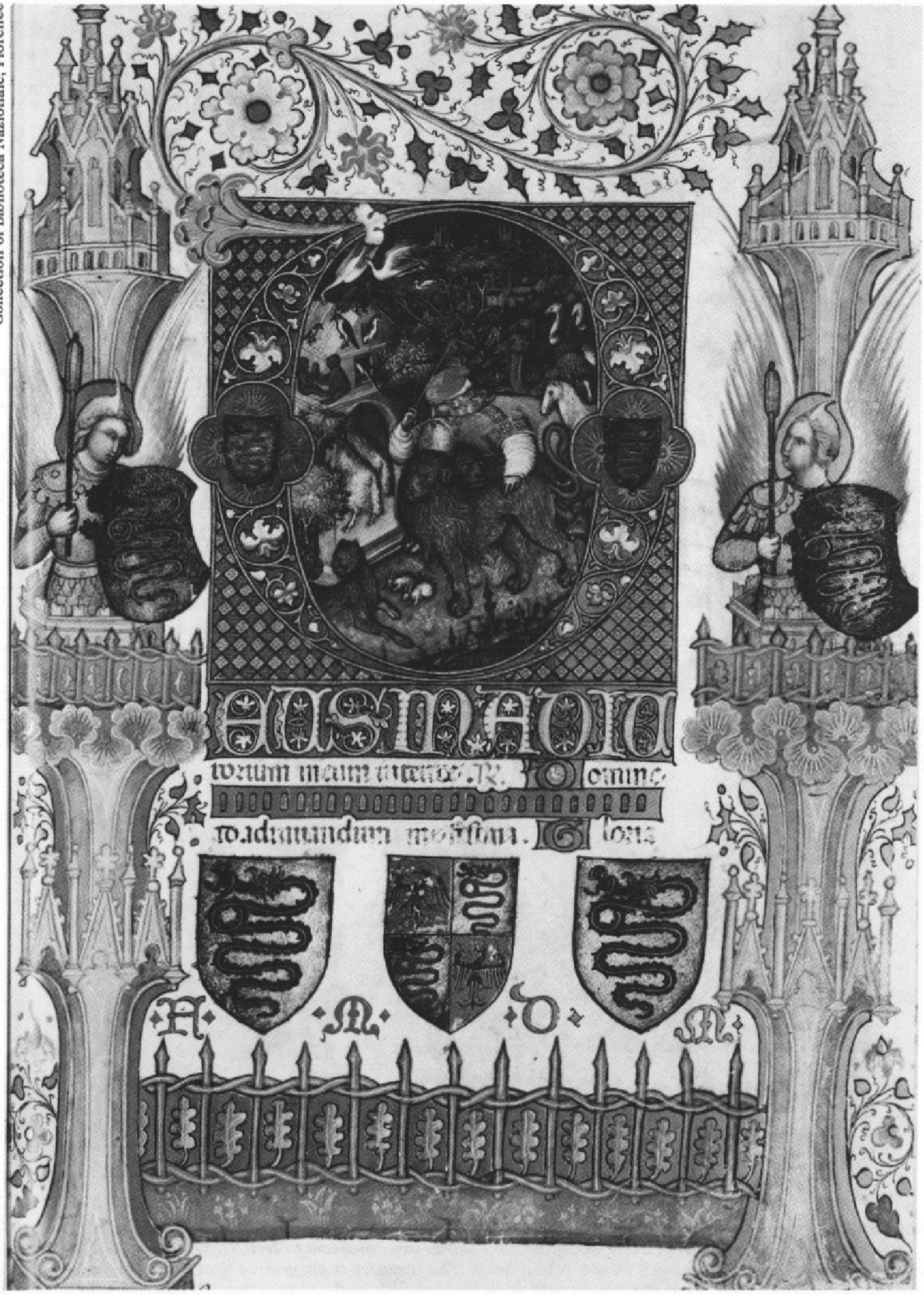
77. 1 The Magician, tarocco Siciliano by unknown maker, eighteenth or early nineteenth century

78 & 79. Trump 6 and king of hearts, Animal Tarock by unknown maker, Germany, mid-nineteenth century

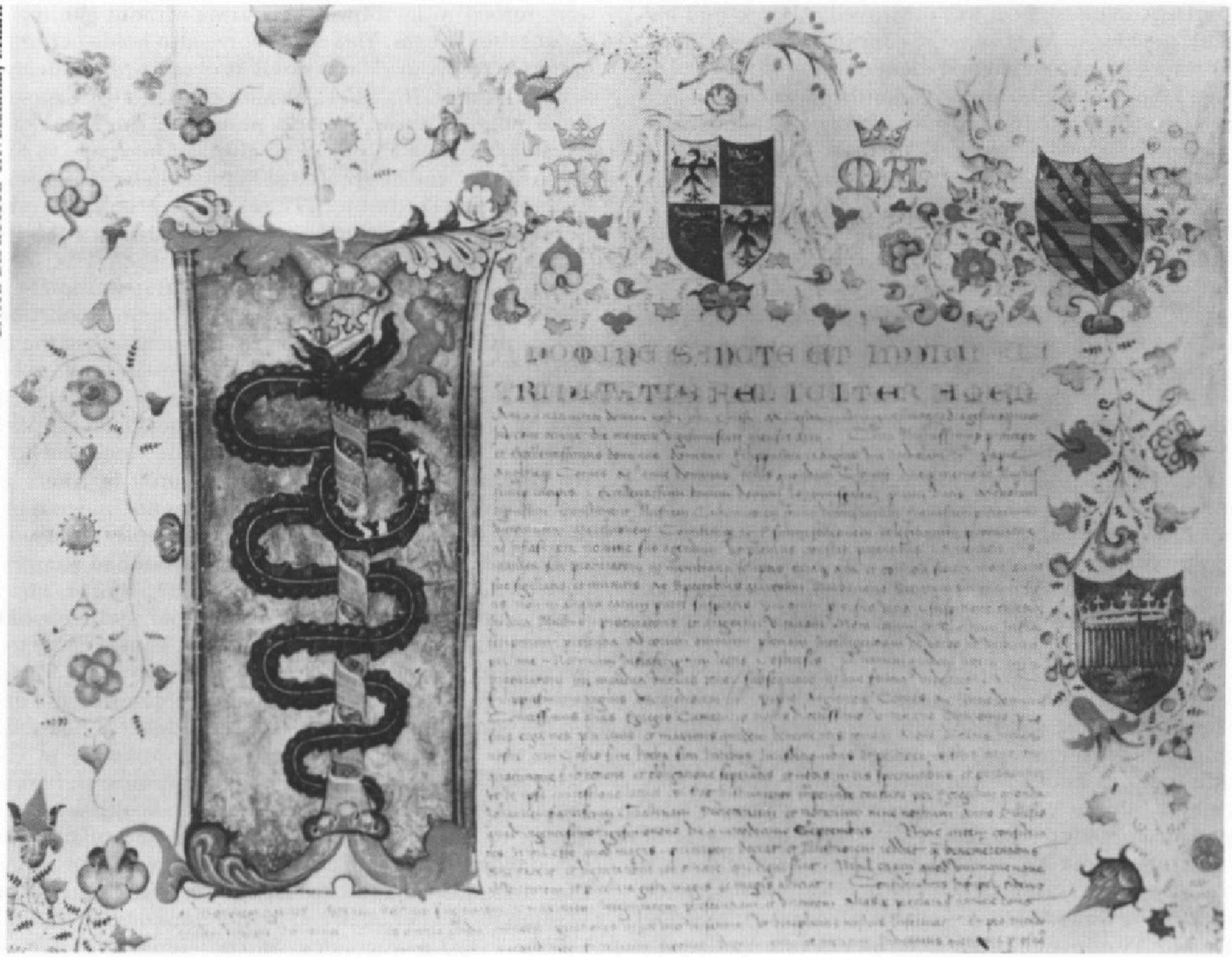
80 & 81. Trump VI and page of swords from Patriotic Tarock, made in Slovenia (now part of Yugoslavia), circa 1890



Collection of Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence

Visconti Book of Hours *From the later part of the manuscript, which was commissioned by Duke Filippo Maria Visconti and executed by Belbello of Pavia. Visconti shields and armorial devices predominate in the scene of Noah guiding animals into his ark. The center shield at the bottom contains the imperial eagle in the first and fourth quarters, and the coiled serpent devouring a naked figure in the second and third quarters. The coiled serpent clasps the figure in its jaws on the shields held by the warrior angels at the sides and on the shields in the quatrefoils of the initial O which frames the miniature. The letters "F.M.D.M." across the bottom probably stand for* Filippo Maria Dux Mediolano.

Visconti Book of Hours *From the later part of the manuscript, which was commissioned by Duke Filippo Maria Visconti and executed by Belbello of Pavia. The miniature shows two spies sent to Jericho by Joshua. The curling ribbon around the letter repeats the Visconti motto,* A bon droyt. *The imagery is suggestive of several scenes and figures in tarocchi packs: Justice with upraised sword and scale is on the left and at the right is Temperance with her sword downward. At the top, the seated virtue of Prudence holds a compass and contemplates her face in a mirror, from which a ribbon unfurls. At the bottom is a pavilion reminiscent of the Lovers card in the Cary-Yale tarocchi deck. In front of the tent the figure of Strength, or Fortitude, is armed with a shield, which bears the Visconti serpent, and a lance, and she wears a lion's skin over her head and shoulders. Interestingly, beneath each female figure appears a despairing male figure, seemingly entrapped in the skirts of the virtues. These men are symbolic of vice, and resemble the three figures—two of them crowned—that appear at the bottoms of the cards Faith, Hope and Charity in the Cary-Yale tarocchi deck. The overall theme of the figures is the triumph of virtue over vice.*



Civica Biblioteca Trivulziana, Milan

Visconti Document *Visconti heraldic devices shown include the viper, ducal crown with branches, knotted cloth, or* nodo, *and shield with imperial eagles and vipers. The document was issued by Filippo Maria Visconti to invest Vitaliano Borromeo with the fief of Arono in 1445.*

Carmagnola's arrival in Venice, he was imprisoned and tortured. He stood trial and was found guilty of injury to the affairs and well-being of Venice. Dressed splendidly in crimson velvet, Carmagnola was beheaded on the evening of May 5, 1432, in the piazza of San Marco.

Freed from worry over the threat of Venice, Filippo now turned westward. The duke dispatched Piccinino, who defeated the forces of the marquis of Montferrat. Amadeus of Savoy now feared that his own territorial claims might be weakened by the duke's victories, and his concern was realized by the treaty he was forced to sign at Abbiate. According to the treaty, Savoy received land along the right bank of the Tanaor River plus a portion along the left bank occupied by Milan up to the Po. Duke Filippo retained all the land around Asti, Casale, San Salvatore, Castelletto and some territory that had belonged to Genoa. Savoy made a secret pact with Montferrat, with the marquis agreeing to give over his inheritance to Savoy, holding it only as a fief, if Savoy would try to induce Filippo to restore the Montferrat territory to the marquis.

Filippo's stature was enhanced at this point by a victory over an army of Swiss mercenaries, led by Corner, who crossed the Alps and hoped to take advantage of Milan's difficulties. The entire Swiss army was either killed or captured at Delebrio in the Valtelline.

Success on the battlefield gave Filippo more prestige at negotiations with the league that confronted him. By now, all parties had suffered heavy losses and wished for peace. In addition, Italy was growing concerned over Venice's increasing power. Peace was finally made at Ferrara between Milan, Florence and Venice.

When Emperor Sigismund entered Milan in 1432 for his coronation, Duke Filippo, true to his reputation for dislike of public ceremony, shut himself up in the castle. The duke's refusal to emerge greatly offended the emperor. Sigismund was crowned with the Iron Crown of Lombardy, and he promptly went to Rome, taking Sforza with him.

By 1434, it became apparent that Duke Filippo would not leave a legitimate heir to the throne. His marriage with Maria of Savoy remained unconsummated, and for a while she was forbidden even to enter the castle at Milan. Maria was finally allowed to enter the castle, but Filippo would not see her. Savoy and Milan signed an agreement whereby if either was attacked the other would come to its aid.

Queen Joanna of Naples died in 1435, leaving her kingdom to René of Anjou. King Alfonso of Aragon disputed the inheritance and war broke out. Duke Filippo dispatched a fleet primarily comprised of Genoese vessels to rout Alfonso's forces at Naples. Biagio Assauto successfully won a brilliant naval victory at Ponza near Gaeta and

the entire Aragonese fleet was destroyed. Alfonso and his brother, the king of Navarre, were captured and brought to Milan where Filippo welcomed them courteously.

Duke Filippo is said to have frequently played cards with his two royal captives and on at least one occasion to have lost heavily. Unfortunately, the Milanese archives fail to contain any description of the playing cards, so we do not know if they were *trionfi* cards or simply a four-suited pack without trumps.

When Filippo freed his celebrated prisoners without conditions or payment of ransom, all of Italy was amazed. Apparently Alfonso succeeded in persuading Duke Filippo that in view of French claims to Milan, the Visconti interests were best served by opposing the French house of Anjou. Although Filippo secured the personal friendship of Alfonso by releasing him, the duke antagonized the Genoese who had expected a large share of the ransom which was not forthcoming. In 1436, Genoa revolted from Milanese domination and declared war against Milan.

In 1435, Francesco Sforza had met Cosimo de'Medici and Pope Eugenius IV in Florence. The pope was uneasy with Sforza's success in the March of Ancona, which was papal territory, but the meeting created a lasting friendship between Sforza and Cosimo.

After the league of Florence, Venice and the papacy was formed, Florence and Venice argued over the employment of Sforza. Florence suddenly withdrew from the league, leaving Venice to carry on for herself. The early success Venice realized under Sforza enraged Duke Filippo and prompted him to come to terms with the pope. Duke Filippo attempted to restore to Pope Eugenius IV some of the territory seized by Sforza in the March, and although efforts against Sforza met defeat, the condottiere was under pressure. The duke of Milan next decided to sign a peace treaty with Florence in order to further isolate Venice. To placate Francesco Sforza, the duke agreed to proceed with the wedding ceremony of his daughter and Sforza. However, no sooner was peace accomplished than the duke again postponed the wedding.

Sforza, furious and disappointed, threw himself into the war against Milan as captain-general of Venetian forces. Up to now, Venetian forces had been commanded by Gianfrancesco Gonzaga, the marquis of Mantua. Gonzaga now retired from command, fearing the fate of Carmagnola, and secretly made overtures to Duke Filippo. When Piccinino's Milanese army advanced, Gonzaga abandoned Venice and joined the Milanese troops. In 1439, Piccinino and Gonzaga laid siege to Verona and successfully captured the city.

At a time when the overall outlook seemed favorable for Duke Filippo, several of the duke's condottieri, including Piccinino, San Severino and Dal Verme, suddenly attempted to force the duke to yield a castle and adjoining lands to each of them so that they might have their own fiefs. Piccinino sarcastically commented that after so many years of fighting, he did not possess enough ground for his own grave. Piccinino went so far as to suggest that victory or defeat might depend upon the response to their request. Filippo adamantly refused to yield any properties.

The tide of the war soon changed when Sforza, leading Venetian troops, recaptured Verona, took over all the Ghiara d'Adda, and defeated the Milanese at Soncino. Filippo dreaded the effects of a strong force led by Sforza encroaching on Milanese territory and, by cleverly using Sforza as arbitrator, Filippo was able to come to peace terms with Florence. The signing of the peace treaty took place in 1441 at Cavriana. Piccinino and the other captains were forced to lay down their arms without gaining the estates they sought. This time Sforza also made certain his marriage to Bianca Maria would proceed without delay.

On October 26, 1441, outside the town of Cremona, Duke Filippo Maria Visconti permitted the hand of his daughter, Bianca Maria, to be given in marriage to Francesco Sforza, and he granted as Bianca's dowry the towns of Cremona and Pontremoli. The ceremony took place at the Church of San Sigismondo. Filippo did not attend the wedding, preferring to remain in Milan.

Even after the marriage, Filippo's hostility toward Sforza did not diminish. In fact, it appeared to grow in proportion to the condottiere's continued personal successes in the field of battle. The birth of a grandson at Fermo in January 1444 failed to reconcile Sforza with his father-in-law. Nevertheless, the baby was given a Visconti name, Galeazzo Maria.

By the end of 1444, Sforza's fortunes declined and he lost virtually all of his territory in the March of Ancona to Sigismondo Malatesta. Duke Filippo was not one to remain idle when opportunity arose, and he promptly attacked the town of Cremona which three years earlier had comprised part of the dowry gift to his son-in-law. Sforza, already reeling under fierce attacks from papal and Neapolitan troops, desperately needed an ally and Venice came to his assistance. The Venetians successfully bribed Filippo's general, William of Montferrat, and he deserted the duke. Under command of Micheletto Attendolo, in September 1446 the Venetian army crushed the Milanese at Casal Maggiore. The Venetians pressed past Crema and crossed the Adda by night. Duke Filippo, whose health was failing, sought to stop the impending disaster and offered Francesco Sforza the title of captain-general of Milanese forces. The duke also agreed to recognize Francesco as heir. Cosimo de'Medici, alarmed by the impending triumph of Venice, acted as mediator. Sforza, concerned about the safety of his own territorial possessions and wary of any offers from his father-in-law, lingered in his acceptance.

The Venetians hoped for an uprising by the Guelphs within the city of Milan, but the Guelphs remained loyal to the duke. As Venetian forces pressed closer to Milan, Filippo was stricken by a high fever and dysentery, and his interest in the defense of Milan waned as his life was endangered. Were it not for the severity of the winter weather, the advancing Venetian troops would have continued into the city itself where the Milanese citizens were making frantic preparations to defend themselves.

Bianca Maria hoped for a reconciliation between her husband and father, but Francesco Sforza delayed his trip to Milan while he bolstered the defense of Cremona lest it be lost to Venetian troops.

On August 14, 1447, Duke Filippo Maria Visconti died in Milan and control of the duchy fell into confusion. Instead of being in Milan with his father-in-law at the moment of his death to claim succession of the ducal crown by virtue of his wife, Sforza now found himself outside the city in competition with a host of other contenders, including Alfonso of Aragon and the duke of Orleans, Valentina Visconti's son. The castle of Milan was seized and totally destroyed by Milanese mobs, and the populace, suddenly free of the Visconti yoke, grasped at the opportunity to form the Golden Ambrosian Republic, named after the city's patron saint. However, Francesco Sforza was eventually to win the city for himself.

While much of Duke Filippo Maria's energies had been devoted to reconstitution and protection of his legacy and state, Pavia flourished as a center of learning. Its vast library and ideal setting served as a home for scholars, artists and

writers, who were able to pursue quiet, studious lives, lecturing in the schools and writing books that were the foundation of later scholarship. An inventory ordered by the duke in January 1426 counted 988 manuscripts at Pavia. The library was eventually transferred to France by Napoleon and its contents are described in detail in several important works written in the past thirty years by G. D'Adda, S. Gerevini and E. Pellegrin.

It seems apparent that Duke Filippo Maria Visconti did not commission during his reign the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo Tarocchi pack which contains Sforza devices. In view of the antagonism displayed against his son-in-law, Filippo surely would not have allowed the artist to include Sforza heraldic devices as part of the ornamentation of any deck. The Cary-Yale Visconti Tarocchi deck and the Brera-Brambilla Tarocchi deck possibly originated from Filippo Visconti's reign. However, the fountain found in the Cary-Yale pack is suspected to be a Sforza heraldic device.

The recently uncovered letter from Duke Francesco Sforza, dated December 11, 1450, referred specifically to the need for two decks of *trionfi* playing cards, confirming that the duke or his family were ardent *trionfi* players and lending credence to the patronage of tarocchi decks by Sforza.

Francesco Sforza most likely was the patron of the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck. It is uncertain whether the cards were made before 1450, when Sforza ascended to the ducal title, or after 1450. Sforza married Bianca Visconti in 1441; however, it was not until his gaining of the duchy that he took the Visconti arms and motto, *A bon droyt,* for his own use.

Francesco Sforza's succession in 1450 as fourth duke of Milan may have caused him to have the cards commissioned after that time. On the other hand, before his ascension Sforza may have wished to popularize the idea of himself partaking in Visconti power by commissioning the deck with Visconti and Sforza arms. In addition, Francesco was very compatible with his Visconti wife and the deck may have been designed as a reflection of her wish to conciliate her father and her husband.

Collection of the Louvre, Paris

Portrait of Filippo Maria Visconti *Attributed to Pisanello*

Widener Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

Francesco Sforza, Fourth Duke of Milan *Francesco Sforza fought a host of contenders to be the first of the Sforza to rule Milan. His claim was based on his marriage with Bianca Maria Visconti, the illegitimate daughter of Filippo Maria Visconti. Posthumous portrait, by Francesco Bonsignori [Monsignori] of the Veronese school, circa 1490.*

V

THE SFORZA FAMILY

THE DEATH OF Duke Filippo Maria Visconti in 1447 opened the door to the reign of the Sforza family over Milan. However, Francesco Attendolo Sforza had to overcome numerous obstacles before he could claim the ducal crown. The rise to power of the Sforza family, and the succession of Sforza dukes that ruled Milan from 1450 to 1535, took place during a time of incessant power struggles between neighboring cities, local ruling families, the papacy, and condottieri.

MUZIO ATTENDOLO SFORZA (1369–1424)

The Sforza dynasty began with Muzio Attendolo, who was born on May 28, 1369, in the little Romagnol town of Cotignola, north of Faenza near the Adriatic Sea. Muzio was one of no less than twenty-one children of Giovanni and Elisa Petrocini (Petrascini?) Attendolo. The Attendolo family is thought to have possessed both wealth and local influence, although some researchers suggest that Muzio, like so many condottieri of his day, came from peasant stock. The entire family seemed to be hardy and feisty, with the sons becoming professional soldiers. The daughters held their own in the family and, in fact, when Muzio was imprisoned in Naples his sister Margherita rescued him.

The balance of local power in fourteenth-century Italy was swayed by mercenary soldiers who sold their swords and loyalty to the highest bidder—the one who offered the most power or money. The adventurous bands often attracted the best youth of the day. The history of Muzio's rise to the rank of an important Italian condottiere is often accompanied by the legend of his decision as a boy to leave his family. One day during 1384, a troop of mercenaries was riding through the flat, marshy countryside near the town of Cotignola when they came upon a youth cutting wood. Impressed by the boy's appearance, they invited him to join them. The boy abruptly threw his ax into the branches of a nearby oak tree and declared, "If it stays, I will go." The ax stuck in the trunk of the tree and Muzio departed that night with the troops to seek his fame and fortune. Another story relates that Muzio ran away from home at the age of twelve, inspired to a military career by the heroic Alberico of Barbiano.

Historians record that Muzio was not at all scholarly, and only later in life did he learn to sign letters and documents. A strong, brusque man with great stamina, courage and a fiery nature, the rough, sometimes barbaric life of a soldier suited him greatly.

After leaving home, Muzio fought for twelve or fifteen years beneath the banners of Alberico of Barbiano, the first of the great Italian condottieri and founder of the company of Saint George. During this period, Muzio usually found himself allied on the side of Giangaleazzo Visconti, lord of Milan and its first duke. Muzio often battled shoulder to shoulder with his comrade, Braccio of Montone, but in time Braccio would become Muzio's fiercest adversary and the Italian peninsula would be divided between the followers of Sforza and the followers of Braccio. In spite of their rivalry, the friendship between the two condottieri never completely lapsed.

One of the important innovations introduced to warfare by Alberico of Barbiano was the elaborate leather caparison that protected horses from injury. Such caparisons, decorated with heraldic devices, are depicted on several court cards in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck, the Cary-Yale deck and the Brera-Brambilla deck.

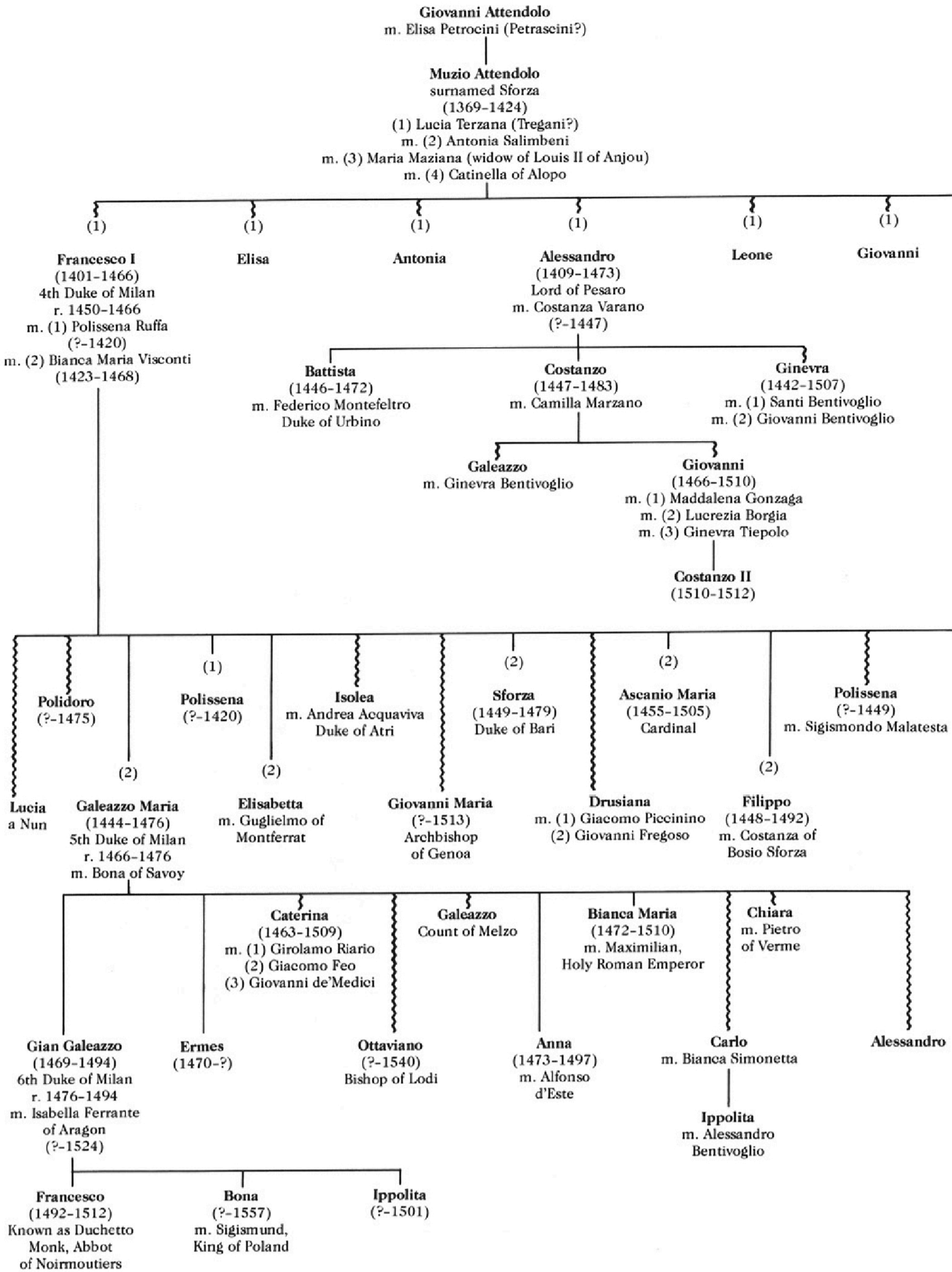
Collection of Sforza Castle, Milan

Muzio Attendolo Sforza *From a fresco by Bernardino Luini, circa 1522–1526*

Muzio served Barbiano faithfully. The famed captain, impressed with Muzio's strength and valor, nicknamed him *Sforza*, Italian for "great strength," and the Attendolo family adopted the name as its own surname.

By 1397, Sforza formed a small company of soldiers under

THE SFORZA FAMILY (1369–1535)



(1) **Lorenzo** (?-1457) Archbishop of Milan

(2) **Carlo Gabriele** Bosio (1411-1476) Count of Santa Fiora m. Cecilia Aldobrandeschi, heiress of Santa Fiora

- **Guido** m. Francesca Farnese
  - **Federico** m. Bartolomea Orsini
    - **Bosio** (?-1535) m. Costanza Farnese
      - **Sforza** (?-1575)
      - **Mario** Counts of Santa Fiora until 1633
- **Costanza** m. Filippo Sforza
- **Francesco**
  - **Sforzino** (?-1526)

(2) **Bosio**

(4) **Bartolo**

(4) **Leonardo**

(4) **Pietro** (?-1443) Bishop of Ascoli

(4) **Giovanna**

- **Fiordelisa** m. Guido Manfredi
- **Bianca Francesca** (?-1516) Nun at Cremona
- (2) **Ottaviano** (?-1477)
- **Isotta** m. Giovanni Mauruzzi
- (2) **Lodovico "Il Moro" Maria** (1451-1508) 7th Duke of Milan r. [1481-1494] r. 1495-1499 m. Beatrice d'Este (m. 1491-1497) (1475-1497)
  - **Francesco II** (1495-1535) 9th and last Duke of Milan r. 1522-1535 m. Christina of Denmark
  - **Bianca** (1481-1496) m. Galeazzo San Severino
  - **Gian Paolo** (1497-1535)
    - **Marquesses of Caravaggio** Extinct 1697
  - **Ercole,** later **Massimiliano** (1493-1530) 8th Duke of Milan r. 1512-1515
  - **Cesare**
  - **Leone**
- **Tristano** (?-1477) m. Beatrice d'Este (the elder) (1427-1497) (widow of Borso of Correggio)
- (2) **Ippolita** (1446-1484) m. Alfonso, Duke of Calabria and afterward King of Naples
- **Sforza** m. Antonia of Verme
  - **Counts of Borgonuovo** Extinct 1680

(-) = (born-died)
m. = married
r. = ruled
| = legitimate children
§ = illegitimate children

Collection of Bibliothéque Nationale, Paris

Muzio Attendolo Sforza *Miniature from* Vita di Muzio Attendolo Sforza *by Antonio Minuti, 1491, artist unknown*

his own banner, launching his career as an independent mercenary captain. His first campaign was against the forces of Giangaleazzo Visconti. Although the town he defended, Perugia, eventually fell to the armies of Milan, Giangaleazzo was so impressed with his adversary that he hired Sforza at a doubled salary. However, the jealousy of the other Milanese captains soon forced Sforza to flee to Florence.

While serving Florence, Sforza met Lucia Terzana (Tregani?), who became his mistress. She also became the mother of seven of his children including four sons. The eldest son, Francesco Sforza, was born at Miniato on July 23, 1401. Francesco eventually became the fourth duke of Milan and the first Sforza to hold such an important title.

Muzio Sforza did not marry Lucia. When opportunity arose for him to marry Antonia Salimbeni, a recently widowed member of the noble house of Siena, Lucia was quickly married off to one of Sforza's trusted officers, Marco Fogliano. The marriage of Muzio Sforza to Antonia brought Sforza four castles and the friendship of Count Salimbeni, lord of Cortona and brother of Antonia.

Sforza was at the time employed by the anti-pope, John XXIII. The pope was unable to pay some 4,000 ducats owed to Muzio Sforza and, instead, made Sforza the papal vicar of his hometown, Cotignola.

When Sforza and his mercenary troops assisted Emperor Rupert of the Holy Roman Empire in his battle against

Collection of Uffizi Gallery, Florence

Braccio of Montone *Condottiere active during the time of Muzio Attendolo. Anonymous portrait at Uffizi, Florence*

Giangaleazzo Visconti, the first duke of Milan, the emperor granted Sforza the right to bear his own arms—a lion rampant. At Rupert's suggestion, the lion was depicted grasping in its left paw the *cotigna,* or "quince" of Cotignola, which had been given to Sforza by the citizens of the town. With its right paw the lion defied all those who might dare to challenge it. Eventually the device was topped by the Sforza helmet which consisted of a winged dragon with a man's head.

In 1408, Sforza embarked on a campaign with the marquis of Ferrara and several other princes against the despot of Parma, Ottobono Terzi. During a field skirmish, Sforza succeeded in unhorsing Ottobono. At the very moment he was about to kill his enemy, Parmesan troops rallied and rescued their leader, also capturing Michele Attendolo, brother of Muzio and a distinguished soldier in his own right.

For the next four months, Michele Attendolo and his fellow captives were unmercifully starved and tortured until Attendolo escaped. Muzio Sforza vowed vengeance and soon afterwards Ottobono invited his enemies to a peaceful conference in an open field. Sforza feigned a wild horse, and, approaching within striking distance, drove a dagger into the startled Ottobono. To commemorate this ignoble success, legend relates, Niccolo d'Este added a diamond ring to the Sforza heraldic devices. This device is often shown as three interlocking diamond rings, and is found on The Empress and The Emperor cards of the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo Visconti-Sforza Tarocchi pack.

By 1409, the Great Schism in the papacy resulted in three rival popes, each claiming to be the rightful wearer of the papal tiara. Sforza saw service with the popes, but the papal treasury was in such dire financial condition that his services often went unpaid. Sforza decided to serve King Ladislas of Naples. John XXIII was furious at Sforza's desertion and he caused a picture to be made of Sforza as a traitor, hanging by one leg after the custom of the time, with the caption:

> *In sono Sforza, villano della Cotignola,*
> *traditore;*
> *Che dodici tradimenti ho fatto alla*
> *Chiesa contro lo mio onore.*
> *Promissioni, capitoli patti haio rotti.*
>
> I am Sforza, peasant of Cotignola and traitor;
> I have betrayed the Church twelve times,
> Against my honor.
> I have broken promises, treaties and pacts.

The scene is strikingly similar to that shown on The Hanged Man card, also called *Il Traditore,* "The Traitor," of the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo Tarocchi pack.

There is no record of when or how Sforza's first wife died. Two further marriages improved Sforza's rising political position. He married Maria Maziana, widow of Louis II of Anjou, and thus gained several castles. After his second wife died, Sforza married Catinella of Alopo, which brought Sforza the castles of Benevento and Manfredonia among several additional castles, plus Sforza became grand constable of the Southern Kingdom at a salary of 8,000 ducats.

Sforza's own death did not occur during battle, at the moment of leading his troops in a fiery skirmish. Instead, on January 3, 1424, Sforza was preparing his troops to ford the Pescara River for the purpose of relieving the town of Aquila under siege by his former comrade-in-arms and now his adversary, Braccio of Montone. Sforza crossed the rough and churning river. Some of his men hesitated on the bank, however, and Sforza turned back to encourage the remainder of his troops. His favorite page, who followed with Sforza's helmet, fell into the turbulent waters. When Sforza attempted to rescue him, he was thrown by his horse into the water. Sforza's body was heavily encumbered with armor and the strong currents swept him down the river, never to be seen again. Historians have written that upon hearing the news, Braccio was very much moved and initially refused to accept the death of his former friend. Thus ended the career of Muzio Attendolo Sforza, founder of the dynasty that gave six dukes to Milan.

Muzio Sforza left a legacy of sage advice to his heirs. He counseled that one should never touch the wife of another man, never ride a hard-mouthed horse, and never beat a servant or a comrade, but if betrayed into doing so, get rid of him at once. Sforza also cautioned, when you have three enemies, make peace with the first, a truce with the second, and then turn quickly upon the third with all your strength.

FRANCESCO SFORZA (1401–1466)

Francesco Sforza, the son of Muzio Attendolo Sforza, was born at Miniato on July 23, 1401. He spent his early childhood in Ferrara with his mother, Lucia Terzana, and his stepfather, Marco Fogliano. Francesco was educated with the children of Niccolo d'Este, and when he reached eleven years of age, he joined his natural father, Muzio Sforza, in Naples.

As a guarantee for his own good conduct, Muzio pledged his son to his new master, King Ladislas. The king took a liking to Francesco and gave him several towns as fiefs and the title, count of Tricarico. Over the next several years, under his father's tutorship, Francesco served with distinction in several battles.

In 1416, Muzio arranged for the marriage of Francesco to a Calabrian heiress, the countess of Montalto, Polissena Ruffa. She bore her husband a daughter, but both mother and child died within two years of the marriage, allegedly poisoned by an aunt who sought her property. Francesco eventually inherited Polissena's estates and wielded some influence in the districts of Calabrian nobles.

When his father suddenly drowned in 1424, Francesco was twenty-three years old. Showing considerable leadership and courage, Francesco regrouped and rallied his father's troops. In the early summer, with the assistance of Michele and Lorenzo Attendolo, Francesco crushed the Braccio forces. Braccio himself was fatally wounded as he tried to retreat. The impressive victory at Aquila gave Francesco the recognition he needed to follow in his father's footsteps, and he was granted all of his father's lands and castles.

In 1425, Francesco Sforza entered the service of Duke Filippo Maria Visconti of Milan with a command of 1500 cavalry and 300 infantry soldiers. Francesco served admirably through several successive wars against Venice, but the campaigns left much rivalry among the jealous captains. The appointment of Carlo Malatesta as captain-general of all Milanese forces did little to improve matters, and the 1427 battle at Maclodio ended in defeat for the Milanese, victory for the Venetians.

The career of a condottiere was one of extreme vicissitudes. Without provocation, Filippo Visconti arrested Francesco on charges of treachery and imprisoned him for the next two years at the castle of Mortara, near Pavia. Only when Filippo needed help to defend Lucca from the onslaught of Florence did he finally release Francesco. Fortune now took a favorable turn for Francesco Sforza. He

successfully relieved the siege of Lucca, and the grateful citizens proposed to accept him as their new lord. However, Francesco elected instead to accept a substantial bribe from Florence, possibly the money still owed to his father, and he withdrew his troops to Cotignola. Immediately the emissaries of both Florence and Milan bid for his services in the forthcoming war against Venice.

The city of Florence offered a very high salary to Francesco, but Duke Filippo Visconti offered the irresistible inducement of the hand in marriage of his illegitimate daughter, Bianca Maria Visconti. Such an advantageous union, Sforza reasoned, might eventually bring him the ducal crown. Francesco threw his support to Filippo and served admirably with Milanese troops in the third war against Venice which ended in 1432 with victory for Milan.

Emperor Sigismund of the Holy Roman Empire came to Northern Italy in 1432 to receive the Iron Crown of Lombardy, and the occasion was also marked by the public announcement of the betrothal of Bianca Maria to Francesco Sforza. At the betrothal, Sforza was invested with three fiefs in the neighborhood of Alessandria. The eight-year-old bride-to-be, who lived with her mother, Agnese Maino, returned to her home at Abbiategrasso where she faithfully followed the fortunes and adventures of her future husband. Due to Filippo's procrastination, the marriage did not take place for another nine years. During that time Filippo proposed other suitors to Bianca Maria, but she remained firm in her desire to marry Francesco.

The eventual date of the proposed marriage was left indefinite, and due to the bride's youth it could not take place for several years. Filippo contrived to use the intervening period to manipulate Francesco to preserve and expand the duke's own empire. From Sforza's standpoint, there was every reason to believe his future role in the duchy of Milan was now secure.

However, Duke Filippo Visconti trusted no one and he feared the popularity of the young general. Once, as a test of Sforza's loyalty, the duke sent a messenger to Sforza requesting his immediate presence at the court in Milan. The messenger was instructed to kill Sforza on the spot if he hesitated or showed any signs of doubting the intentions of Filippo. Sforza departed at once for Milan, not even delaying to assemble an escort, and the duke welcomed him cordially, satisfied, for the moment at least, as to his loyalty.

The following year, Francesco Sforza traveled to some of his properties around Fermo to strengthen his control. Probably with the tacit approval of Duke Filippo, if not outright instruction, Francesco successfully wrested a greater part of the area known as the March of Ancona, located between the Adriatic Sea and the Apennines

Collection of Biblioteca Riccardiana, Florence

Francesco Sforza
Miniature by Giampietrino Birago from Commentarii rerum gestarum Francisci Sfortiae *by the historian Giovanni Simonetta, 1486*

Mountains, from Pope Eugenius IV, a Venetian sympathizer. The citizens of the March gladly welcomed Sforza and the opportunity to throw off oppressive local tyrants who were often appointed by the pope as vicars to exercise daily control.

Francesco was now recognized by many Italians as a great condottiere. The number of cities he held and the size of the force of men and arms he controlled made him regarded as an important Italian leader in his own right. By establishing estates, Francesco increased his independence and placed himself in a position to eventually force Filippo to keep his promises. At the same time, Francesco's rise in stature alarmed the other lords, especially Duke Filippo.

In order not to offend the pope, and to more fully secure his position as marquis of the March, Francesco accepted in 1434 the position of captain-general of the League of Florence, Venice and the papacy. The League was embroiled in a struggle against Milan, and many of Milan's leading soldiers were former colleagues-in-arms of Sforza. In 1435 Francesco Sforza met with the pope and Cosimo de'Medici in Florence and was received with great cordiality. A warm friendship sprang up between Francesco and Cosimo, but Pope Eugenius IV harbored deep resentment for the loss of the papal properties in the March. A paid assassin, Baldassare Offida, narrowly missed killing Francesco and, under torture, the prisoner confessed to the pope's treacherous connection with the plot.

In 1437, the League proposed to create a diversion by sending Sforza to attack Cremona, but Francesco refused to invade the territories of his future father-in-law, although he willingly fought Milanese forces in other parts of Italy. This caused a rupture between the League and Sforza that even Cosimo de'Medici could not pacify. However, Francesco's forthright stance temporarily placed him in good standing with the duke of Milan and paved the way for a short-lived reconciliation. Duke Filippo Visconti soon made peace with Florence and Sforza by the treaty of 1438, but he continued to divide his enemies by excluding Venice. The duke now agreed to proceed with the marriage of Bianca Maria to Francesco Sforza.

Elaborate wedding preparations were commenced at the little town of Fermo, the capital of Sforza's dominions. Most of the towns and cities under Sforza's control voted money for a gift to the bride and chose representatives to attend the wedding ceremony. But final plans for the marriage failed to materialize and it soon became apparent to Francesco that the duke of Milan preferred to use his daughter as bait to manipulate him for the benefit of the duke's many causes.

Filippo encouraged Sforza to embark upon an abortive Neapolitan expedition, and at the last moment Filippo failed to support Sforza with fresh troops. When recalled by Florence to fight against the Milanese, Sforza obeyed, taking his post as commander of Venetian forces. He was fighting against the condottiere Piccinino. For the next three years, Sforza struggled through several periods of hard fighting. The town of Brescia came under siege and Sforza, with Bartolomeo Colleoni and Gattamelata, helped to relieve it. Niccolo Piccinino needed to counteract his loss at Brescia and he quickly took Verona. Although it was already late in November, Sforza marched his troops through a deep snow in the mountains and completely surprised Piccinino, who held Verona for only three days.

In 1440, Francesco Sforza abandoned any hesitation about warring against his uncompromising future father-in-law. Francesco pitted his military skill against Milan as captain-general of Venetian forces and many victories added to his fame. However, by summer both Sforza and Filippo wished for peace. Sforza's territories were exhausted by the output of men and supplies for war, and Filippo had been made wary by Piccinino's discontent and demands for a town of his own.

Duke Filippo beseeched Francesco to act as arbitrator between Milan, and Venice and Florence. Despite past differences, Francesco agreed and in due course a peace was signed at Capriana. Part of the settlement included the understanding that Francesco Sforza's marriage to Bianca Maria Visconti would proceed without further delay.

The wedding took place on October 26, 1441, at the Church of San Sigismondo outside the town of Cremona. The bride was about eighteen, her husband a soldier of forty. Filippo had carefully considered Bianca's dowry from a military viewpoint. The towns of Cremona and Pontremoli were granted by Duke Filippo to his new son-in-law. Not only were these towns the most difficult to defend, but both were strategically located so as to compel Francesco to act as a watchdog for his father-in-law. Cremona, with its great fortress on the Po River, was located along the water route from Venice to Milan, and Pontremoli guarded an important Apennines pass.

The marriage scene depicted on The Lovers card of the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo Tarocchi deck quite possibly represents the marriage ceremony of Francesco Sforza and Bianca Maria Visconti. The codice of Donazione at San Sigismondo Church contains a miniature that depicts the actual wedding scene, and both the principal figures and the scene itself are similar to those on the Lovers card.

The haloed lion with a book in its paws, which appears on the king of swords card of the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo Visconti-Sforza deck, is a symbol of Venice and of its patron Saint Mark. Perhaps the symbol is a reference to the peace treaty of Capriana. Sforza was probably grateful for the Venetians' indirect role in bringing him his beloved wife.

Despite the many machinations perpetrated by Duke Filippo against Francesco, the marriage of Bianca and Francesco proved by all accounts entirely happy as well as politically expedient. The couple shared a deep affection and admiration for each other. Bianca involved herself with her husband's interests and he often consulted her on important matters. Bianca's deeds of goodwill were endless and her generosity became legendary. She was admired by the great and the small alike. For the first six years of their marriage, when Francesco Sforza was obliged to devote practically his full energies to the security and defense of his dominion of the March of Ancona, Bianca Maria offered him guidance and assistance.

Even though Filippo had given his daughter's hand in marriage, Francesco Sforza's position in the March was far too independent to suit his father-in-law. Pope Eugenius IV continued open hostility against Sforza, who had angered the Church by seizing papal towns. Thus, Sforza and his territory of the March were pressured from all sides.

Sforza developed a close relationship with the lords of neighboring towns. Federico Montefeltro, the duke of Urbino, was to become a loyal supporter and long-term friend, although initially he opposed Sforza. Sigismondo Malatesta, lord of Rimini and a brutal despot with a dangerous disposition, was an ally of Sforza, but the two later became enemies. At the age of fifteen Sigismondo, a nephew of Carlo Malatesta, was a fierce combatant and had defeated the experienced Montefeltro in the field. Sigismondo had married a daughter of the marquis of Ferrara in 1437. She died three years later and Sigismondo was accused of poisoning her, although the charge was never

Collection of San Sigismondo, Cremona

Francesco Sforza and Bianca Maria Visconti *Scene of wedding in 1441, at the Church of San Sigismondo outside Cremona. From* Codice di Donazione, *1464*

proven. Sigismondo became Sforza's son-in-law in October 1441 when he married Polissena, Francesco's illegitimate daughter named after Sforza's first wife. The wedding took place a few weeks before the wedding of Bianca Maria and Francesco.

Malatesta, during his first marriage, had fallen under the influence of the gifted and attractive Isotta Atti. Isotta was an intelligent and articulate woman who dominated Malatesta for the rest of his life. The Church of Saint Francis that he erected at Rimini is essentially a shrine to her. In the church, Isotta's tomb rests on the Malatesta elephants and the monogram "IS," for Isotta and Sigismondo, appears throughout the church. When Polissena died in 1449, Francesco Sforza claimed that he could prove Malatesta had her strangled, and thereafter the rivalry between them grew to bitter hatred.

However, in 1442, Sforza and Malatesta were struggling together against the League led by Piccinino and formed of Milan, Naples and the papacy. Malatesta fought side-by-side with his father-in-law in the March. But the siege of Fano, where Francesco and his wife had taken refuge with Malatesta, strained Malatesta to the breaking point. Only lavish bribes and the presence of Francesco's troops prevented Malatesta from turning traitor. The Sforza forces would have been crushed by the League had Duke Filippo not decided, in a switch of sympathy, to come to their aid. Duke Filippo persuaded Alfonso of Aragon, who had come from Naples to join the siege at Fano, to withdraw his troops. Reinforcements from Florence and Venice enabled Francesco to take the offensive. The frequent and confusing changes of allegiance were typical of a time when each party was trying to foster its own interests against the tactics of competing groups and lords.

In 1444 Bianca Maria bore her husband a son and heir whom the duke of Milan himself declared should be named Galeazzo Maria. In the tournament that followed the christening, Francesco Sforza joined, for the first time, the Visconti viper and the Sforza lion. In the same year, Francesco's victory over Niccolo Piccinino's son brought Pope Eugenius IV to sign a treaty confirming Sforza's title as marquis of the March and all his former possessions, except Fabriano, Osimo and Recanati, were restored.

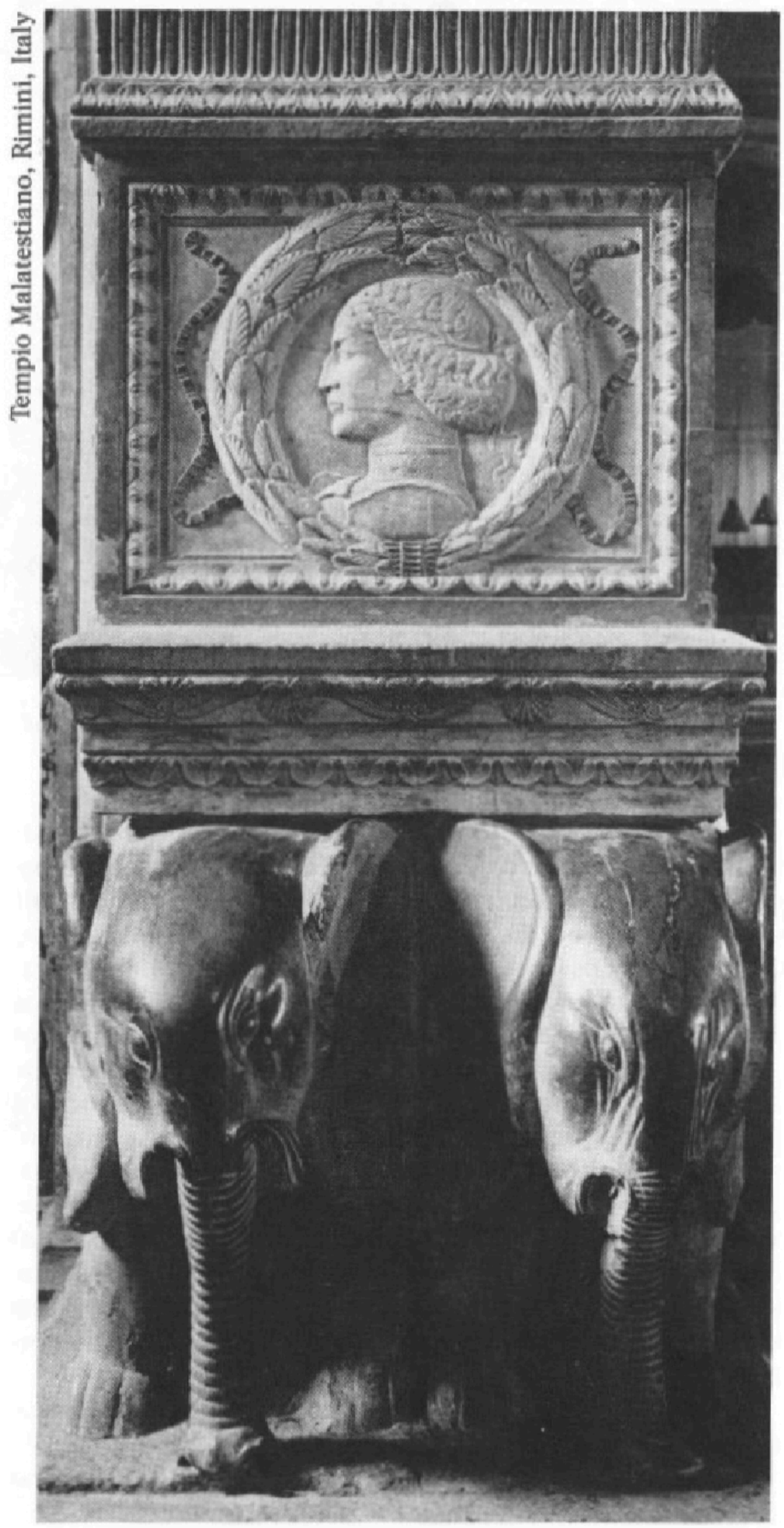
Niccolo Piccinino, Francesco's formidable opponent and the captain-general who had served Filippo so well until his ill-timed attempt to gain his own personal properties, was in poor health and died in late 1444, possibly from the distress of his son's defeat. Federico Montefeltro, an old friend of Piccinino, now felt free to throw himself into the Sforza camp.

Duke Filippo needed a new condottiere to succeed Piccinino, and he opened negotiations with Sarpellione, a captain serving under Sforza. Although Filippo informed Sforza of his intentions, Sarpellione kept the talks to himself, and Sforza, perhaps from combined jealousy and annoyance, arrested Sarpellione and had him tortured and executed. Sforza's actions were universally condemned and a new period of estrangement occurred between Duke Filippo and Sforza.

The town of Pesaro was in possession of Galeazzo Malatesta, but his cousin, Sigismondo Malatesta, sought to grasp it for his own. Through the marriage in 1444 between Alessandro Sforza, one of Francesco Sforza's brothers, and Costanza Varano, granddaughter of Galeazzo Malatesta, Pesaro and the responsibility of its defense passed to Alessandro.

What had seemed, on the surface at least, to be a good political move, proved to be Francesco's ultimate undoing in the March. The transfer of Pesaro unleashed the full fury of Sigismondo Malatesta against him. Eager for vengeance, Malatesta joined forces with the League of Naples, the papacy and Milan and, as head of papal troops, launched repeated attacks on Francesco's dominions. The duke of Urbino, Federico Montefeltro, assisted Sforza, but Sigismondo Malatesta, aided by intimate knowledge of the territory and by his local influence, whittled away at Francesco's holdings until, one after another, the towns of the March of Ancona fell. In October 1444, Sigismondo won his final triumph over Sforza with the conquest of the fortress of Roccocontrada, thought to have been impregnable.

With the loss of the March, Francesco's position materially weakened and the duke of Milan now attacked Bianca Maria's dowry towns of Cremona and Pontremoli. Venice, which recognized the strategic importance of Cremona



Malatesta Shrine at Rimini *The carving by sculptor Agostino di Duccio shows Sigismondo's profile on a tablet supported by two elephants.*

Francesco Sforza *The fourth duke of Milan in a relief by Gian Cristoforo Romano*

and the need to counterbalance Duke Filippo's ambitions, became alarmed and declared war in behalf of the defense of Cremona. Fortunately for Sforza, Venetian forces won an important battle at Casal Maggiore and pushed the Milanese troops back to the walls of the city of Milan. Duke Filippo, now blind and in failing health, at once realized his mistake. He appealed to the French and to Alfonso of Aragon for aid and sent his son-in-law an urgent request for assistance. He offered Sforza the title of captain-general of all Milanese forces with a large salary and general powers of government throughout the duchy. Bianca saw an opportunity to reconcile her husband and father. Francesco gave up Jesi, his final town in the March, to the papacy for 35,000 florins and started toward Milan with Bianca Maria. As they stopped in Cotignola news reached them that Filippo was extremely ill. Before Sforza reached Milan, Filippo died on August 15, 1447.

The ducal crown of Milan was almost within Francesco's grasp but many forces were at work against the goal sought by both Francesco and Bianca Maria. On the day prior to his death, Duke Filippo had a change of heart. He sent orders to Francesco Sforza not to come to Milan, and on his deathbed he supposedly dictated a will appointing Alfonso of Aragon and Naples his successor. Numerous other claimants to the throne suddenly surfaced. Since Filippo died without sons, Frederick III claimed the duchy for the Holy Roman Empire as a fief which had lapsed due to the expiration of male heirs.

Charles, the duke of Orleans, claimed the title through his mother, Valentina Visconti, and his claim was strengthened by Filippo's appeal to the French for aid against Venice. Albert and Sigismund of Hapsburg claimed the Milanese title through their great-grandfather, Bernabo Visconti. Even the duke of Savoy now hoped to reclaim Vercelli and the surrounding district which had been yielded to Milan upon the marriage of Maria of Savoy to Duke Filippo. On the night Filippo died, Alfonso's troops succeeded in occupying the Visconti Castle.

Despite all the conflicting claims advanced by descendants, relatives and rival lords, the strongest sentiments sprang from the local Milanese advocates of liberty, who decided to form a republic. The followers of Aragon deserted in favor of the republic. On August 15, 1447, the Milanese citizenry proclaimed the birth of the Golden Ambrosian Republic. A committee of twenty-four leading citizens, primarily of the Ghibelline aristocracy, were elected for the balance of the year to defend and rule the city. These citizens were known as the "captains and defenders of the liberty of Milan."

The surrounding towns were divided in their loyalty to

Milan. Pavia proclaimed independence. Lodi and Piacenza also declared independence and called upon the Venetians for assistance. Alessandria, Novara and Como remained faithful to Milan.

The Venetians now saw an opportunity to expand their influence over Milan, and the Ambrosian Republic, alarmed at possible Venetian dominance, turned for assistance to Francesco Sforza. However, as part of the terms of agreement, Sforza would be obliged to serve the interests of the Ambrosian Republic instead of his own territorial desires. Cosimo de'Medici counseled Sforza to take up the challenge with the hope that in the end it would work to his own advantage. Sforza accepted and the citizens of Milan rallied behind him.

During this same period, Bartolomeo Colleoni, the condottiere of Bergamo, also entered the service of the Ambrosian Republic. Colleoni was an experienced and well-qualified soldier upon whom Sforza had relied in the past. Indeed, Francesco Sforza freely acknowledged that some of his success in the battlefield was due to assistance from Colleoni.

Interestingly, the descendants of Bartolomeo Colleoni would one day come into possession of the Visconti-Sforza tarocchi deck known today as the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck, although the circumstances and time of acquisition remain obscure.

The ensuing war between Milan and Venice had hardly begun when the town of Pavia, unable to maintain its own defenses and following the influence of Bianca Maria's mother, Agnese Maino, offered Sforza the title of lord. At first the Republic refused to permit the arrangement on the grounds it violated Sforza's agreement, but Pavia threatened to yield local rule to Venice and the Republic had no choice but to allow Sforza to take the title of count of Pavia. The castle at Pavia boasted a rich treasure of gold and jewelry and a storehouse of arms. Its walls were covered with frescoes and the castle contained the magnificent Visconti library.

Sforza attacked and successfully stormed the city of Piacenza while Bartolomeo Colleoni seized the town of Tortona and made himself its temporary ruler in support of the citizens, who proclaimed Sforza their lord. In January 1448 the original committee of twenty-four Ghibelline citizens was replaced by a group of newly elected Guelph nobles who were allied with the merchant class and who strongly opposed any dominance by Sforza.

While Sforza concentrated his forces against the town of Lodi, a group of Venetian forces struck against Cremona. The Venetian forces might have proved successful, except for the quick action of Bianca Maria who, on her own initiative, ordered a group of reinforcements she knew to be in the area to repulse the enemy.

It was during this period that the Cremonese painter, Bonifacio Bembo, actively supported Francesco Sforza. In an undated letter to Sforza, Bembo cites his support for Sforza after Filippo Maria Visconti's death in 1447. In the ensuing years, Bembo's loyalty would be remembered by the Sforza ducal family through important commissions, possibly including tarocchi cards. Indeed, Bonifacio Bembo became one of the favorite painters of Francesco Sforza and Bianca Maria. Their son, Galeazzo Maria, commissioned from Bembo several portraits and extensive fresco decorations for the Sforza palaces.

In the campaign of 1448, Sforza effectively employed artillery fire to destroy the Venetian fleet comprising some seventy vessels positioned in the Po River. By September of the same year, Sforza overwhelmingly beat the Venetian forces gathered in defense of Caravaggio. Each victory added to his personal stature, but also served to increase the anxiety of the leaders of the Ambrosian Republic. Without Sforza's knowledge, the emissaries of the Republic sought to negotiate a peaceful settlement with the Venetians. Simultaneously, the Republic's representatives attempted to undermine Sforza's leadership by ordering some of his captains and troops to other areas.

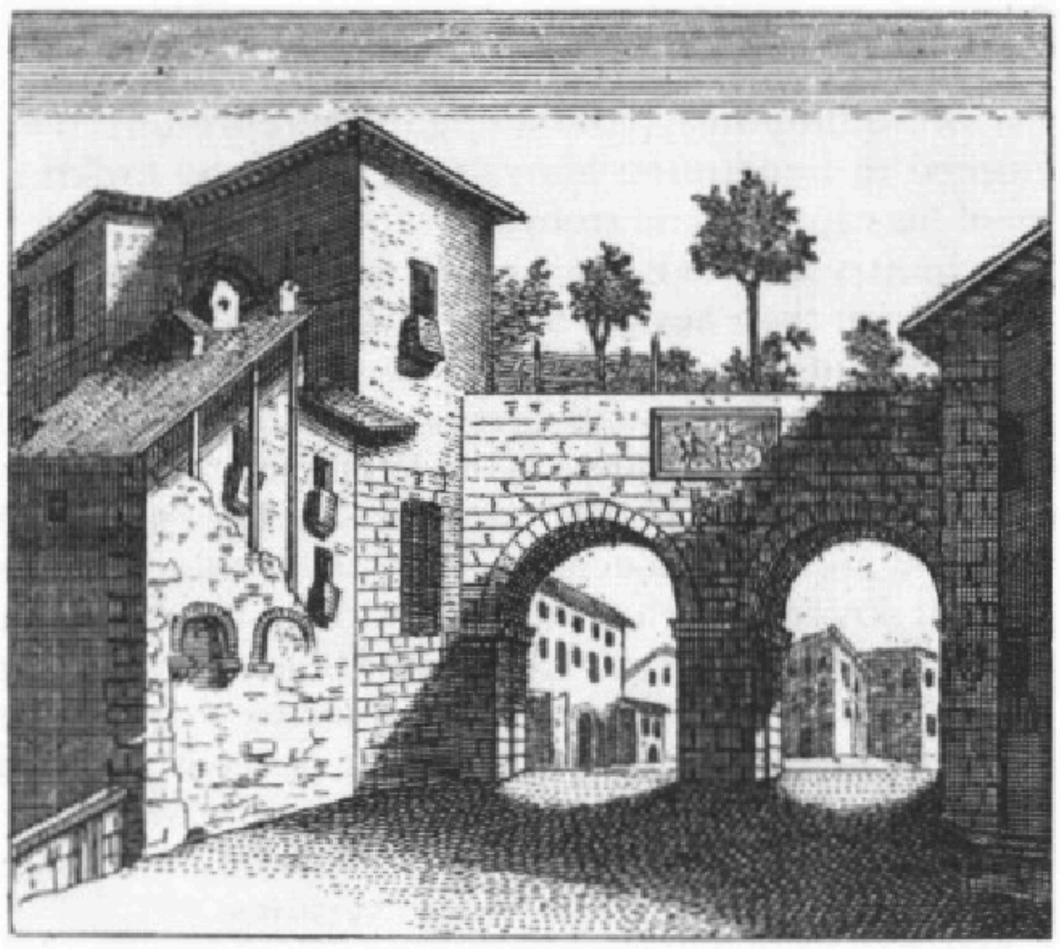
The country around Brescia was in full revolt and several fortresses sent their keys to Sforza inviting him to assume possession and protection of the district. When Sforza mustered his troops around Brescia, he received unusual instructions from the leaders of the Republic ordering him to withdraw to the neighborhood of Verona. The envoy who carried the message proceeded to spread a rumor in the camp that any troops who remained with Sforza could not look to the Republic for payment. The Milanese even went so far as to secretly counsel the Brescians to hold out against Sforza because the approaching peace would end the siege. Sforza learned of this treachery at the same time that the Venetians, who refused to deal with the Ambrosian Republic, contacted him with peace overtures.

In October 1448, Sforza signed a treaty with Venice that provided him with a salary of thirteen thousand ducats a month until such time as he might become ruler of all of Milan. The leaders of Venice agreed to help Sforza conquer Milan and promised he would have everything that had belonged to Duke Filippo before his death. Sforza agreed to abandon the siege of Brescia and to hand over Crema and the Ghiara d'Adda to the Venetians. Upon declaration of the treaty, the town of Piacenza at once offered to join Sforza, and before the year was out, Alessandria, Novara, Tortona and Vigevano willingly followed Sforza instead of the Ambrosian Republic.

The power of the Ambrosian Republic began to wane in 1448 under competing factions and petty quarrels, and in 1449 the tide of popular sentiment in Milan turned in favor of Sforza. In an effort to counter Sforza's rising popularity, Carlo Gonzaga, leader of the Ambrosian Republic, increased his own power until he practically became a dictator. The Ghibelline faction grew increasingly alarmed and opened secret negotiations with Sforza. Gonzaga learned of the impending conspiracy, and in early 1449 he arrested many influential members of Milanese families. There followed a massacre of leading Ghibellines in Milan. Some leading figures, including Vitaliano Borromeo, escaped, but a great many executions took place. The reign of terror and violence served to weaken confidence in the Ambrosian Republic and in the next annual election the Ghibellines won numerous offices. The family name of Borromeo remains important in the history of tarocchi cards due to the fresco of card players that exists today on the wall of a room in the Casa Borromeo, Milan.

The zeal by which the new government proceeded to imprison the reactionaries only served to produce fresh popular agitation. On the eve of a new election, a mob attacked the "captains and defenders of liberty" and cut to pieces Galeotto Toscano. The extremists were again in power. Toscano had been a personal friend of Carlo Gonzaga, and Gonzaga was enraged. Under the pretense of going to aid the besieged city of Crema, Gonzaga left Milan in September so that he might in reality make peace with Sforza by offering him Crema and Lodi.

During the hectic period of 1449, Sforza continued to wage an effective campaign in the field which resulted in his winning numerous towns for his own account. One by one the towns surrounding and serving Milan fell to Sforza until



Porta Nuova *The gate of Milan through which Francesco Sforza rode when commencing leadership of the city.*

Collection of Istituto d'Arti Grafichi, Bergamo

Sforza Castle *From Munster's* Cosmographia

finally the city was surrounded and cut off from food supplies. An acute famine overtook Milan.

At the instigation of Gonzaga, Sforza sent troops to take possession of Lodi and he invested Gonzaga with the fief of Tortona. However, Sforza remained loyal to the treaty with the Venetians, and Crema, isolated and without support, fell to Venice.

At the moment when it appeared events finally would converge in Sforza's favor, an unexpected situation arose which almost cost him all hopes of the ducal title. Venice recognized that Sforza, now a very powerful condottiere, was also a serious threat to their own territorial interests. As soon as the Venetians secured Crema, they proceeded to sign a peace treaty with the Ambrosian Republic that was to make Sforza divide his territorial holdings with the Republic. Sforza was given twenty days to sign the treaty. The news of the treaty was received with much joy in Milan. So certain did it seem that Sforza would not attempt to take on the combined forces of Milan and Venice, the populace proceeded immediately to sow the little remaining stores of grain for next year's crop.

Sforza surprised the Milanese by refusing to capitulate to the terms of the agreement. Sigismondo Malatesta, who now commanded the Venetian troops, tried to cross the Adda to unite with the forces of the Ambrosian Republic under Jacopo Piccinino, but he was driven back by Sforza. As Milan approached the point of almost total famine, Sforza calculated the city would be forced to yield before Venice could provide relief. Bartolomeo Colleoni's army, still in Venetian employ, drove toward Milan by way of the Bergamo valleys and the Lecco branch of Lake Como. Although the forces under Piccinino and Malatesta were finally united, Sforza held his siege position. On February 26, 1450, Sforza's effort finally bore success. Led by the fervent pleas of Gaspare Vimercate, a Ghibelline noble in sympathy with Sforza, the popular assembly of Milan voted to capitulate to Sforza's demands and soon afterward the ambassadors of the city rode out to hail Francesco Sforza as successor to the Visconti dukes.

Sforza lost no time in distributing to his troops as much bread as they could carry, and they marched to Milan, doling out food to the starving inhabitants who lined the route. Sforza entered the city at Porta Nuova and went straight to the Duomo to render thanks for the triumphant end to his long struggle, a quest that had spanned years of hardship, treachery and deceit of almost every kind.

The ducal crown that Sforza failed to gain by recognition of inheritance through his wife, he finally earned by his own determination along with the perseverance and support of Bianca Maria. Within a month, on Sunday, March 22, 1450, accompanied by Bianca Maria, their son Galeazzo Maria, and Francesco's brother Alessandro, Sforza was crowned duke of Milan at a site facing the Duomo. Seven of the leading citizens took part in the ceremony. Gaspare Vimercate bore the scepter, Antonio Trivulzio the standard, and Pietro Pusterla the sword. The cap, collar, cloak and seal were presented, respectively, by a Visconti, a Borromeo, a Lampugnano and a Marliano. Interestingly, some of these symbols appear on cards in the tarocchi deck. The citizens swore their undying fidelity to the fourth duke of Milan.

When the citizens of Milan first banded together in 1447 to form the Ambrosian Republic, they sought to erase all traces of Visconti rule. The Visconti Castle at Milan, rectangular in shape with a tower at each jutting angle, was almost totally destroyed except for portions of the Rocchetta stronghold.

Almost immediately upon his investiture as duke, Francesco Sforza set about the task of rebuilding the palace at Milan, henceforth known as the Sforza Castle. He took on the arms of the Visconti—the viper quartered with the imperial eagle—although, as a Sforza, he did not receive the investiture as duke of Milan from the Holy Roman Emperor. The duchy was to have passed down the Visconti line. Francesco established his rule by popular consent

rather than by imperial appointment or inheritance. It was not until 1495, during the reign of Lodovico "Il Moro" Sforza, that the Sforza lineage was officially invested by the emperor with the duchy of Milan.

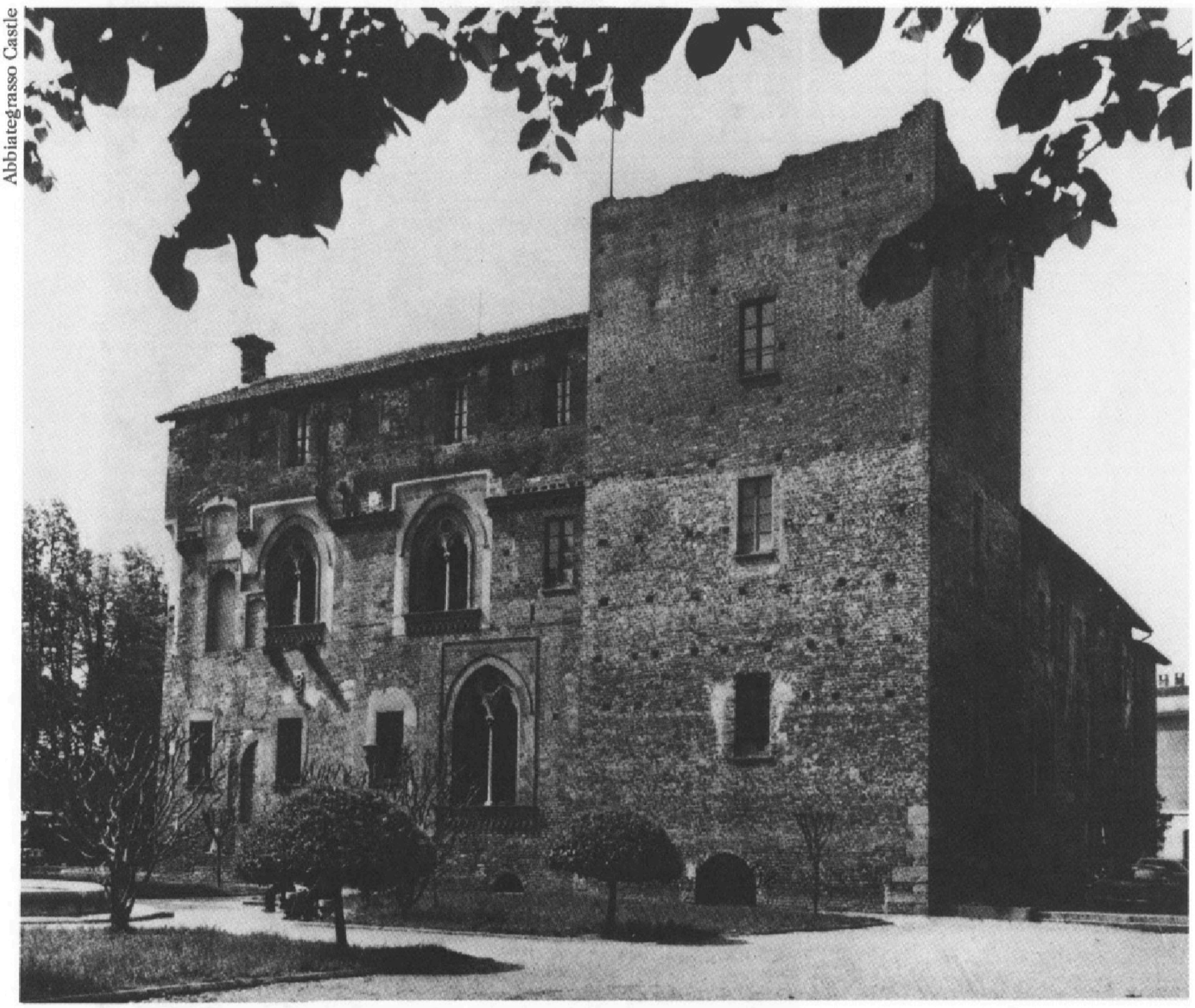
A remarkable document appears in transcripts of the ducal court recorded by Cichus at the end of Sforza's first year as duke. Writing on December 11, 1450, to Antonio Trecho, treasurer, Francesco requested that two packs of *carte de triumphi* be sent to him by mail rider, the cards to arrive within two days. The following week, Francesco wrote another letter to Trecho acknowledging receipt of two decks of cards, but perhaps they were not *triumphi* since the letter refers to *carta da jocare* rather than *carte de triumphi.*

Cichus was the pseudonym of Francesco Simonetta, chief secretary to Francesco Sforza. The family of Simonetta originally came from Calabria in southern Italy and was associated with Francesco Sforza through the duke's first wife, the Calabrian heiress Polissena Ruffa, who died in 1420. Beginning in 1450, Cichus, or Cicco as he is known, served as secretary to the dukes of Milan and the ducal families.

Sforza ruled Milan for the next sixteen years. One of the condottiere who was in the employ of Sforza, and had also seen service briefly with Filippo Visconti, was Pier Maria Rossi. Between 1446 and 1460, Rossi built himself Roccabianca, a castle located between Parma and Cremona. Around 1460 a series of frescoes was painted as room decorations, and one of the frescoes depicts a young couple seated at a table and playing cards. The artist of the frescoes remains unidentified, but the work has been credited to Antonio Cicognara or Bonifacio Bembo, among other artists.

By all accounts, the court of Milan during the reign of Francesco Sforza evidenced contentment. The citizens of Milan regarded Francesco and Bianca Maria with affection and pride. Eventually the old Visconti palace in Milan, known as the court of Arengo, became the principal residence of the Sforza duke. During Francesco's lifetime the old castle at Milan remained primarily a fortress, its park and gardens a hunting ground favored by the duke and his sons. The court also resided occasionally in the castles

Abbiategrasso Castle



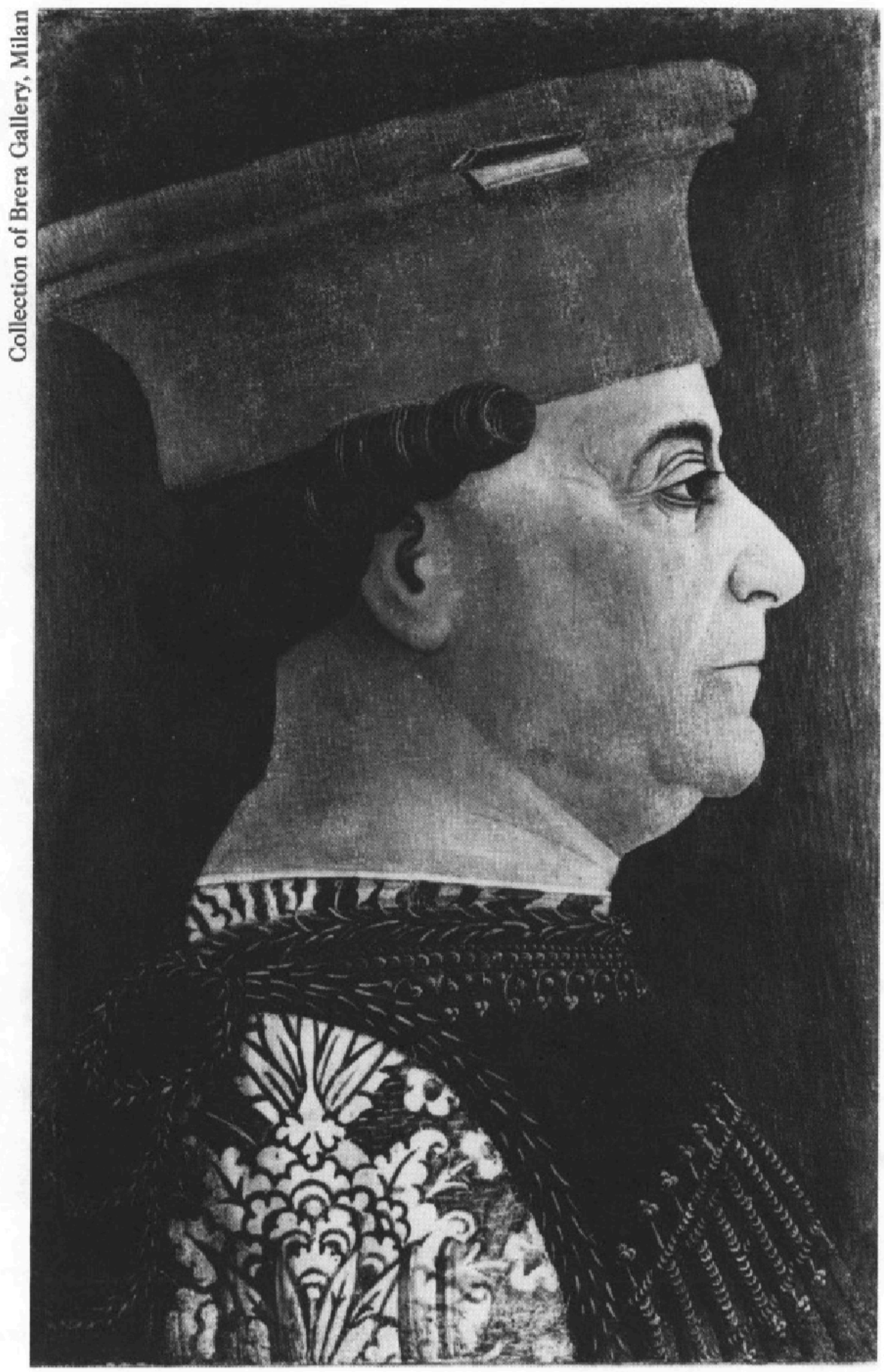
The Castle at Abbiategrasso *Bianca Maria Visconti spent part of her childhood at the castle, and it continued to be used by her and Francesco Sforza's court.*

at Abbiategrasso and Vigevano, which offered fresh air and rural surroundings.

As parents, Francesco and Bianca Maria carefully selected scholars and prominent men of letters to tutor their children. In addition to learning the classics, theology and the art of government, the children excelled in fencing, riding, dancing and the Italian game of ball known as *pallone*. Francesco sought to develop in his children a sense of duty and honor, and he set forth a list of precepts for his young heir, Galeazzo Maria, to follow.

> Galeazzo must honor God and the Church; he must be respectful and obedient to his parents, to Master Guinforte and to all other good and wise people; he must show politeness to all according to their rank, whether with cap or with head or with knee; he must be pleasant of speech with all, not forgetting his own servants; he must keep his hands under control and not lose his temper at every trifle; he must cultivate the justice and mercy which befits a ruler; he must not wish for everything he sees, and he must learn to do without that which he cannot get by honest means; he must not practice deceit, tell lies, or pay attention to slander and evil speaking; he must eat and drink nicely and in moderation; in view of his love of riding he must choose good horses.

In addition to Galeazzo Maria, who would become the fifth duke of Milan, the eight children of Francesco and Bianca Maria included Ippolita (1446–1484) who became the wife of Alfonso, duke of Calabria and afterward king of Naples. Ippolita was one of the most gifted women of the Renaissance. The oldest son of Francesco and Bianca, Galeazzo Maria (1444–1476), was the fifth duke of Milan, and his brother, Lodovico Maria (1451–1508), called Il Moro, became the seventh duke of Milan. Ascanio Maria



Francesco Sforza *Painting of Francesco Sforza attributed to Bonifacio Bembo, 1460*

Sforza (1455–1505) served the Church as cardinal and aspired to the papal crown.

Sforza's treasury was frequently short of funds. Nevertheless, he called upon the best Lombardy painters of the day to cover the walls of his castles with colorful frescoes. The walls at the palace of Arengo, completely gone now, depicted scenes suitable to Sforza's taste. Chief among the painters were Vincenzo Foppa, Cristoforo Moretti and Bonifacio Bembo.

Francesco Sforza died on March 8, 1466, at the age of 65, and is buried in the Duomo. Based upon the heraldic devices that ornament the cards, and by comparing the different extant tarocchi cards from the fifteenth century, it is very likely that the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo cards were commissioned during the ducal rule of Francesco Sforza, although the exact date of the cards will probably never be known. Bonifacio Bembo, the probable painter of most of the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo cards, was a favorite painter at Francesco and Bianca Maria's court. Furthermore, the splendid and magnificent court attained by Francesco's son, Galeazzo, the fifth duke of Milan, was an appropriate climate for continued patronage of elaborate tarocchi cards. Therefore, it is possible that tarocchi cards were commissioned during Galeazzo's rule.

The image of the man on the Strength *(Forza)* card of the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck resembles portraits of Francesco Sforza, and, indeed, the charismatic and successful condottiere had the qualities of the powerful allegorical figure.

Collection of the Brera Gallery, Milan

Collection of Pierpont Morgan Library, New York

Strength *Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo Tarocchi card*

Bianca Maria Visconti *Wife of Francesco Sforza. Painting attributed to Bonifacio Bembo*

GALEAZZO MARIA SFORZA (1444–1476)

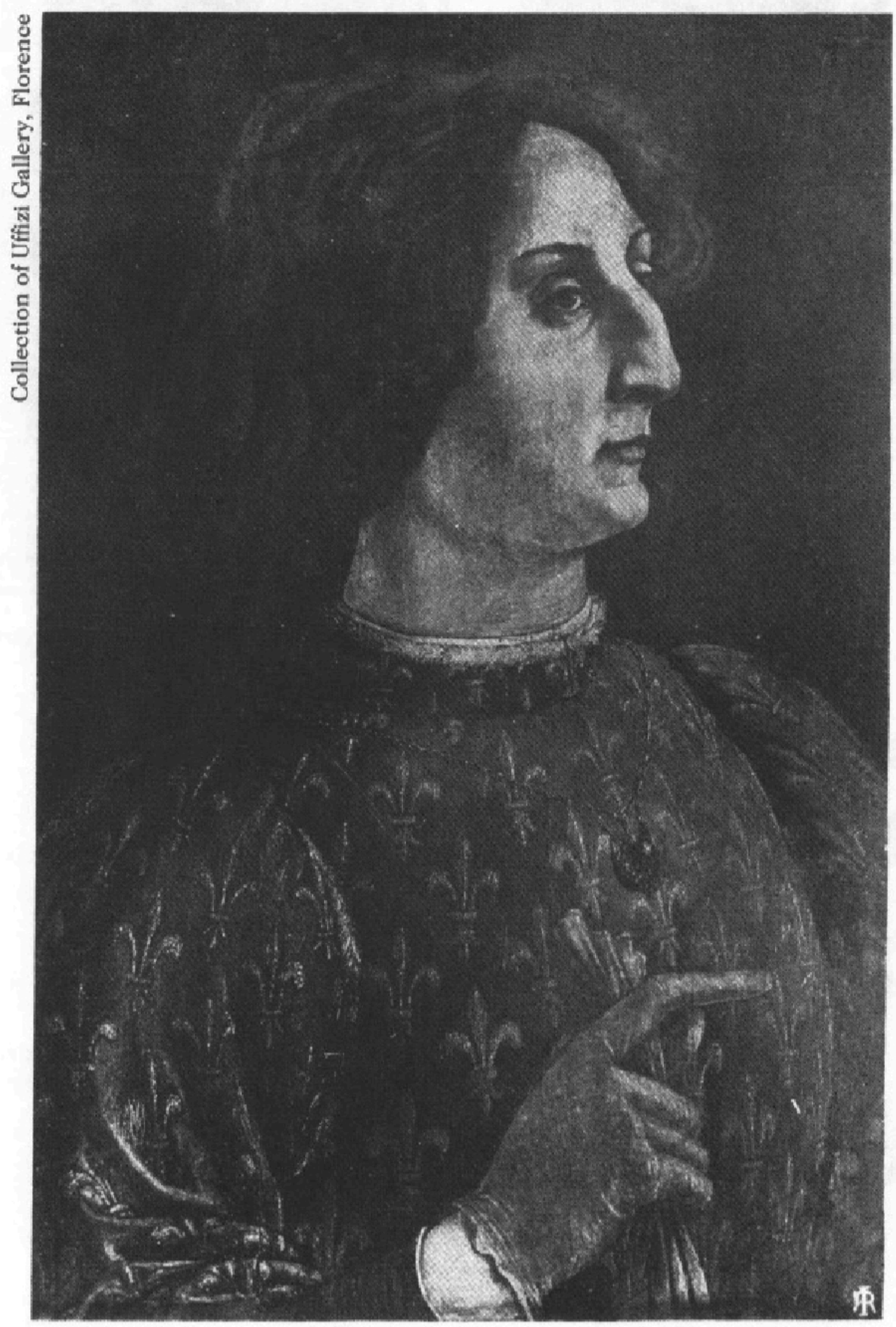
Galeazzo Maria Sforza, born at Fermo in January 1444, was the first son of Bianca Maria and Francesco Sforza. At the time of his father's death in 1466 Galeazzo was in France on his first important campaign. Accompanying the ducal heir was Gaspare Vimercate, quite probably the leader of the expedition charged with assisting Louis XI in the War of the Public Weal.

Upon receiving the news of his father's death, Galeazzo immediately returned to Milan. His mother had already summoned the city council. In a speech to the select body she cautioned for an orderly transition of ducal power and extracted an oath of allegiance from each of its members. Galeazzo entered Milan to the wild reception of the citizenry and almost immediately his authority as the fifth duke of Milan was firmly established.

The marriage of Duke Galeazzo to Bona of Savoy, who was daughter of the duke of Savoy and Louis XI's sister-in-law, took place on May 10, 1468, with Galeazzo's brother, Tristano, acting as proxy at the chateau of Amboise. Bona had no official dowry, but Louis XI suggested the town of Vercelli, provided Galeazzo could successfully seize Vercelli from Savoy. Galeazzo had little stomach for war and the hostilities that ensued were half-hearted at best, quickly ending in an allegiance that required Galeazzo to surrender all claims to Vercelli. The fifth duke of Milan greatly enjoyed the luxuries afforded by his new position, and, unlike his father, preferred to avoid the inconveniences and harsh life of a field condottiere.

Galeazzo converted the castle at Porta Giovia into a formidable residence for himself and his bride. Painters and workers were ordered to complete the work by Christmas of 1469 and the men labored day and night until the walls were covered with lively frescoes. Bonifacio Bembo is recorded as one of the painters.

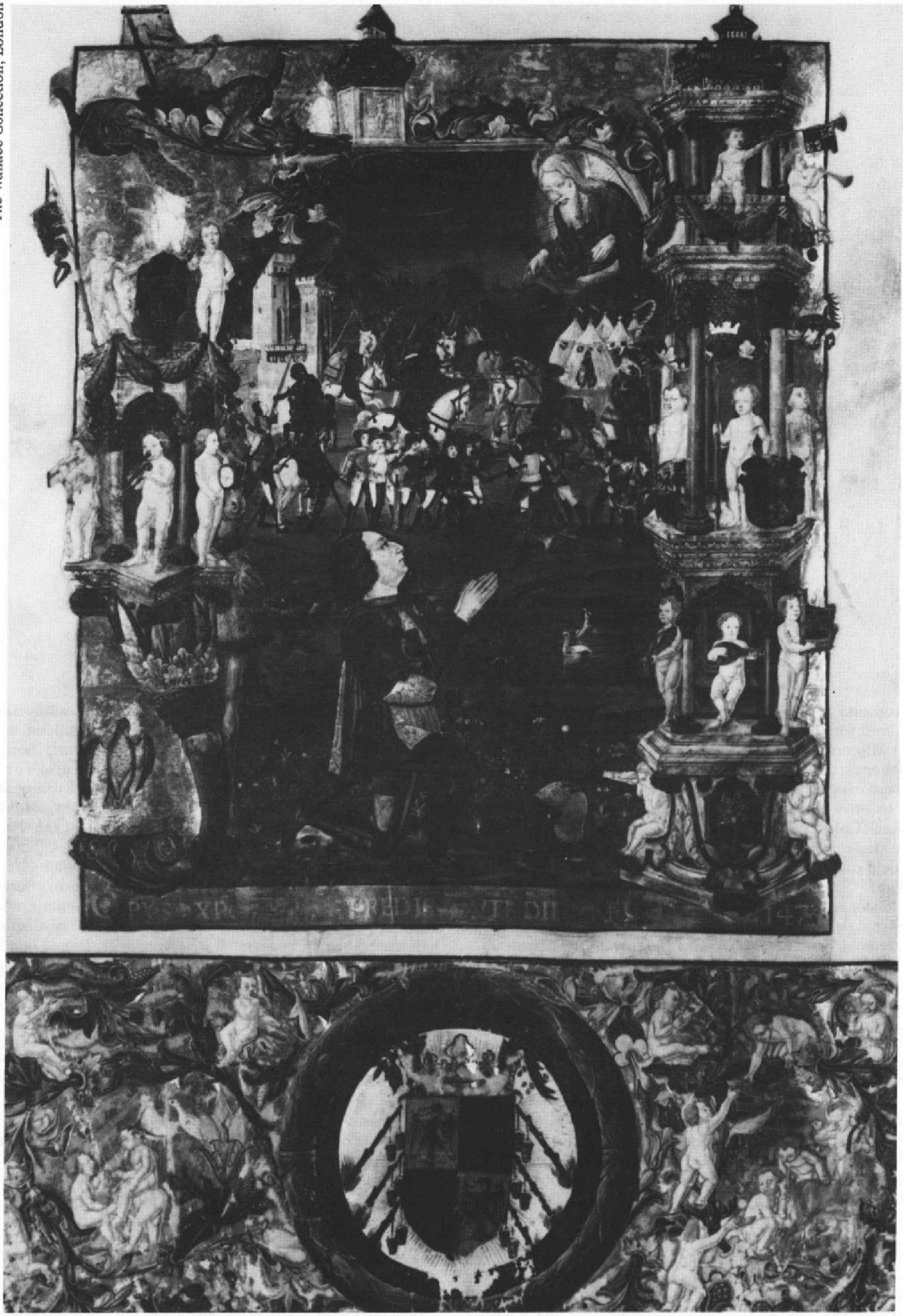
For about a year after Francesco's death, Bianca Maria and Galeazzo Maria ruled jointly. However, Galeazzo chafed at sharing the crown, even with his mother, and the presence of Bona widened the breach between mother and son. In October 1468, Bianca Maria decided to return to her own town of Cremona, but she had only reached Melagnano when she took seriously ill and died shortly after Galeazzo reached her side. Bianca Maria bequeathed



Collection of Uffizi Gallery, Florence

Galeasso Maria Sforza *Portrait by Antonio Pollaiuolo*

The Wallace Collection, London



Galeasso Maria Sforza praying for victory *The bottom panel contains imperial eagle and viper in the heraldic emblem. Illumination by Cristoforo de Predis*

Collection of F. Gatti, Milan

Galeasso Maria Sforsa and Bona of Savoy *Portrait by an unknown artist*

Cremona to Galeazzo on the condition its revenues be shared with his brothers, and she also commended to him all Milanese subjects, whom she called "her people." In December 1469, Galeazzo was officially invested with the ducal insignia by the people of Milan.

In 1469, a son born to Galeazzo and Bona was christened Gian Galeazzo after the first Visconti duke. Lorenzo de'Medici came to Milan as godfather to the boy, and was asked to be godfather to all the children of Galeazzo and Bona.

Galeazzo sought to maintain the balance of power that existed between Florence and Naples against the encroachments of Venice. When the Venetians, under Bartolomeo Colleoni, attacked Florence, Galeazzo supported the de'Medici. Federico of Urbano commanded the Milanese forces. After a particularly furious battle, Galeazzo expressed a desire to meet the great Bergamese captain and a meeting was arranged between Galeazzo and Colleoni. In April 1468, Colleoni bowed to pressure from Louis XI and Pope Paul II and made peace.

Galeazzo had no equals when it came to lavish and sumptuous display. On a visit to Florence in 1471, the richness of the gathering exceeded anything known to that time during the Renaissance. The dress of the women was magnificent and even the horses bore saddles of gold cloth with gilded stirrups. Galeazzo took with him 500 dogs of different kinds plus 2,000 horses and 200 baggage mules.

Galeazzo lavished large sums of money on Pavia, of which he was very fond. The walls of the castle were adorned with brilliant frescoes of his marriage with Bona and of personalities of the court; none of the frescoes remain today. The library, the antique relics, and the treasure hordes of gold and pearls were said to be priceless.

Galeazzo also instituted the important task of decorating the castle at Milan. From 1469 to 1474, Galeazzo authorized the Sala Celeste with its sky-blue ceiling sprinkled with stars; the Sala delle Columbine, adorned with Bona's favorite device of doves in the midst of flames; the Sala degli Scarlioni, with zigzag stripes in mulberry and white; the Sala delle Ceccie decorated with hunting scenes, and the greater part of all the rooms on both floors of the ducal court. The chapel choir was Galeazzo's special delight, and he spared neither money nor effort in finding singers to ensure it being the finest. Galeazzo wanted his own court to be the most splendid of all Europe, so he encouraged scholars to settle and teach at the local universities. Galeazzo had a successful marriage with Bona, but he indulged his favorite mistress, Lucia Marliani, with all manner of gifts and favors. He made her countess of Melzo and wrote to Lorenzo de'Medici that he loved her more passionately every day.

For all his kindness and extravagance, the duke also bore the Visconti strain of callousness and cruelty, and his feudal authority over Lombardy nobles was often inflexible. When Count Giovanni Borromeo failed to respond to Galeazzo's command to send his son to the court, the duke in his sly humor sent a dispatch that read, "We marvel greatly that you have not sent your son as we wrote to you, but three days will not pass before you have cause to marvel at us."

The death of Galeazzo occurred on December 26, 1476, on Saint Stephen's Day. A series of omens preceeded Galeazzo's arrival in Milan, including the appearance of a comet, and three ravens hovering about him as he started the last leg of his journey from Abbiategrasso. In Milan, a fire of unknown origin started in his rooms at the castle. He shrugged off the omens but he ordered the choir to dress in mourning and to sing a verse from the Office of the Dead during daily Mass.

The traditional Christmas festivities and yule log burning were celebrated by the ducal family. On the morning of Galeazzo's death, Bona revealed several bad dreams from the previous night and begged Galeazzo to hear mass in the castle, but he preferred to follow the usual custom of going to the Church of Saint Stefano. He declined to wear his breastplate because it made him look fat, and he left the castle wearing a crimson cloak lined with ermine.

Three conspirators, Andrea Lampugnani, Carlo Visconti and Giolamo Olgiati, awaited the arrival of the unsuspecting duke. Lampugnani was penniless and had been in trouble with Francesco Sforza who had condemned him to death. Ironically, Galeazzo had pardoned him, but he was still deprived of revenues from a monastery. Carlo Visconti held an old grudge against the duke. Olgiati was a revolutionary who had fallen under the spell of Cola Montano of Bologna, an eloquent speaker who preached the virtues of a republic over the ducal regime.

As Duke Galeazzo entered the church with his entourage, the three conspirators pretended to help clear the crowds. Suddenly, they turned upon the duke and with several dagger strokes killed him instantly. The assassins were captured and brutally murdered.

The eleven-year reign of Galeazzo Maria Sforza fostered an extravagant court and we might well imagine that the duke commissioned one or more gold-illuminated tarocchi decks for the pleasure of his entourage.

GIAN GALEAZZO SFORZA (1469–1494)

On the very day of Galeazzo's murder, the council of Milan proclaimed his seven-year-old son, Gian Galeazzo, the sixth duke of Milan under the guardianship of his mother, Bona. The daily rule of the duchy actually fell to Francesco Sforza's former secretary, Francesco "Cicco" Simonetta, who possessed the necessary experience to direct the government during the regency. Cicco, under the signature Cichus, had recorded nineteen years earlier, on December 11, 1450, the letter to Antonio Trecho on behalf of Duke Francesco Sforza requesting two decks of *carte de triumphi.*

Although tranquility prevailed in Milan during the transitional period, the young duke's five uncles, all brothers of Galeazzo, now hoped to become active in the Milanese government. The eldest brother, Filippo (1448–1492), married to Costanza of Bosio, lacked strong intellect and did not possess leadership or organizational abilities. Filippo was overshadowed by his brother Lodovico (1451–1508), who eventually married Beatrice d'Este and became the seventh duke of Milan. Another brother, known by the name of Sforza (1449–1479) was the duke of Bari. Ascanio Maria (1455–1505) had already entered the priesthood, and Ottaviano (?–1477) was still a boy. Cicco was also troubled by the Ghibelline nobility, who accused him of Guelph sympathies.

The uncles conspired with the Ghibelline nobility against the regency and Cicco was forced to grant each of them a palace in Milan and an income from the revenues of Cremona as their mother had decreed. Filippo was content with this, and lived quietly in his palace until he died in 1492. The other brothers were only temporarily placated.

Giovanni Borromeo, along with other leaders in Milan, counseled Bona to deprive the hated Simonetta of any power and, instead, to cooperate with her brother-in-law Lodovico. Borromeo was of the family credited with commissioning the earliest extant fresco, at the Casa Borromeo in Milan, that depicts fifteenth-century tarocchi players.

The popularity gathered from a triumph in Genoa and the imprisonment in 1477 of Donato of Conte, a leading

The Wallace Collection, London

Gian Galeasso Sforsa *The sixth duke of Milan shown as a young man reading Cicero. Fresco attributed to Bramantino*

Andrew Mellon Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

Gian Galeazzo Sforza *Marble relief by Giovanni Antonio Amadeo*

Ghibelline, on suspicion of treachery, enabled the Sforza uncles to join with a large number of citizens in a fresh and embittered quarrel against the Guelph leadership. However, the government triumphed and the rebellious faction was forced to flee the city. Ottaviano Sforza drowned while crossing the Adda and the other Sforza brothers were exiled to their estates. Donato of Conte had a fatal fall while trying to escape prison. The three remaining brothers involved, Lodovico, Sforza and Ascanio, were exiled from Milan.

In 1478 Milan was drawn into the conflict that erupted between Naples and Naples' enemies, Florence and Venice. An attempt against the life of Lorenzo de'Medici failed and, following the agreement made by the League of 1474, Milan came to the aid of Florence. The Sforza uncles and the Ghibelline supporters immediately threw their support to Naples.

In the summer of 1478 the city of Genoa was invested to Gian Galeazzo as a fief of France. However, aided by the Sforza uncles, the Genoans were incited to riot. A rebel army led by Roberto San Severino devastated the Milanese forces. The Sforza uncles grew stronger in their demands for a voice in the ruling of Milan. Upon the death of the uncle Sforza in August 1479, Lodovico succeeded him both as duke of Bari and as leader of the party in opposition to Cicco.

Bona of Savoy, Duke Gian Galeazzo's mother, was no longer on good terms with Cicco. He frequently expressed disapproval at her infatuation with a youthful carver, Antonio Tassino, whom Galeazzo had often employed. Tassino was anxious to see Cicco Simonetta removed from power. Bona had a secret reconciliation with Lodovico which Cicco tried to take with the best grace. Nevertheless, he prophesized to Bona, "Most illustrious duchess, I shall lose my head and you, ere long, will lose the state."

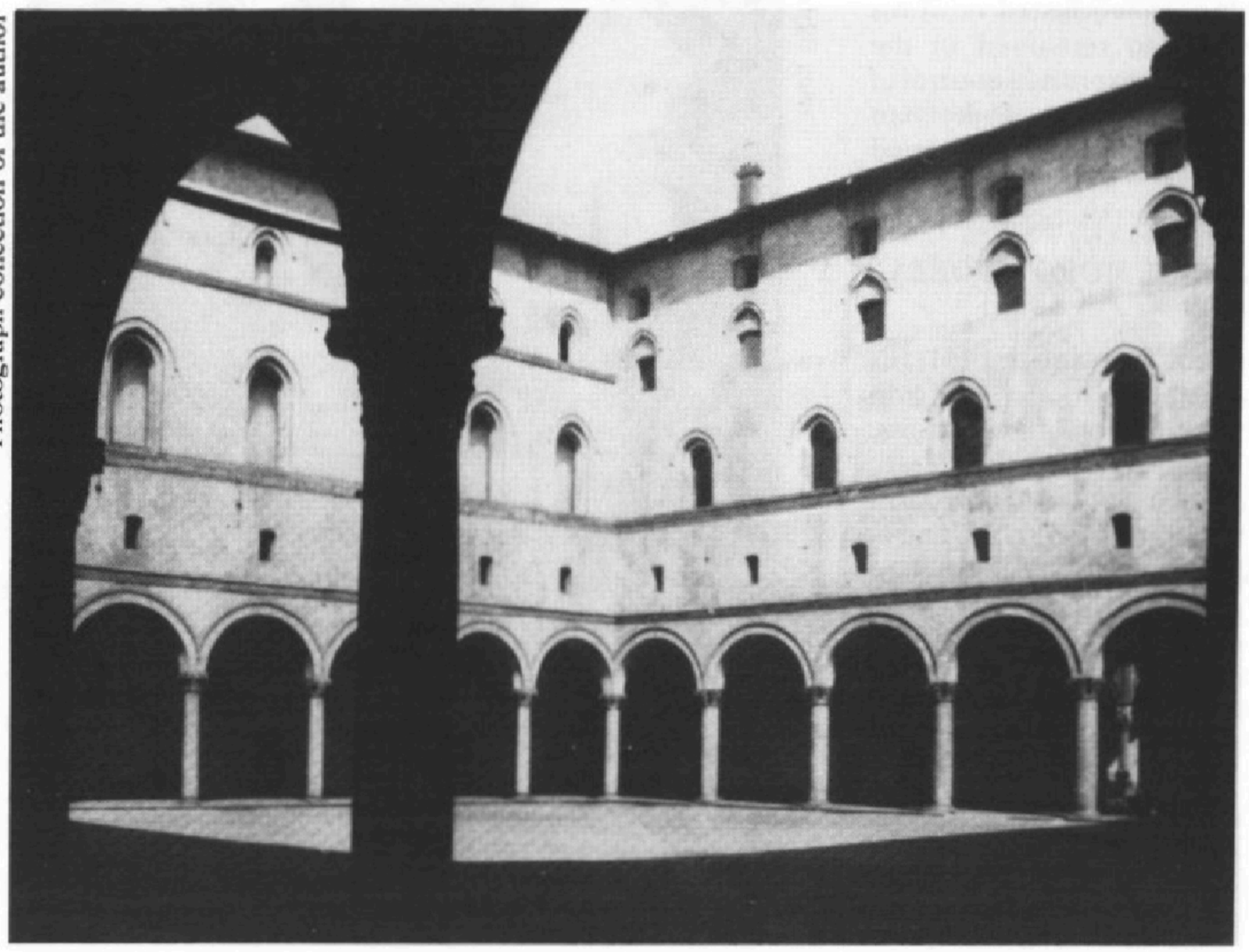
Three days after the reconciliation, the Ghibellines rose in arms. Cicco and his historian brother, Giovanni Simonetta, were imprisoned. Giovanni is known for his complimentary work on the life of Francesco Sforza that provides important insight to the fourth duke of Milan. Cicco's home and vast library were given up to the mob and sacked. Lodovico sought to obtain Cicco's considerable wealth in exchange for his possible freedom, but Cicco had deposited his finances with a Florentine banker, and he refused Lodovico's suspect offer, saying his wealth should go to his own heirs. Within the year the old man of seventy was sent to the scaffold at the castle of Pavia, after being cruelly tortured. Bona rejoiced at Cicco's death and Lodovico sought to shift blame for the death to Roberto San Severino, Cicco's mortal enemy. Giovanni Simonetta's life was spared, primarily because he was not a threat to Lodovico.

With the rise of the Ghibellines, Ascanio Sforza and Lodovico returned to Milan. As archbishop of Pavia and papal legate, Ascanio enjoyed considerable popularity, but

Collection of Sforza Castle, Milan

Cardinal Ascanio Maria Sforza *Fresco attributed to Bernardino Luini*

Photograph collection of the author



Courtyard of the Rocchetta
Sforza Castle, Milan

he was soon sent to Ferrara by Lodovico, who refused to share any of his expanding powers. Lodovico next turned his attentions to the twelve-year-old duke, who was pronounced old enough to rule without his mother's regency. The young duke and his brother were taken from Bona and put in the Rocchetta, the inner fortress of the castle. Tassino, seeing that further residence in Milan would be profitless, left for his native Ferrara.

Lodovico, along with Roberto San Severino and Niccolo Pallavicino, declared themselves the duke's guardians. Thereafter Bona's influence in the government declined so much that in November 1480 she left Milan for Savoy. She proceeded as far as Abbiategrasso where she was detained by order of Lodovico and she remained there, living on an ample pension, until Gian Galeazzo's death in 1494, when she went to live in France.

Gian Galeazzo was crowned the sixth duke of Milan in 1480 at the Duomo. For the first few months Duke Gian Galeazzo signed documents of state, but by 1481 his name began to appear with Lodovico's, and thereafter no attempt was made to conceal the fact that Lodovico was the real ruler of Milan. Gian Galeazzo grew to manhood weak both in mind and body, and came to rely almost entirely upon his uncle.

In January 1489, Duke Gian Galeazzo married Isabella Ferrante of Aragon. The bridal couple were brought together at Tortona where a sumptuous banquet was served by mythological characters dressed in colorful costume. Fish was served by naïads, the Greek nymphs possessed of the gift of prophecy who once dwelled in the waters of fountains and lakes. Next came a dish named the Golden Fleece, borne to the festival table by the Greek mythological figure of Jason. One of Jason's aspects is the sun, carried across the sky in a ship to the land of night. Hebe, cup bearer to the Greek gods, served precious wines which were said to rival nectar and ambrosia. Finally, Orpheus, the legendary Greek poet singer, offered birds which he declared had come to him to hear the praises of Isabella's virtues. The wedding ceremony in the Duomo at Milan was enlivened by numerous pageants and festivities.

For the remainder of his reign, which lasted until his death in 1494, Duke Gian Galeazzo remained in the background while Lodovico effectively exercised control of all ducal affairs. Prior to his twenty-fifth birthday, Duke Gian Galeazzo took seriously ill and died at Pavia. He was buried at the Duomo.

LODOVICO (MAURUS) MARIA "IL MORO" SFORZA (1451–1508)

Lodovico Maria Sforza was born at Vigevano in 1451. His middle name was changed from Maurus to Maria to gain protection from the Virgin Mary during a childhood illness. Lodovico is generally ranked along with his father, Francesco Sforza, as the most intelligent and gifted of the Sforza family. As a boy, Lodovico was studious and quick to learn. In later life, as the duke of Bari, he developed brilliant diplomatic skills and fostered a magnificent Renaissance court. Lodovico never enjoyed the field of battle, preferring instead to use his powers in the art of peace.

During the period that his older brother, Galeazzo Maria, exercised control as the fifth duke of Milan, Lodovico performed important tasks of state outside the Milanese duchy.

Upon the murder of his brother in 1476, Lodovico quickly returned from France with the avowed intention of wresting the ducal authority away from his young nephew, Gian Galeazzo. Lodovico possessed an outstanding combination of intelligence and ability which contrasted sharply with the temperament of slow-minded Gian Galeazzo.

Lodovico bore the nickname Il Moro, probably taken from Maurus. *Moro* is also the Italian word for the mulberry tree. When Lodovico appeared in public for a festive occasion it was not uncommon for the cheering crowds to chant "Moro! Moro!" Once Lodovico firmly established himself as guardian of his nephew, his influence and power spread rapidly throughout the ducal territory and well beyond its borders.

Lodovico elected to renew the alliance with King Ferrante of Naples. To further establish the bond of friendship between the two cities, a marriage was proposed between Duke Gian Galeazzo and Isabella Ferrante of Aragon, granddaughter of the king. Lodovico also sought to advance his own matrimonial plans and in 1480 he proposed to marry Isabella d'Este, eldest daughter of Duke Ercole of Ferrara and Leonora of Aragon. However, at the age of six she had been promised to Francesco Gonzaga, eldest son of Federico, the marquis of Mantua. As an alternative, the duke of Ferrara suggested his second daughter, Beatrice, and Lodovico readily agreed. At this time Lodovico was twenty-nine, and his future bride, five.

In 1481 a scheme was hatched by Venice and the pope to divide the fief of Ferrara. The triple alliance of Milan, Florence and Naples came to Ferrara's defense, but by the year's end the duke of Ferrara was reduced to desperate straights. Only the timely aid of Milanese forces saved the duke of Ferrara from total ruin.

Civica Biblioteca Trivulziana, Milan

Lodovico "Il Moro" Sforza Portrait by Boltraffio

Pope Sixtus IV had embarked upon the war as a means to expand his territorial control, but it became readily apparent that Venice, not the papacy, would reap the benefits of any territorial gains. Thus, in December 1482, Pope Sixtus signed a peace treaty with the triple alliance and left Venice to continue the struggle single-handedly. Under subsequent mediation and skillful negotiation by Lodovico, the Peace of Bagnolo was signed in August 1484, ending the conflict between the alliance and Venice. Lodovico thus evidenced his expertise as a diplomat as he would time and again in the future.

The year 1484 also witnessed the appointment of Lodovico's brother, Ascanio Sforza, as a cardinal. Cardinal Ascanio Sforza's association with tarocchi cards was first publicized in 1831, when Count Cicognara described the chronicles of Cremona written in 1484 by Domenico Borigallo. The count alleged that the chronicles mention that Antonio Cicognara, an excellent painter and miniaturist, designed and illuminated a magnificent set of tarocchi cards which were presented to Cardinal Ascanio. However, the statement is suspect, especially since the original Latin version of Bordigallo's chronicles appears to contain no reference to tarocchi or *trionfi*.

During the next several years, Lodovico successfully gained control of additional areas of the duchy, including the Pavia castle and the Rocchetta, the name given to the inner fortress of the castle at Milan.

In 1488, the heroic actions of Caterina Sforza took place. Caterina had been born in 1463, the illegitimate daughter of the fifth duke of Milan, and half-sister to the sixth and reigning duke, Gian Galeazzo. She grew up under the care of her grandmother, Bianca Maria Sforza, and thereafter she lived with her stepmother, Bona of Savoy. In 1473, at the age of ten, Caterina was married to Girolamo Riario, and from 1477 they lived an active life, mostly in Forli, a town about 160 miles from Milan near the Adriatic Sea. In 1488 Girolamo was ill and several discontent members of the local Orsi family conspired with a handful of soldiers at the Forli fortress to murder Girolamo while he recuperated in his private rooms in the castle.

Caterina was arrested by the insurgents, but before she and her children were removed as prisoners, she sent appeals for help to Milan and Bologna and she ordered the castellan of the fortress to secure its safety at all costs. Repeated sieges failed to force the castle to yield and her captors pressured Caterina with threats to her life. Finally, with the understanding that she would countermand her instructions and order the castle to surrender, the rebels permitted Caterina to hold a private conference with the castellan. Once inside the fortress, Caterina defiantly raised the Sforza standard. Despite threats of death against her children, who were still detained as hostages, she held the fortress until an army of 12,000 men from Milan rescued her and the children.

By 1489, Lodovico enjoyed the height of his power. The prosperity of the duchy was well-established, due largely to Lodovico's wise economic and administrative policies. His irrigation works greatly enhanced agricultural productivity. Lodovico successfully attracted to his court the most gifted men of the day including classical scholars, theologians, poets, craftsmen and painters. One of these was Leonardo da Vinci, whose genius as painter, sculptor, architect, engineer, astronomer and inventor greatly impressed the duke.

The wedding of Duke Gian Galeazzo and Isabella Ferrante took place at the Duomo in January 1489. Lodovico's marriage to Beatrice d'Este was delayed due to Lodovico's genuine attachment to his beautiful and

Collection of Pinacoteca, Forli

Caterina Sforza *Illegitimate daughter of Galeazzo Maria Sforza and Lucrezia Landriani. Painting by Palmezziani*

accomplished mistress, Cecilia Gallerani. Cecilia had her own quarters at the castle, and Lodovico gave to her Broletto Nuovo, the palace that once belonged to Carmagnola. Lodovico's marriage to Beatrice took place on January 17, 1491, in full splendor and, under Lodovico's orders, special rooms in the Rocchetta were adorned with frescoes to receive his bride. Beatrice persuaded Lodovico to terminate his relationship with Cecilia and she subsequently married Count Bergamini of Cremona, but not before she gave birth to Lodovico's son, Leone.

Beatrice clearly matched her husband in intellect and ability. She was vivacious and possessed unusual skills in hunting and riding as well as a keen political mind.

The marriage between Lodovico and Beatrice brought about a close friendship between Lodovico and Beatrice's older sister, Isabella d'Este, who had married Francesco Gonzaga, the marquis of Mantua. The relations between the courts of Milan and Mantua became very close and Lodovico often relied upon Isabella for her understanding and sought her judgment without detracting in any way from his marriage.

The houses of Sforza and d'Este had been on friendly terms for several decades and it is quite likely that both families enjoyed the game of *trionfi*. The cooperation of the families extended back to 1408, when Muzio Attendolo Sforza served with the marquis of Ferrara. Muzio's son, Francesco, spent his early childhood in Ferrara and was educated with the children of Niccolo d'Este. Niccolo presented Francesco with a famous diamond ring in appreciation of the services rendered by the great condottiere to Ferrara. After Francesco's son, the fifth duke of

Collection of the Brera Gallery, Milan

Lodovico Sforza and Beatrice d'Este Altarpiece with portraits, ascribed to Bernardo Zenale

Milan, Galeazzo Maria Sforza, was murdered in 1476, his widow, Duchess Bona of Savoy, arranged a marriage between her infant daughter, Anna Sforza and Duke Ercole d'Este's new-born son and heir, Alfonso d'Este.

The existence of tarocchi cards originally owned by the d'Este family was reported in Volume I of *The Encyclopedia of Tarot* with the reproduction of sixteen cards from the Cary Collection at Yale University. The fifteenth-century cards are hand-illuminated in gold and framed in silver.

On July 28, 1442, the account books of the d'Este court at Ferrara supposedly referred to a pack of tarocchi cards, *pare uno de carte da trionfi per i caualieri.* This reference, first reported by G. Campori in 1874, if legitimate, constitutes one of the earliest records of *trionfi* cards.

In the following century, around 1550, an anonymous poem, *"Poesie leggende costumanza del medio evo,"* associated each of the tarocchi trumps with different ladies at the court at Ferrara. The poem appeared in a 1917 work by Giulio Bertoni, *Tarocchi versificate.* In the poem, the Angel, or Judgment, represents Diana Trotta, who through her beauty is divine, The Sun represents Virginia Trotta, who blinds with her splendor all who look upon her, and The Fool stands for Momma Riminaldi, whose beauty includes her craziness.

The first weakness in the Sforza dynasty appeared with the rivalry that developed between the two young brides of Gian Galeazzo and Lodovico. Isabella Ferrante and Beatrice d'Este were first cousins, and both were strong-willed and highly intelligent. For a while, the two women were close companions. Isabella was a few years older than Beatrice, but they shared a love for adventure and both sought the challenge of power brought by their exalted marriages.

Beatrice's brilliant court, however, inflamed the jealousy of Isabella Ferrante, whose husband was content to remain duke of Milan in name only. Isabella gave birth to a son, Francesco, in June 1492. Seven months later, the birth of Beatrice's and Lodovico's son was met with resounding jubilation throughout the duchy. Christened Ercole, he was afterward known as Massimiliano at the request of Emperor Maximilian of the Holy Roman Empire. The celebrations for Massimiliano had an extravagance that would have been more appropriate to the true heir to the duchy of Milan, and this so aggravated Isabella that she resolved to undermine her usurping cousin at every occasion.

Isabella sent an emotional appeal to her father, Alfonso of Calabria, pleading that he intervene to restore her husband, now a grown man and father of a son, to rightful control of the duchy. Her grandfather, King Ferrante, thought it best to proceed cautiously, and he sent emissaries to compliment Lodovico on his fine execution of Gian Galeazzo's guardianship and to suggest perhaps the time had come to retire in his nephew's favor. Lodovico gave a vague reply, and Gian Galeazzo remained complacent.

During the 1490s, Lodovico and Beatrice did much to foster the splendid art of the Renaissance, and their court was the envy of all Europe. Leonardo da Vinci painted The Last Supper at the convent refectory of Santa Maria delle Grazie and the emotions reflected by the faces of Christ's disciples made the work immediately renowned. The great painting, accomplished in oils, began to deteriorate even during da Vinci's lifetime and suffered several bungled attempts at restoration over the past centuries. During the 1970s a new restoration was begun, using the most scientific and painstaking modern techniques.

There were elaborate hunting events at which Beatrice, often accompanied by Galeazzo San Severino, stood out for her boldness and skill. Special festive occasions at the Sforza court were often scenes with elaborate costumes and dancing and amusements that lasted throughout the day and night. Art, poetry and drama were encouraged. Lodovico was especially interested in the well-being of the University of Pavia, although frequent shortages of ducal funds forced many artists, professors and other officials to wait long periods of time before receiving their salaries.

Lodovico founded a college in Milan where Greek, rhetoric and music were taught. He encouraged choir groups and did much to expand and catalog the library at Pavia, which boasted many valuable manuscripts accessible to scholars and students. Most of the books in the library were eventually sent to France by Louis XII during his reign of Milan and are housed today in the Bibliothéque Nationale, Paris.

The Certosa at Pavia was of special interest to Lodovico and his improvements include decoration of the roof, pictures for the cells, several frescoes, and altarpieces attributed to Ambrogio Stefano Fossano "the Borgognone" (1481–1523). Some researchers have noted that the scene of the Certosa of Pavia, painted on the altar cloth by the Borgognone, contains steep cliffs and crevices similar to those found on the cards Death, Temperance, The Star, The Moon, The Sun and several court cards in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo Tarocchi pack. The crowning point in the history of the Certosa was the consecration of the church in May 1497. The ceremony was performed by the papal legate in the presence of Lodovico, who by then was duke of Milan.

Collection of the British Museum, London

Illuminated deed of gift containing medallion portraits of Lodovico Sforza and Beatrice d'Este. The villa of Cussago, inherited by Lodovico from his father, Francesco Sforza, was given to Beatrice

One of the castles Lodovico inherited from his father was called Cussago. Located near Milan, it was a favorite hunting place for Beatrice. Lodovico spent large sums to refurbish Cussago before he deeded it to Beatrice. The original illuminated deed of gift, bearing the portraits of Lodovico and Beatrice, is housed today in the British Museum.

The principal secretary to Lodovico was Bartolomeo Calco, through whose hand passed all communications with artists. Further research in the archives and transcripts of the Sforza family may uncover letters, similar to those of Duke Francesco Sforza dating from December 1450, that specifically refer to playing cards, including commissions granted to artists and descriptions of games played at the court.

Beginning in the early 1480s, Leonardo da Vinci entered the service of Lodovico, originally to design and cast an immense bronze statue, which was never completed, in memory of Francesco Sforza. From 1495 to 1498, Leonardo worked on various decorations in the castle at Milan.

An important court figure was Ambrogio Varese whose influence centered on Lodovico's passion for astrology, which he frequently used before reaching important decisions. When Lodovico was seriously ill, in 1487, the astrologer was credited with saving his life, and as a reward, was made count of Rosate. Niccolo Correggio was another popular court figure, well-known for his poetry and gallantry and his bravery on the battlefield.

Collection of Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan

Galeasso San Severino *Husband of Lodovico Sforza's illegitimate daughter, Bianca. From a painting by Ambrogio de Predis*

Collection of Biblioteca della Curia Arcivescovile, Milan

Bianca Sforza *Illegitimate daughter of Lodovico. Portrait attributed to Ambrogio de Predis or Leonardo da Vinci*

Bianca Sforza, Lodovico's illegitimate daughter, was beloved by the court, including Beatrice, who treated her as a true daughter. Galeazzo San Severino was also a member of the inner court, and in 1489 he was betrothed to Bianca Sforza.

In 1493, Lodovico consented to an alliance with the French king, Charles VIII, whom he hoped would prove a docile ally. An agreement was signed between the Milanese duchy, King Charles VIII and Maximilian of the Holy Roman Empire. King Charles, however, proved to be the dominant partner in the alliance.

The year 1492 bore witness to a remarkable voyage that was destined to change the course of future European development and that, quite secondarily, probably brought playing cards across the Atlantic Ocean. The Genoese explorer, Christopher Columbus, secured the assistance of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Spain for his historic quest to find a short sea route to India. Before the year was over, Christopher Columbus had discovered the New World. Probably during the voyage the sailors spent their free time playing cards, as sailors have for centuries.

An important reference to playing cards, in this instance specifically to *trionfi* cards, appears in 1492. According to Giulio Bertoni, writing in 1917, Cardinal Ippolito d'Este wrote a letter from Hungary to his mother, Leonora of Aragon, the duchess of Ferrara, acknowledging receipt of numerous items including *triumphi dorati,* a set of gilded tarocchi cards. Cardinal Ippolito was the brother of Beatrice and Isabella d'Este. Ippolito was patron to Lodovico Ariosto (1474-1533), the poet who wrote the epic poem *Orlando Furioso,* the sequel to Count Matteo Maria Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato.* Boiardo wrote a set of verses for the *trionfi* cards.

In 1493, Emperor Maximilian wed the twenty-one-year-old Bianca Maria Sforza, sister of Gian Galeazzo. Bianca Maria, the daughter of Galeazzo, is sometimes confused with Bianca, the illegitimate daughter of Lodovico. The marriage ceremony took place at the Duomo with an emissary as stand-in for the absent groom. Soon after, Maximilian secretly gave Lodovico an imperial diploma dated September 5, 1494, which conferred upon Lodovico all the titles and privileges enjoyed by Gian Galeazzo Visconti by virtue of the investiture granted the Visconti in 1395. Lodovico's claim centered upon the dubious honor

that he was the first son born to Francesco Sforza after the latter became duke. Additionally, when Filippo Maria Visconti died in 1447 without a male heir, the duchy had technically lapsed and Maximilian claimed the right to bestow the fief on whomever he judged worthiest.

In January 1494, King Ferrante of Naples died and was succeeded to the throne by his son Alfonso, who was Lodovico's bitter enemy. Charles VIII of France now prepared a visit to Italy at the head of the French army. Encouraged by Lodovico, he crossed the Alps with the intention of attacking Naples. While Lodovico and Charles were en route southward, the news arrived that Duke Gian Galeazzo had taken seriously ill.

Lodovico immediately went to Pavia, where Gian Galeazzo had died, just twenty-four years old. From there, Lodovico quickly went to Milan and called together a meeting of leading citizens. He half-heartedly suggested that Gian Galeazzo's infant son, Francesco, be proclaimed duke. Lodovico's loyal supporters quickly declared their preference for Lodovico, citing among other reasons the perilous times at hand. Amid shouts of "Duca! Moro! Duca! Moro!" Lodovico was unanimously proclaimed the seventh duke of Milan.

The military force led by Charles VIII easily succeeded in crushing Alfonso in February 1495, and Charles VIII declared himself master of Naples. Lodovico, having accomplished his purpose of the downfall of Alfonso, was anxious for Charles to depart for France lest he turn his ambitions toward the Milanese duchy in cooperation with Lodovico's fierce rival, the duke of Orleans.

In order to counterbalance the rising power of Charles VIII, Lodovico joined the League formed in April 1495 by Emperor Maximilian, Ferdinand of Spain and Sicily, Pope Alexander VI, and the city of Venice. But the duke of Orleans, who claimed the duchy of Milan through the terms of the marriage contract of his grandmother, Valentina Visconti, made known his determination to wrest Milan from Lodovico. The duke of Orleans and his French troops struck at Novara with such overwhelming force that Lodovico was swept with panic and preparations for the defense of Milan fell to Beatrice. Fortunately, reinforcements to bolster the Milanese defense arrived from Venice under the command of Francesco Gonzaga. Galeazzo San Severino took the offensive and his siege of Novara temporarily held back the duke of Orleans.

In the meantime, the armies of the League engaged the French troops of Charles VIII as they descended the Apennines. The French sought to gain passage through the valley of the Taro River in order to join the duke of Orleans who waited at Novara. In July 1495 Francesco Gonzaga attacked the French force and a fierce battle ensued. Amid heavy losses on both sides, the French drove across the Taro River where they regrouped with a large Swiss force of some 10,000 troops. Lodovico grew more fearful and decided to seek peace at any cost. Although Louis of Orleans wished to continue the aggression, King Charles signed a peace agreement at Vercelli on October 10, 1495. Under the terms of the agreement, Novara was restored to Lodovico; in turn, the duke agreed to send two ships in aid of the French garrison at Naples to support Charles VIII and he recognized French claims over Genoa. Thus, Lodovico temporarily succeeded in removing the threat of French troops to the Milanese duchy.

Some researchers, notably Sylvia Mann, cite the similarity of *taro,* associated with the valley of the Taro and the Taro River, to the first two syllables in the word tarocchi. The possibility exists that the word "tarocchi" was derived from the word *taro,* perhaps due to the early use of the cards by local citizens or troops or the invention of tarocchi by someone in the area.

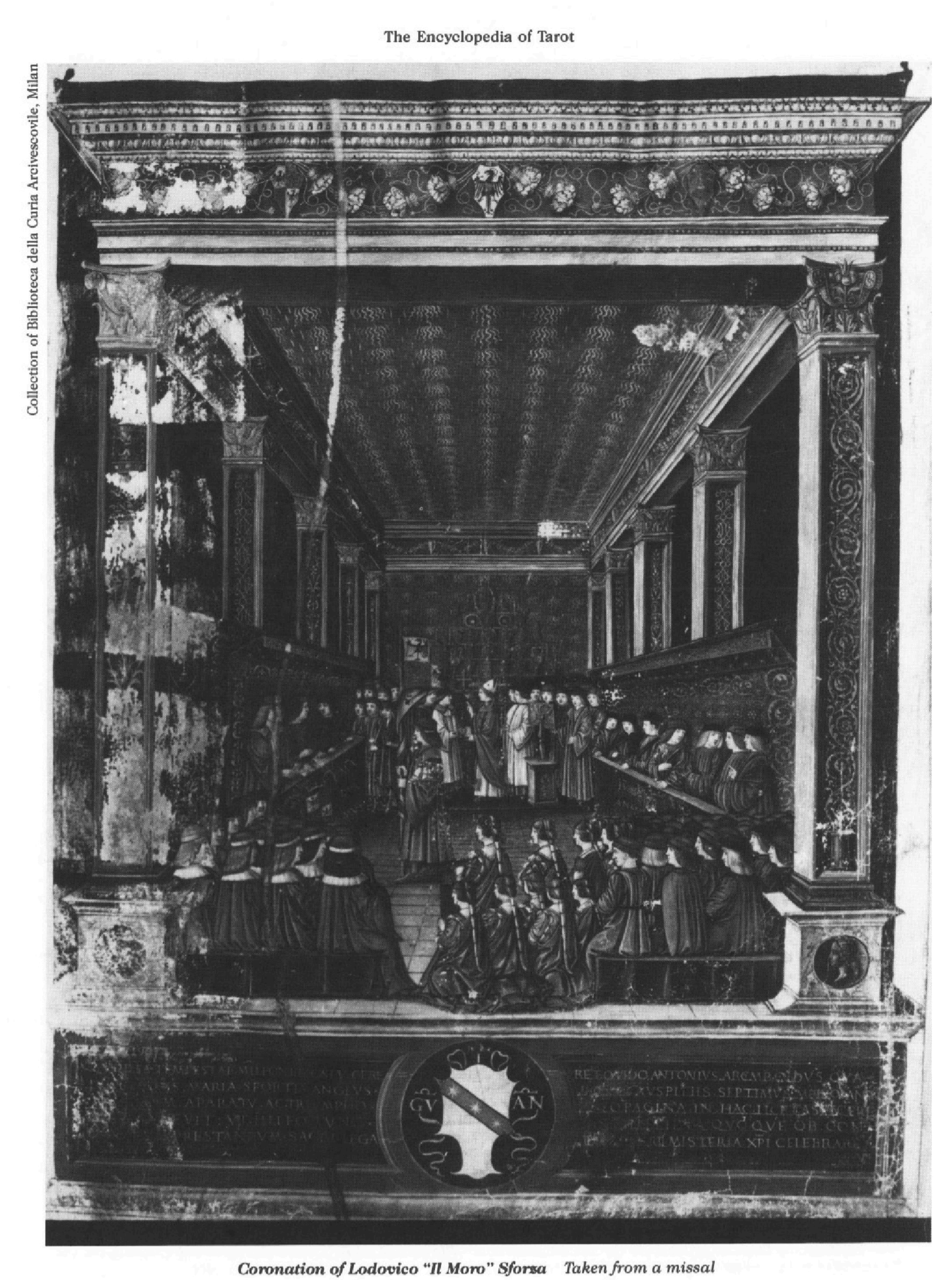
Lodovico had been officially invested with the ducal title on May 26, 1495, at a ceremony at the Duomo. For the first time, a Sforza duke ruled Milan not only by popular acclaim but also by right of title based upon Maximilian's imperial diploma. A second son, Francesco II, was born to Lodovico and his wife in 1495.

Francesco Malaguzzi Valeri, writing in *La Corte di Lodovico Il Moro,* relates that in 1495, Lodovico requested that his father-in-law, Duke Ercole of Ferrara, purchase twelve packs of cards for him. They were made cheaply in Ferrara and could be purchased for four or five soldi. It is not known whether the cards were standard packs or *trionfi.*

In 1496, the beautiful Bianca Sforza, the fifteen-year-old illegitimate daughter of Lodovico and child bride of less than a year to Galeazzo San Severino, died suddenly at Vigevano, the palace given as a wedding gift by Lodovico. Bianca Sforza's beauty has been preserved by the famous portrait of her that hangs in the Ambrosiana Museum, Milan. The painting has been credited to Ambrogio de Predis or Leonardo da Vinci. Lodovico mourned Bianca's premature death with much grief. Bianca had been a close

Collection of dott. Lippmann

Bianca Maria Sforza *Daughter of Galeazzo Sforza and the sister of Gian Galeazzo Sforza*



Collection of Biblioteca della Curia Arcivescovile, Milan

Coronation of Lodovico "Il Moro" Sforza *Taken from a missal*

companion to her stepmother. Beatrice, now nearly eight month's pregnant, went into pitiful mourning and continuously prayed at Bianca's tomb at Santa Maria delle Grazie. She remained depressed and perhaps had premonitions of her own death. Six weeks after Bianca's death, Beatrice died on January 3, 1497, after giving birth to a stillborn boy. Lodovico was plunged into complete sadness at the combination of tragedies and the entire city of Milan shared his grief.

Cristoforo Solari, known as "Il Gobbo" (The Hunchback), was commissioned to prepare a marble tomb covered with the recumbent figures of Beatrice and Lodovico. The tomb is now housed at the Certosa in Pavia, after removal from its original site at Santa Maria delle Grazie. Leonardo da Vinci was ordered to put aside his work on The Last Supper and immediately paint the figures of the duke and duchess on the opposite wall. Unfortunately, not a vestige remains of the portraits.

After the death of Beatrice, Lodovico grew more attached to his mistress, Lucrezia Crivelli. In May 1497, Lucrezia gave birth to a son by Il Moro, named Gian Paolo.

Lodovico's fortunes continued to decline, and one disaster after another eventually brought him to ruin. On April 7, 1498, Charles VIII of France died and was succeeded to the throne by Louis XII, duke of Orleans, who immediately proclaimed his assumption of the titles king of the two Sicilies and duke of Milan. The western Italian states of Savoy, Montferrat and Saluzzo had old bonds with France, and by 1499 they committed themselves to Louis XII, assuring free passage to Italy for French troops and their guides and supplies.

Lodovico was not a soldier in the tradition of his ancestors, and he lacked the stamina and disposition of a field general. Lodovico's brother-in-law, Francesco Gonzaga, accepted a post as condottiere under Lodovico. Isabella was also anxious to assist her brother-in-law, but in the end, either through an argument over the title Gonzaga was to receive, or perhaps partially due to jealousy over the close personal attachment between Lodovico and Isabella, Gonzaga remained neutral. San Severino, the duke's son-in-law, failed to prepare adequate defenses of Milan, and it became obvious that Lodovico's personal fondness for the young man blinded the duke to San Severino's lack of capability.

Cardinal Ascanio Sforza arrived from Rome to offer counsel to his ailing brother. In the late summer of 1499 the French advanced inexorably toward Milan. Without the assistance of Ascanio, the duke might well have collapsed under emotional strain. Lodovico turned to local astrologers and to nuns who had a reputation for prophecy, but their conflicting advice only served to confuse him further.

On signing the Peace of Vercelli with Charles VIII in

Collection of the Certosa, Pavia

Tomb of Lodovico "Il Moro" Sforsa and Beatrice d'Este, detail The effigies were sculpted by Cristoforo Solari.

1495, Lodovico had, in effect, cut himself off from Venice. Subsequently, the alliance signed in February 1499 between Louis XII and Venice, with the support of the papacy, was a prelude to the Venetian occupation of the Ghiara d'Adda. By August, the French army swept to the gates of Alessandria where San Severino, instead of taking a firm stand as planned, fled during the night toward Pavia, leaving the Milanese army in disarray.

With his downfall imminent, Lodovico drew up a deed by which he sought to make reparation to some of his friends that he had wronged. As part of this gesture, Lodovico restored to the Borromeo family the lands of Angleria and the fortress of Arona.

Andrew Mellon Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

Lodovico Sforza *Marble relief of Lodovico "Il Moro," by Giovanni Antonio Amadeo*

The city of Alessandria was forced to surrender and her troops retreated to Pavia to regroup. However, the leaders of Pavia declared themselves capable of defending themselves and refused to open the city gates, preferring that any ensuing battle be fought in the open fields to avoid possible destruction of the city. At the news of the defeat of the Milanese army, panic swiftly spread throughout Milan. On August 30, Lodovico's trusted treasurer, Antonio Landriano, was murdered, and a new wave of terror swept the city. Cardinal Ascanio Sforza fled from Milan with the two boys, Massimiliano and Francesco II, and Lodovico followed shortly thereafter. The same evening the city of Milan capitulated to French forces led by Gian Giacomo Trivulzio. Stopping briefly for prayer at Beatrice's tomb, Lodovico continued his flight until he reached sanctuary in Germany, paying heavy bribes en route.

The castle at Milan was left under the charge of Bernardino Corte and the fortress was well-supplied with arms and food for a long siege. However, Lodovico failed to take the precaution of securing hostages from the families of Corte and his captains. Corte agreed to yield the castello to Trivulzio if no help came within twelve days. In return he and his captains and officials would receive pensions plus special privileges and a share of the treasure still cached within the castle. Led by Corte's example, all of the captains and officials quickly capitulated. Thus, the combined failure of Lodovico's two most trusted aides, San Severino and Corte, proved the duke's undoing. Two days later a letter arrived from Lodovico bidding Corte to take courage because help would soon be on the way. Trivulzio intercepted the letter and, with characteristic irony, permitted its delivery to Corte.

Lodovico was stunned at the news that the castle at Milan had fallen without a fight. Corte's traitorous actions removed any hope of regaining Milan by a combined attack from outside the city and from the fortress stronghold. On October 6, 1499, Louis XII marched triumphantly into Milan through streets decorated with the fleur-de-lys. By the end of October, the entire duchy was in French hands except for Cremona and Ghiara d'Adda, which had ceded themselves to the Venetians.

Around the beginning of the twentieth century, a group of fifty-nine cards and card fragments were discovered in the cisterns and wells of the Sforza Castle when it was undergoing renovation. One of the cards, a two of coins, bears the name and date, PAVLINVS [DA?] CASTELETO FECIT 1499. The designs of some of the cards are similar to the Tarot of Marseilles. Many of the cards and card fragments apparently date from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. French claims to the duchy of Milan brought French soldiers into Italy, and it is not unreasonable to expect that the soldiers engaged in card games with decks they brought from France. Some of the cards found at the Sforza Castle may actually be of French origin or perhaps French cards served as inspiration for Italian playing card manufacturers, especially with respect to the style and design of the Minor Arcana cards.

After Lodovico was forced into exile, he issued a manifesto defending his past conduct as duke and declaring he had no reason to reproach himself for anything in his past, except for the injustices perpetrated upon the Borromeos which he freely admitted.

Louis XII departed Milan after a short stay, leaving the city's government in the hands of Trivulzio who harbored Guelph sympathies. He quickly drove the wealthy Ghibelline nobles and the Milanese peasants to the edge of revolt under burdensome taxes, harsh treatment and the annoying practice of quartering French troops in private homes. On February 3, 1500, the unrest in Milan burst into open revolt and Trivulzio was forced to flee the city. On that same day Cardinal Ascanio Sforza entered the city, and two days later Lodovico arrived to an enthusiastic reception by the Milanese people.

Lodovico left Ascanio in charge of the siege of the castle, which was still held by the French, while he rode with Milanese forces to pursue the French troops, which included a large contingent of Swiss mercenaries. By March 22, Lodovico succeeded in securing Novara. Then, by the twist of fate that so often turns seeming success to failure, the Swiss soldiers in Lodovico's army deserted. As the Milanese army collapsed in disorganization and its soldiers scattered, the French army gained in numbers and leadership. Lodovico tried to escape disguised as a Swiss pikeman, but he was discovered and captured.

Louis XII brought Lodovico to France where he was imprisoned at the fortress of Lys-Saint-Georges in Berry. Four years later he was transferred to Loches where he enjoyed more freedom, but a clumsy attempt to escape resulted in his confinement to a dungeon where he died on May 17, 1508. The walls of the dungeon still bear Lodovico's name and other inscriptions.

Lodovico's burial site remains a mystery. According to one account, the friars of the convent of Santa Maria delle

Grazie, remembering all that Lodovico had done for them, brought Lodovico's body back to Italy so that it might rest alongside his wife in Solari's splendid marble tomb.

Sometime around 1565, in accordance with a canon of the Council of Trent, the prior of Santa Maria delle Grazie was ordered to remove Solari's marble monument from its place in the choir rectory. The tomb was dismantled and put up for sale. A Milanese citizen, Oldrado Lempugnano, purchased the two effigies for a tiny sum and donated them to the Certosa of Pavia where they reside today in silent splendor.

When Lodovico was captured by the French in the spring of 1500, his brother Ascanio was also taken into custody and confined at Bourges. In 1503, by agreeing to further the ambitions of the French cardinal, Georges d'Amboise, Ascanio was released. Soon after his arrival in Rome, however, Ascanio was instrumental in securing the election of Cardinal Siena as Pope Pius III. For several weeks Ascanio dominated papal policy, setting into motion new schemes to further the cause of the Sforza family. However, Ascanio's influence ended abruptly upon the sudden death of Pope Pius III. For the next two years, Ascanio played a part in Italian politics, always aspiring to restore a Sforza to the ducal crown, but Ascanio died of the plague in Rome in 1505.

Galeazzo San Severino, upon whom Lodovico had relied in vain, fled to exile in Innsbruck after Lodovico's fall. When all hope of Lodovico's release was gone, San Severino returned in 1504 to Milan where he became a favorite at the French court.

Leonardo da Vinci, along with other artists, poets, sculptors and scholars, fled from Milan to take up a new life in cities scattered throughout Italy. After visiting his family in the tiny hamlet of Vinci, located between Pisa and Florence, Leonardo traveled to Romagna and joined the court of Cesare Borgia. Several years passed and Leonardo, back in Florence, painted the world-famous portrait of the faintly smiling Mona Lisa, wife of a Florentine merchant.

Francesco Sforza, the infant son of Gian Galeazzo, was sent to France as a child by Louis XII. He was brought up as a monk and became the abbot of Noirmoutiers. Francesco died in 1512 at the age of twenty-two, fatally injured in a fall from a horse while hunting.

Among the exiles from Milan was the beautiful mistress of Lodovico. Lucrezia Crivelli fled to Mantua where she was treated with great kindness by Isabella, wife of Francesco Gonzaga. Through the intervention of Isabella, the authorities agreed to restore to Lucrezia most of the wealth she had received from the duke.

Isabella d'Este was a commanding figure in her own right. She was one of the great ladies of the Renaissance, and an avowed patron of the arts and letters. Her castles

Lucrezia Crivelli *Mistress of Lodovico Sforza. Painting by Leonardo da Vinci*

were adorned with magnificent paintings and statues. During her lifetime, she often administered governmental duties in the absence of her husband and son, and through her political expertise she was able to resist the aggression upon the duchy of Mantùa that befell Milan. She remained active for a time in plans for the return of Massimiliano Sforza to Milan.

After Isabella's death in 1539, some of the treasures of art and learning collected during her lifetime were sold by her descendants to foreign princes. Ninety years after her death, the Germans attacked Mantua and destroyed whatever treasures remained. The French invaders of 1797 completed the destruction of the palaces and villas until nothing remained, not even the tomb that contained her remains.

Some historians have suggested that, had Lodovico married Isabella d'Este, his first choice, the fortune of Milan might well have been different. Instead, during Lodovico's reign the influence of the Sforza family weakened, permitting the French monarchy to take hold in Milan and the Lombardy state.

MASSIMILIANO SFORZA (1493–1530)

Ercole Sforza, known as Massimiliano, was the eldest son of Lodovico and Beatrice. He spent his early childhood in exile at Innsbruck with his cousin, the Empress Bianca Maria. He failed to develop any intellectual talents and was regarded as somewhat feeble.

Collection of Sforza Castle, Milan

Massimiliano Sforza Eldest son of Lodovico and eighth duke of Milan. Fresco attributed to Bernardino Luini

The Swiss, under Archbishop Matthias Schinner, favored the cause of Massimiliano Sforza over that of the French. During the time from 1510 to 1512 they broke their old agreement with France and succeeded in driving out the French forces from Northern Italy in order to secure for themselves access to the Alpine routes for trade with Lombardy. The influential Isabella d'Este, Massimiliano's aunt, worked diligently behind the scenes in her nephew's favor, despite her disappointment at finding him entirely Germanic in dress, food and habits.

In December 1512, Massimiliano returned to Milan as its eighth duke and was welcomed by an oppressed populace tired of French rule. Along the triumphal route to the Duomo, a street person dressed as Good Fortune promised that the house of Sforza would once again reign under favorable auspices.

Massimiliano was a puppet duke of the Swiss and his reign was short-lived. In January 1515, Francis I succeeded Louis XII to the throne of France. Like his predecessor, Francis I was a direct descendant of Valentina Visconti and he claimed the Milanese duchy. In September, at the battle of Marignano, a few miles south of Milan, French troops aided by Venetian forces soundly beat the Swiss. On October 6, 1515, Massimiliano was compelled to sign a peace treaty with Francis I whereby he renounced all rights to the duchy of Milan in return for an annual pension and safe escort from the country.

Massimiliano left Italy, never to return, and he died in Paris on May 25, 1530.

FRANCESCO SFORZA II (1495–1535)

Francesco II was the second son of Lodovico Sforza and Beatrice d'Este. A reserved person, Francesco II was well-educated and wise in many ways, but his health was poor. During the brief period that Massimiliano was duke, Francesco remained in the shadow of his older brother.

When Francis I succeeded in forcing Massimiliano into exile, the abdication document also included a section for Francesco II to renounce all future rights to the ducal throne. However, Francesco refused to become a party to the agreement and voluntarily returned to exile in Trent.

In 1521, Francesco's claim to the Milanese duchy was substantially advanced by the agreement between Emperor Charles V and Pope Leo X. Charles V had succeeded his grandfather, Maximilian, as Holy Roman Emperor, and from his maternal grandfather Ferdinand of Spain, he inherited a deep distrust of the French. Charles V believed he could more readily control Milan through a weak Sforza duke than secure the cooperation of the king of France. The Milanese populace was suffering under the despotic rule of the French Lieutenant-General Lautrec, successor to Trivulzio. In 1522, forces comprised of Milanese, papal, Swiss and Spanish soldiers, under Captain-General Prospero Colonna, beat a large French force and entered Milan in the name of Francesco Sforza II.

Francesco II reigned for eighteen months before French troops and a devastating plague rendered Milan totally defenseless. The French king, Francis I, reoccupied Milan in October 1524, and Francesco fled.

In February 1525, the French met their greatest defeat at the hands of the marquis of Pescara, commander of a Spanish force outside Pavia. The marquis was supported by reinforcements from the constable of Bourbon who had turned against Francis I. The French army was shattered and virtually all of its generals and high-ranking officers were killed or taken prisoner. Galeazzo San Severino, the son-in-law of Lodovico, met his death in battle while fighting on the side of the king of France.

Francesco II reentered Milan as a puppet duke, but Emperor Charles V extracted huge sums for the investiture. The presence of imperial forces in Milan added greatly to the local suffering, despite Francesco's sincere desire to relieve the burden of the people. A conspiracy against

Collection of Sforza Castle, Milan

Francesco Sforza II
Ninth and final duke of Milan.
Fresco attributed to Bernardino Luini

Charles V failed and imperial troops laid siege to the castle, which held out for eight months. Finally, Francesco fled to Lodi, then to Bologna, and in 1529 he signed an agreement with Charles and the pope whereby he repurchased the duchy at great expense. It required two years and untold sacrifice among the people of Milan before the huge sums were raised and the castle returned to Francesco II. The last imperial forces left Milan, and in 1533 Milan was included in the League of Italian States.

Emperor Charles selected his niece, Christina of Denmark, as a wife for Francesco II. Through the marriage, the emperor sought to bring the duchy into the Hapsburg family. The wedding by proxy took place in August 1533, but it was not until May 3, 1534, that the fifteen-year-old bride entered Milan surrounded by a magnificent procession of Milanese aristocracy reminiscent of former times. The duke was in an advanced stage of illness and, although only in his late thirties, could barely stand without support. Despite the difference in age and the shocking condition of her husband, the duke and duchess were devoted to each other and sincere in their concern for the Milanese duchy. Francesco lived only eighteen months after Christina's arrival in Milan. The ninth and final duke of Milan died November 1, 1535, without leaving an heir. He is buried at the Duomo.

The duke's step-brother, Gian Paolo, born in 1497 to Lodovico's mistress, Lucrezia Crivelli, died suddenly in 1535 on his way to Rome; otherwise he might have been allowed to succeed Francesco to the dukedom.

The lives of the Sforza dukes, especially during the reigns of Francesco and Galeazzo, were times of court splendor that could easily have given birth to beautiful tarocchi cards. If we credit the Visconti-Sforza cards to the hand of Bonifacio Bembo (1420- 1478?), then they could not have been prepared much beyond Galeazzo's rule, which ended in 1476. It is also possible that complete decks or just some cards, either replacements in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo pack or a few extant cards in the short decks, were prepared during the subsequent reigns of Gian Galeazzo and Lodovico.

Collection of National Gallery, London

Christina of Denmark *Wife of Francesco Sforza II.*
Portrait by Holbein

VI

BONIFACIO BEMBO AND THE FIFTEENTH-CENTURY TAROCCHI ARTISTS

ART HISTORIANS AND RESEARCHERS of fifteenth-century tarocchi cards face a baffling problem in trying to determine which artist and workshop active in Northern Italy might properly be credited with the illuminated cards. There are no artists' signatures or initials on any of the cards, and documents, such as letters, court transcripts or manuscripts identifying the artists, are also lacking.

The Italian Renaissance, which spanned the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, gave rise to many great artists. Giotto (1266?–1337) was the forerunner of the period, and the works of Michelangelo (1485–1564) represent the culmination. Botticelli, Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael and Titian are but a few of the masters of the period. Not surprisingly, renowned works by well-known artists overshadow the works of other talented artists and workshops, with the result that many artists have been deprived of adequate recognition. The works of some of the more obscure artists, however, may provide clues concerning the painter or painters of the tarocchi cards. Established artists commonly employed many apprentices, a factor that needs to be kept in mind when viewing the varying styles of tarocchi cards.

In the early to mid-fifteenth century, the rigidity of early Gothic art, with its chunky figures and angular shapes, gave way to the graceful, flowing, wiry figures of International Gothic art, characterized by a fluid, curvilinear manner of eloquence and refinement. Weightless figures are often placed on flat backgrounds, similar to those of the tarocchi cards, with elegant gold-tooling. A love of surface detail and ornamentation is prominent, while the Renaissance fascination with depth and perspective is not yet evident. Lombardy painters and workshops helped disseminate the flowery new style. Artists turned away from the exclusively religious subjects of the previous centuries and now felt free to focus on intimate particulars of everyday secular life. A courtly style was encouraged by patrons with aristocratic tastes.

Frescoes, paintings and miniatures were executed with considerable care given to details of facial features, lavish costumes, tapestries, architecture and intricate ornamentation. Often heraldic devices were included. Animals and hunting scenes were of considerable interest at the local courts and they appear conspicuously in all forms of art. Great gatherings of lavishly dressed people and splendid processions were also popular subjects.

The extant Visconti and Visconti-Sforza tarocchi cards are rendered in the soft, flowing International Gothic style and since many of the early tarocchi cards depict Visconti heraldic devices, or a combination of Visconti and Sforza devices, the likely execution of the cards spans the time from the second quarter to the end of the fifteenth century.

For many years it was thought that the artist of the early tarocchi cards was Marziano of Tortona, a scholar who lived at the court of Duke Filippo Maria Visconti and acted as his secretary. Another artist frequently mentioned was Antonio Cicognara, a painter and miniaturist. A strong case in behalf of the Zavattari brothers was advanced by Giuliana Algeri in *Gli Zavattari: una famiglia di pittori e la cultura tardogotica in Lombardia* (1981). Roberto Longhi (*Me Pinxit*, 1928) was the first researcher to suggest that Bonifacio Bembo was the tarocchi artist.

Art historians have sought to identify Bonifacio Bembo's work through critique of works attributed to him and through documentation contemporary to Bembo. None of Bonifacio's works are signed and only during the past eighty years, after almost total obscurity, has there been a tendency to credit Bonifacio Bembo with a diverse group of works including the tarocchi cards, miniatures, frescoes and paintings, some of which, realistically, may not belong to him. Some of the earliest information about Bonifacio Bembo was written by C. Rosmini (1820), Calvi (1865), C. Magenta (1883), M. Caffi (1878), F. Malaguzzi-Valeri (1902), P. Toesca (1912) and R. Longhi (1928). Important articles were also published by Carlo Bonetti (1931), Fernanda Wittgens (1936 and 1955), R. Majocchi (1937), N. Rasmo (1939), C. L. Ragghianti (1949), Stefano Bottari (1951), Federico Zeri (1951), Mario Salmi (1953), Maria Luisa Gengaro (1958), Maria Luisa Ferrari (1959), Lionello Puppi (1959), Arturo Carlo Quintavalle (1963), F. R. Pesenti (1963) and S. Bandera (1977). A catalog of a 1958 exhibition at the Palazzo Reale in Milan, *Arte lombarda dai Visconti agli Sforza,* contains descriptions of works attributed to Bembo, and Martha Wolff's unpublished master's thesis, "Bonifacio Bembo and the Minchiate Cards Painted for Filippo Maria Visconti," also concerns Bembo.

Two important books are Gertrude Moakley's *The Tarot Cards Painted by Bonifacio Bembo for the Visconti-Sforza Family* (1966) and Germano Mulazzani's *I Tarocchi Visconti e Bonifacio Bembo* (1981).

BONIFACIO BEMBO

Bonifacio Bembo, according to tradition, was born around 1420 in Cremona, the son of Giovanni, a painter. Mulazzani, due to his dating of the Cary-Yale deck to 1428, sets Bonifacio Bembo's birthdate to around 1410. Bonifacio probably apprenticed under the Zavattari brothers and possibly frequented the workshop of Castiglione Olon.

Written evidence confirms that Bonifacio was a favorite at the court of the Sforza dukes because, starting in 1455, there are numerous letters and documents to substantiate the association between the artist and his benefactors. Bonifacio had been an outspoken supporter of Francesco Sforza during the critical period from 1447 to 1450, when the Golden Ambrosian Republic sought unsuccessfully to retain power for the citizens of Milan. No documented letters or court transcripts evidence a link between Bembo and Duke Filippo Maria Visconti, Francesco Sforza's predecessor and father-in-law.

Malaguzzi-Valeri (*Pittori lombardi del Quattrocento,* 1902) documented much of Bonifacio Bembo's activity with the Sforza family. In 1457, Bonifacio participated in decorating the great hall of the castle in Pavia, and the following year he collaborated with another Cremonese, Christoforo Moretti, on the decoration of the Arengo Palace with religious scenes and representations of the Sforza court. During this work the duke directed that two rooms and a bed be set aside for the greater comfort of Bonifacio and his assistants. Documents evidencing Bonifacio Bembo's work in Pavia are contained in the compilation by R. Majocchi, *Codice diplomatico-artistico di Pavia dall'anno 1330 all'anno 1550,* published in 1937 in Pavia.

Bonifacio must have suffered financial difficulties at times due to the slowness with which the ducal treasury paid artists. Accounts often remained in arrears for long periods of time—sometimes years. Furthermore, Bembo never knew when the duke would suddenly summon him to execute a new work.

Bonifacio's career was often interrupted by disputes he had with other artists. Several times his patron intervened in the interest of having the artist's work completed. In a letter dated June 22, 1465, Duke Francesco Sforza offered to help resolve a quarrel between Bonifacio and the painter Zanetto Bugatto.

In 1462, as recorded from the Milan archives by Caffi (1878), Duke Francesco Sforza wrote about the work done by Bembo in the chapel of Saints Grisante and Daria at the Church of Sant'Agostino. It has been traditionally assumed that this letter refers to the portraits of Francesco and Bianca Maria Sforza, which were painted on pillars flanking the altarscreen. However, in a letter dated October 16, 1469, Francesco Sforza's successor, Galeazzo Maria, asked his treasurer, Niccolo Trecchi, to pay Bembo for his picture of Saint Grisante in the chapel of the Church of Sant'Agostino, *pittura fatta fare dal duca Francesco* (picture done for the Duke Francesco).

The year after Duke Francesco's death, Bonifacio collaborated with Pantaleone of Marchis on the cloth for the main altar in the Church of Sant'Agostino in his hometown of Cremona. Some art historians have named Pantaleone of Mazolis as Bonifacio's assistant; however, in 1931 Carlo Bonetti confirmed Pantaleone of Marchis as the assistant. That same year, 1467, Bonifacio also worked on the castle at Monza with Pantaleone.

In 1977, Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York, auctioned an autographed letter signed, *Servitor minimissimo Bonifacius de Cremona pictor,* and addressed to the duke of Milan. Since Francesco Sforza died March 8, 1466, and the letter is dated August 15, 1468, it was intended for Galeazzo Maria Sforza, the fifth duke. In the letter, Bonifacio, referring to himself as the Cremona painter, advises the duke that he has finished the paintings that were commissioned for the castle at Pavia. He respectfully seeks payment for his work and inquires whether there might be more work in the near future.

Bonifacio returned to Pavia in 1468, this time to work on an enormous project. The huge ceilings in the rooms of the Pavia castle were to be decorated with scenes of daily life, hunting and games, featuring personages of the court, including the ducal family. The vastness of the project is indicated by a document, published in 1820 by C. Rosmini and republished by R. Majocchi in 1937, which was the "order according to which our illustrious Lord [Galeazzo Maria Sforza] wishes that the places of the castle of Pavia be depicted repeatedly. . . ." Bonifacio returned with an estimated cost of 7880 ducats as the expense of the project. Specific directions still exist for the decoration of the upper rooms. One room was to contain portraits of the line of the dukes of Milan, the Visconti and the Sforza, and other rooms were to have hilly landscapes populated with deer and other creatures. A small room "where the ladies eat" was to show "the duchess playing ball, and her maids playing *triumphi* in a garden." Unfortunately, most of the work was destroyed by French artillery in 1527, but the information remaining about it provides a link between Bembo and tarocchi, and reaffirms the popularity of the card game at the Milanese court. An extant mural by an unknown artist, at the Casa Borromeo in Milan, also shows tarocchi players.

In April 1471, Bonifacio was in Milan working on portraits of the ducal couple. Some months later, in a letter to Cicco Simonetta dated August 13, he complains of having to redo the garments in the portraits.

In the summer of 1472, Galeazzo Maria Sforza hired Bonifacio Bembo, Zanetto Bugatto and Leonardo Ponzoni to work together on a chapel outside Vigevano. The work was completed in 1472 and a letter from the duke to Gadio of Vigevano requested an estimate of the work to determine a price for payment to the "Milanese painters Master Zanetto, Master Bonifacio and Master Leonardo." There was the usual delay in payment and, five years later, Bona of Savoy, then widow of Galeazzo, requested that the debt to the artists be paid.

From 1473, Bembo was working on the chapels of the upper and ground floors in the castle in Milan. Gengaro (1958) cited the names of Bonifacio's assistants in the ground level ducal chapel as Stefano de Fedeli, Gottardo Scotti, Giovan Pietro, Costantino da Vaprio and Zanetto Bugatto. Beltrami (1894) cited a note of December 22, 1473, which mentions that Giampietro da Corte and Stefano de Fedeli worked with Bembo in the chapel in the upper story. Giacomino Vismara also worked with Bembo in the chapel decorations. The frescoes in the ducal chapel at Milan are still extant today, but they are in poor condition.

Also in 1473 Bembo, along with Zanetto Bugatto and Vincenzo Foppa, was commissioned to decorate the ducal chapel at the castle in Pavia. Because the payment asked by the three artists was too high, the commission for the vault of the chapel, with God the Father at the summit surrounded on the sides with "some angels and little spirits," as the duke instructed, was given to Giampietro da Corte. However, Bembo, Bugatto and Foppa were to work on the altarscreen. In December of 1476 Bembo and Foppa were still working

on the project, Bugatto having died earlier, and two other painters were brought in to help: Giacomino Vismara and Costantino Zenoni da Vaprio.

In 1475, Bonifacio again worked with Costantino da Vaprio on decorations at the castle of Abbiategrasso, where Bianca Maria Visconti spent her childhood.

On August 23, 1476, the duke ordered the painters Bembo, Vismara, Foppa and da Vaprio to fulfill a contract with Madonna Zaccarina, widow of Augusto Beccaria, to "paint the life of Christ in the Church of San Jacomo [Giacomo]." Nothing remains of Bembo's paintings at the ducal chapel of Pavia and the Church of San Jacomo.

The last known contemporary documentation on Bembo's life is a lease dated February 11, 1477. He was dead by 1483, as a document dated May 13 refers to his son as "son of the late Master Bonifacio." Although he fell into obscurity after his death, Bembo received one of the highest tributes during his life. On February 23, 1474, Galeazzo Maria had honored Bonifacio and his descendants by conferring on them the rights of Milanese citizenship.

It seems reasonable to expect that among the remaining works of Bonifacio Bembo there would exist some paintings, illustrations or frescoes that parallel the style and quality of the tarocchi cards. However, sometimes it is difficult to distinguish between the style of Bembo's work and the variations executed by the hands of willing helpers in his workshop.

Bonifacio Bembo probably painted some of the tarocchi cards, but it is obvious that not all of the extant 271 Visconti and Visconti-Sforza cards can be rightfully credited to his hand or workshop. However, many of the tarocchi cards resemble in style works believed to have been executed by Bonifacio.

Diurnal initials of Mirandola C. L. Ragghianti (1949) described the eleven initials illuminated with figures of Christ and David in the diurnal and ascribed them to Bonifacio Bembo. The small, crowned figures in the miniature resemble the kings on the Faith and Hope cards of the Cary-Yale Visconti Tarocchi deck, as well as The Magician in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck. The diurnal, dated circa 1442 and housed at the Biblioteca Comunale, Mirandola, bears a striking similarity to the psalter of Rimini.

Collection of Biblioteca Comunale, Mirandola, Italy

(left and above) ***Diurnal Initials of Mirandola***

Collection of Biblioteca Nazionale Centrali, Florence

Wedding Scene *Folio 7 of the Codex Palatino 556. A man and woman are joined in matrimony by a regal figure, while a courtly entourage observes the ceremony.*

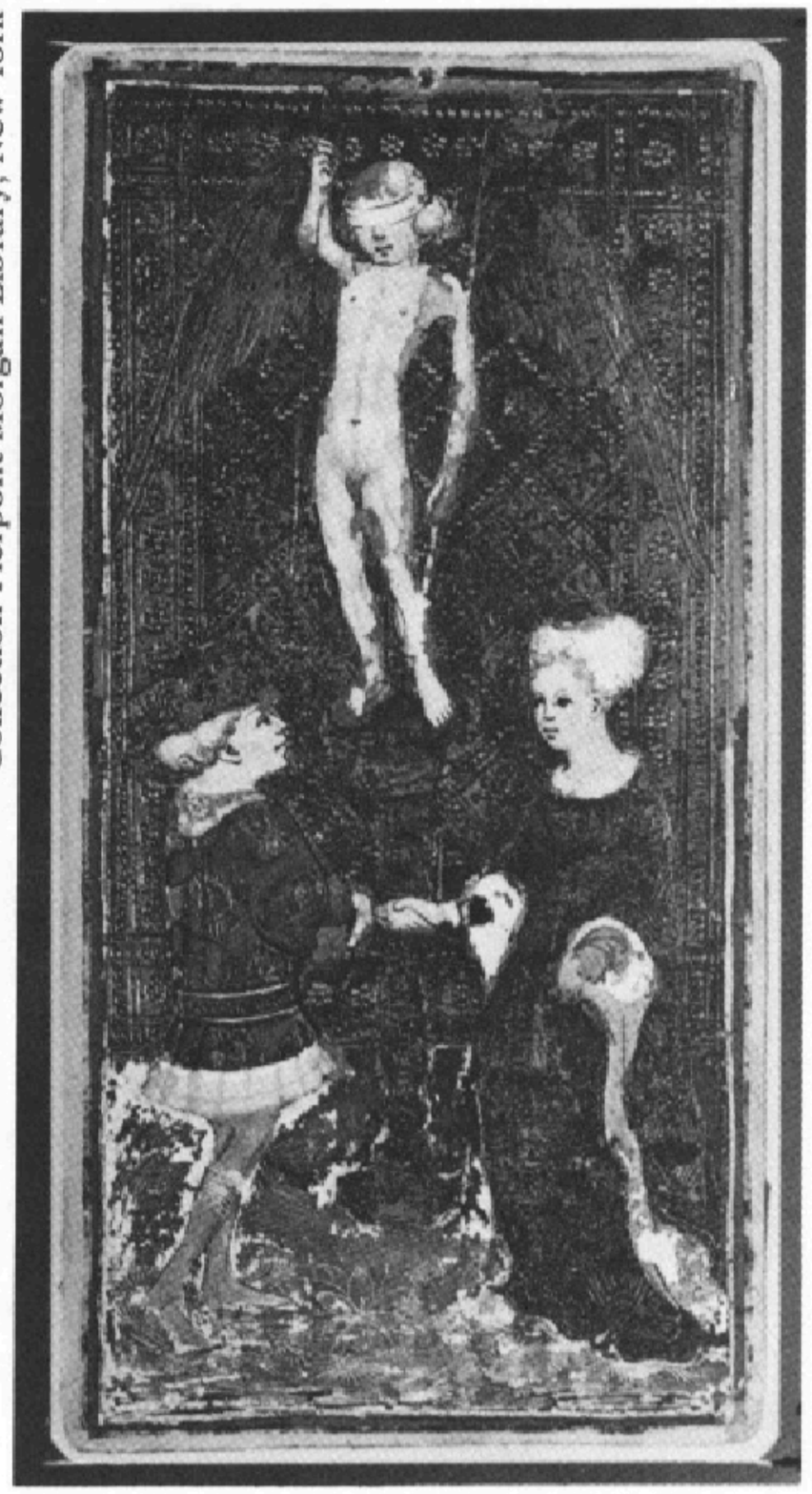
The Story of Lancelot of the Lake The Biblioteca Nazionale of Florence possesses a hand-illustrated manuscript dated on the last page, July 20, 1446. The manuscript bears the signature of Zuliano de Anzoli, a writer otherwise unknown, whose style indicates that he probably lived in Northern Italy. The manuscript, known as *The Codex Palatino 556 and Its Illustrations,* lacks the title page and thus the original name of the work remains unknown. It is popularly called *The Story of Lancelot of the Lake.*

The manuscript, measuring 276 by 201 millimeters and written in vernacular Italian, relates the chivalrous adventures of Tristan, Lancelot and Perceval of the court of King Arthur. There are 289 illustrations of different sizes, drawn in pen over pencil sketches, and probably not intended to be painted since the shading is detailed. The pictures feature court life, nobility, tournaments, hunting scenes, alcoves and gardens, castles and landscapes, battle scenes and boats. Because of the abundance of figures and the great variety of topics and motifs, the codex offers a unique example of the style and aesthetic ideals of Renaissance courts in Northern Italy.

Niccolo Rasmo (1939) described the codex in detail.

> Nearly all [the illustrations] are enclosed in rectangular frames and drawn by pen point over light sketches in silver pencil. . . . Interiors are usually shown in a uniform manner—a square room, seen in perspective from the center with two small, lobed triangles at the two upper sides, an expedient widely used in Lombard miniatures from the end of the twelfth century on. The tapestry bears common types of decoration which

Collection Pierpont Morgan Library, New York

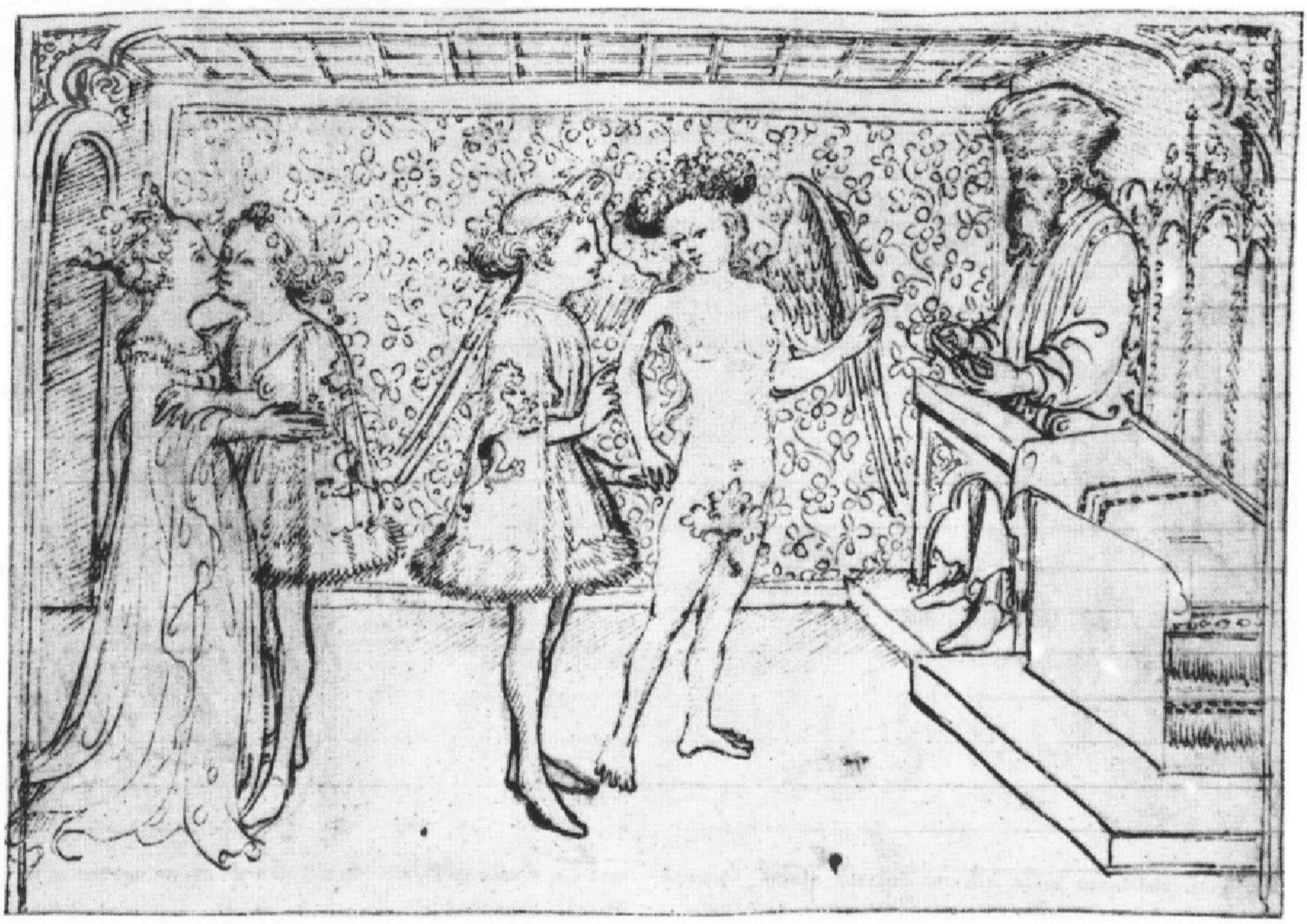


The Lovers *Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo Tarocchi*

Collection of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrali, Florence

Lancelot and Tristan *Folio 105 of the Codex Palatino 556. Lancelot, whose hat is labeled "Lancilo," plays chess with Tristan in the house of the Lady of the Lake. Tristan can be identified throughout the text by the device of a lion rampant on his cloak and on the caparison of his horse. Iseult and Guinevere look on. The little dog on the floor accompanies Tristan nearly everywhere in the codex. In an earlier episode, the dog lapped up the remains of a love potion mistakenly drunk by Tristan and Iseult, and was thereafter inseparable from the lovers. The Lovers card of the Cary-Yale Tarocchi shows a small dog at the feet of the couple.*

Collection of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrali, Florence



Tristan and Iseult *Folio 159 of the Codex Palatino 556. Tristan kisses Iseult. On the right, he holds the hand of a nude, winged female being who presents him to a regal figure, possibly King Dinas.*

also repeat. The furniture (beds, chests, benches) is always similarly fashioned in the legs and adorned with rosetted openwork. . . .

Lancelot always wears a large hat in the form of an inverted, truncated cone, topped by a fur border and adorned with his name. . . . When not in armor, Lancelot wears a short jacket, fur-trimmed and open on the side. . . .

The kings and court dignitaries are shown with long garments down to their feet and sleeves with wide openings.

The knights and soldiers wear short jackets and hats in a great variety of forms, from wide-brimmed, felt hats with feathers to cloth caps. The garments are designed with gently floating folds, the faces are round and usually repeat the same youthful type with the lines of the eyelids and eyebrows meeting over the inner corner of the eye, the nose small and pointed, the chin straight and sharp, the hair long and curly.

The profile of the faces, whether the artist depicts men or women, is always the same—a single stroke which curves to form a wide and round forehead, a short and sharp nose, a straight and long mouth with the lower lip recessed, and a small and straight chin. The eyebrows gently descend until they touch the inner corner of the eye, to which they sometimes, when clasped to the outer edge, give a lively and keen expression.

Rarely and only with difficulty—on some of the emaciated faces of the old or the poor—the painter succeeds in freeing himself of this boyish type, which gives so fabled a look to his illustrations.

The ladies are nearly all adorned with the *balzo* (bound hair) in various forms; a few of them are without it, but only because they wear a crown. Their garments are long with a high belt and very wide sleeves.

The horses usually have rather stiff legs and the head, usually too small, is strangely joined to a thick neck. In representing interiors, the artist makes repeated use of domestic animals, especially dogs, cats and monkeys.

When drawing ground, the artist always repeats the same tufts of grass in the form of a starfish and the little flowers arranged in a wheel and spread symmetrically.

Rasmo did not identify the artist as Bonifacio Bembo; rather, he simply referred to the artist as unknown but belonging to the Lombard painters of the period who took the chivalric tradition as their subject. Many researchers believe that the codex illustrations are from the hand and workshop of Bonifacio Bembo.

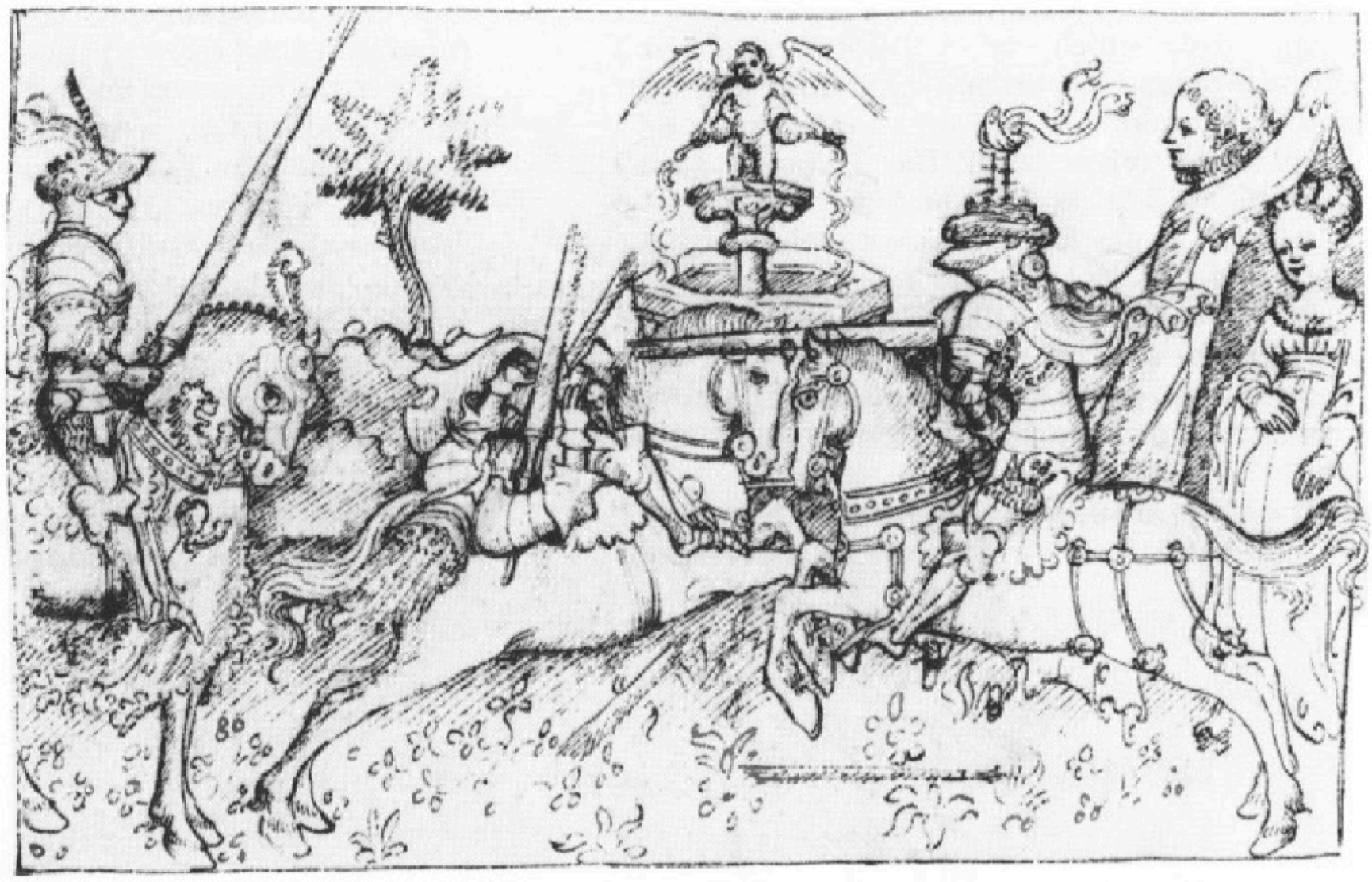
Numerous similarities exist between the illustrations of the codex and the Cary-Yale Visconti Tarocchi cards, including the arrangement and posture of the figures, the round, youthful faces, the manner of drawing the eyes and the hair, the costumes and hats, the horses with contracted heads and ornate trappings, and the presentation of scenes. The lacy, pointed crown seen on several illustrations in the codex appears in the Cary-Yale pack on The Empress, Hope, Charity, Strength, the king and queen of swords, and the queens of staves and coins. The seated female figure with headdress draped around her neck and shoulders is strikingly similar to the large female figure on The Empress card. The facial features of the king sitting in a boat closely resemble those of the Emperor and also the king at the bottom of the Faith card.

The wide, fur-edged hat worn by Lancelot suggests several hats in the Cary-Yale pack, including the headdress

Collection of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrali, Florence

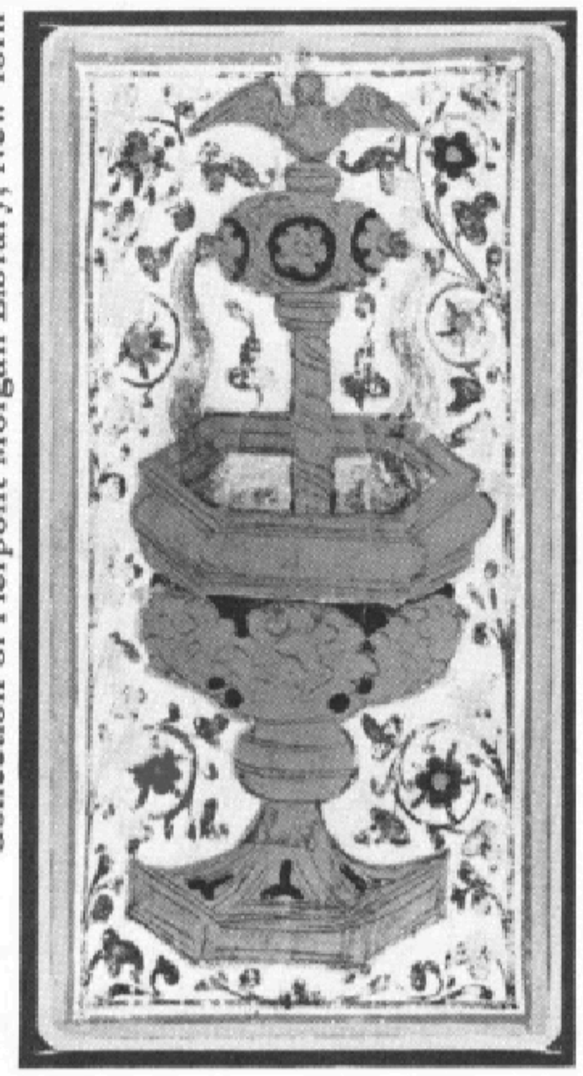
A Royal Feast *Folio 68 of the Codex Palatino 556. A delighted group of nobles, including Tristan, enjoy a dinner.*

Collection of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrali, Florence



Collection of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrali, Florence

Cary Collection of Playing Cards,
The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library,
Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut



Collection of Pierpont Morgan Library, New York

Collection of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrali, Florence

Lancelot in a Monastery *Folio 104 from the Codex Palatino 556. Lancelot mourns the supposed death of Tristan in the presence of several monks. On the left, a man with ragged clothes bears a club, like the Fool of the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck. On the right, an old, bent man with staff resembles the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo Hermit.*

Collection of Pierpont Morgan Library, New York

The Fool *Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo Tarocchi*

Collection of Pierpont Morgan Library, New York

The Hermit *Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo Tarocchi*

(Opposite page) ***The Healing of the Lady*** *(top) Folio 146 of the Codex Palatino 556. Sir Perceval's sister lets her blood flow into a dish in order to heal the lady of a castle by the sea. Sir Perceval is the knight with an angel on his helmet, and Sir Galahad has a sun on his helmet. The sister can be compared to the Empress in the Cary-Yale deck.* ***Knights at Battle*** *(middle) Folio 156 from the Codex Palatino 556. One knight overcomes another, as Tristan rides up from the left. The fountain in the background strongly resembles the fountain on the ace of cups in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck.* ***The Empress*** *(bottom left) Cary-Yale Visconti Tarocchi* ***Ace of Cups*** *(bottom right) Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo Tarocchi*

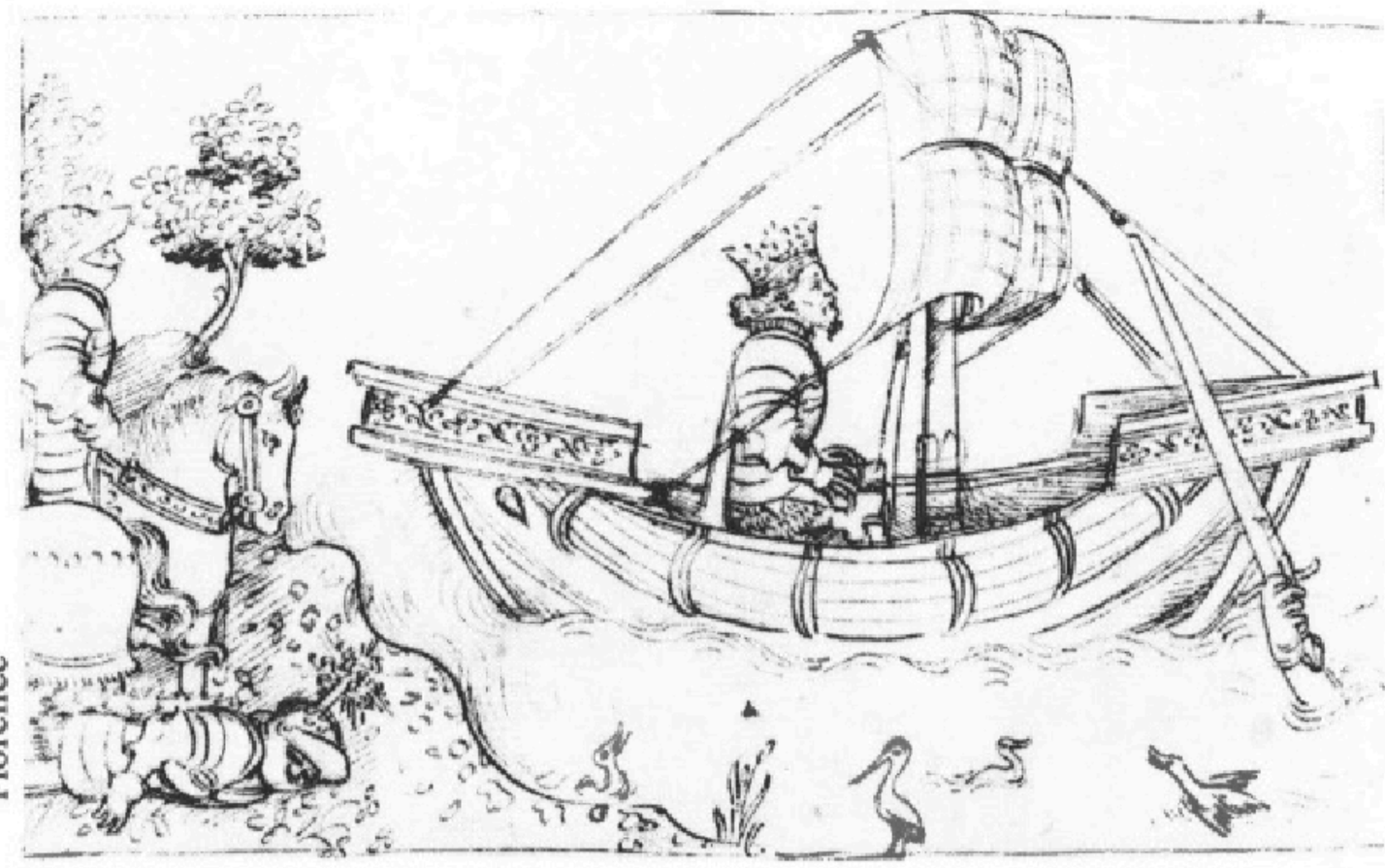
of the male figure in The Lovers card. The tents seen in the codex are of the same type as that on The Lovers. A fountain in the codex is nearly identical to the one shown on the ace of cups in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck.

Additional similarities are readily apparent in the high foreheads and braided bouffant hairdos of several female figures and in the armor of the soldiers in the codex, especially a helmet which is almost identical to the helmet worn by the attendant appearing in the king of swords card of the Cary-Yale deck. The posture of the figures, described by several art historians as "swaying," and the drape of their clothes identify a distinct style.

The close association between the illustrations in the codex and many Cary-Yale Visconti Tarocchi cards is unmistakable. The codex dates to when Bonifacio Bembo was twenty-six years old, assuming he was born in 1420.

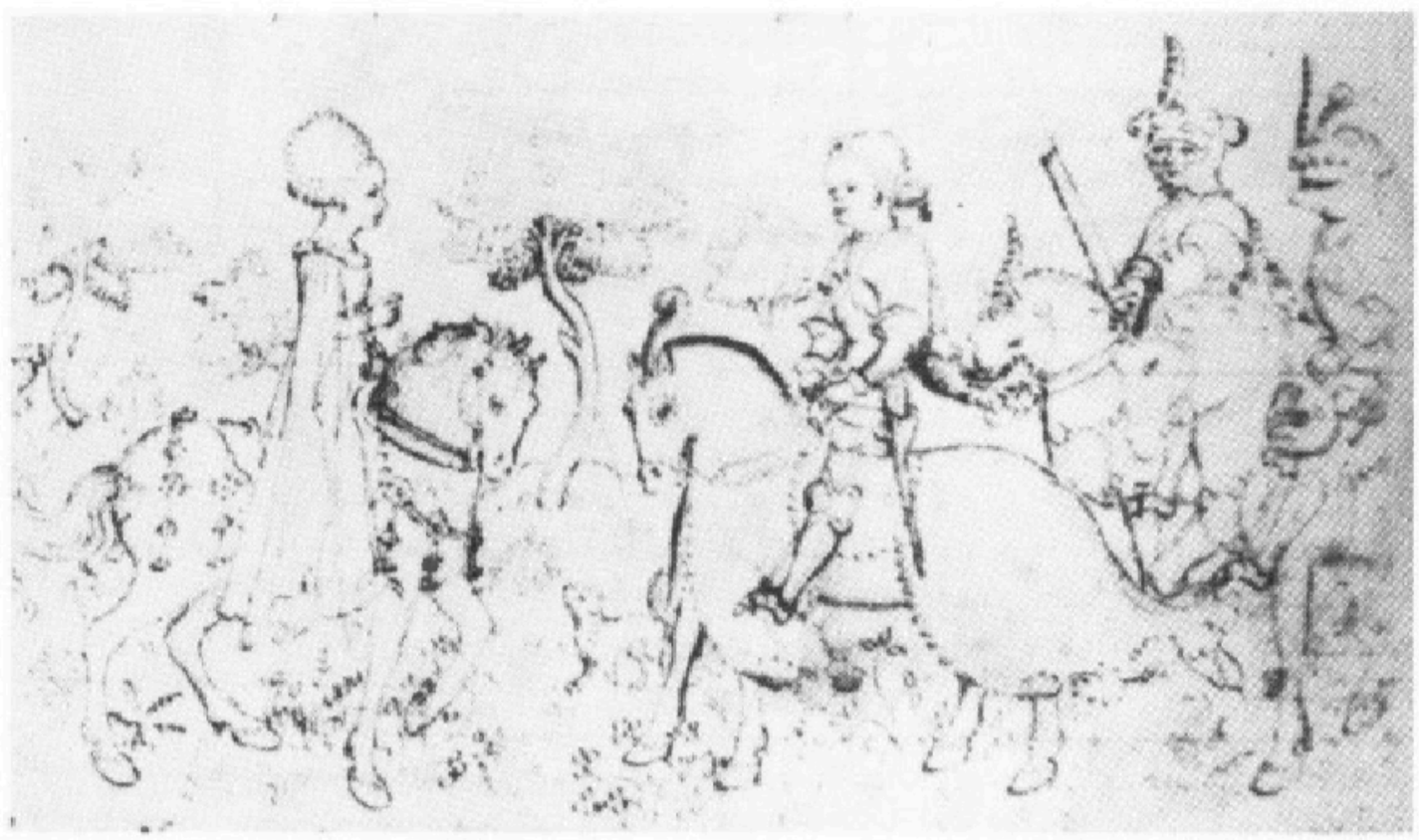
Cary Collection of Playing Cards, The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut

The Emperor *Cary-Yale Visconti Tarocchi*



Collection of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrali, Florence

King Arthur Sailing to Avalon *Folio 171 of the Codex Palatino 556. King Arthur, having received a dangerous wound from Mordred, is taken to the island of Avalon. Sir Bevedere, on the shore, has thrown the magic sword Excalibur into the water and a hand grasps it as it is seen for the last time. The knight laying on the ground could be Mordred; however, the sunburst on his helmet is identical to the sunburst used as a heraldic device by the Visconti. It seems doubtful that the artist who was apparently a favorite of the Visconti would identify his patrons with a villain of the tale.*

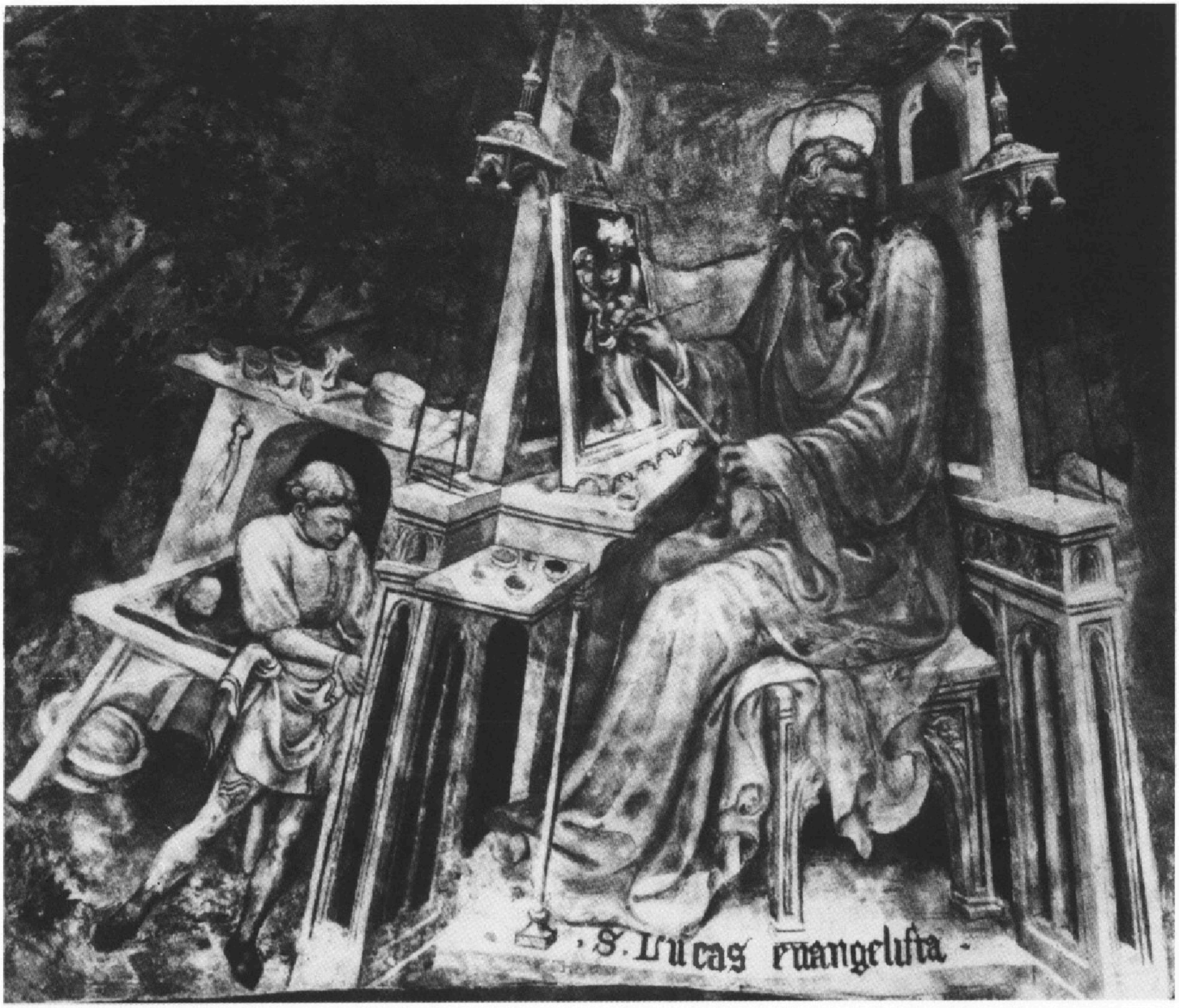


Collection of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrali, Florence

A Meeting on Horseback *Folio 21 of the Codex Palatino 556. The pose of the knight, the horse's rippling caparison, and the knight's armor clearly match the knight of swords in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo Tarocchi deck.*

Collection of the Accademia Carrara, Bergamo, Italy

Knight of Swords *Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo Tarocchi*



Collection of Church of Sant'Agostino, Cremona, Italy

Cavalcabo Fresco at Sant'Agostino *Saint Luke the Evangelist painting the Virgin and Child. The technique of using a rod to steady the painting hand was no doubt used by Bembo himself.*

Cavalcabo frescoes at Sant'Agostino Fernanda Wittgens (1936) attributed to Bembo a series of frescoes, only partially uncovered at the time of her writing, in the Cavalcabo chapel in the Church of Sant'Agostino in Cremona.

A document of Parma, dated May 2, 1447, and preserved in the archives of Milan, relates the history of the Cavalcabo chapel. The chapel is third in the right nave of the church and is dedicated to the Virgin of the Annunciation. Commenced toward the end of the fourteenth century by Ugolino Cavalcabo as a manorial chapel for the tombs of the Cavalcabo family, the work was interrupted probably because Gabrino Fondulo defeated the Cavalcabo and expelled them from Cremona. In 1447, the daughter and heir of Ugolino, "the magnificent and mighty Signora Giovanna, widow of the erstwhile magnificent soldier Pietro Rossi of Parma," who had been a friend of Francesco Sforza, wanted to complete her father's work. She donated land to the convent of Sant'Agostino in return for the pledge to have "within the next four or five years" the chapel of the Cavalcabo decorated, painted and furnished.

The name of the painter is not mentioned, but Wittgens suggested that it is probably Bonifacio Bembo. It may be assumed that the artist employed helpers for the large job, which accounts for the variations in style. The uncovered fragments of the vault reveal the Coronation of Christ and the Virgin, attended by virgins, martyrs, Church Fathers and the angelic hosts. The base of the vault is adorned with Gothic architectural ornaments, rosettes and tabernacles which accommodate figures of saints. In two niches that open toward the lower sides of the vault two scenes depict Charity, whose features bear a striking resemblance to those of the round, youthful faces found on the tarocchi cards.

The similarities between the chapel designs and the tarocchi cards, observed Wittgens, especially in the movement of the figures, the styling of their garments and the splendor of the colors, indicate that the exquisite miniature art of the tarocchi cards originated from the artistic center of Cremona and that they represent Bonifacio Bembo's early style.

Collection of Monticelli d'Ongina

Fresco at Monticelli d'Ongina *The artist portrays the moment in which Christ has announced that one of his disciples will betray him. The disciples turn to one another in astonishment. Judas sits across the table, separated from the group. John sits on Christ's left, leaning toward Jesus.*

Collection of Monticelli d'Ongina

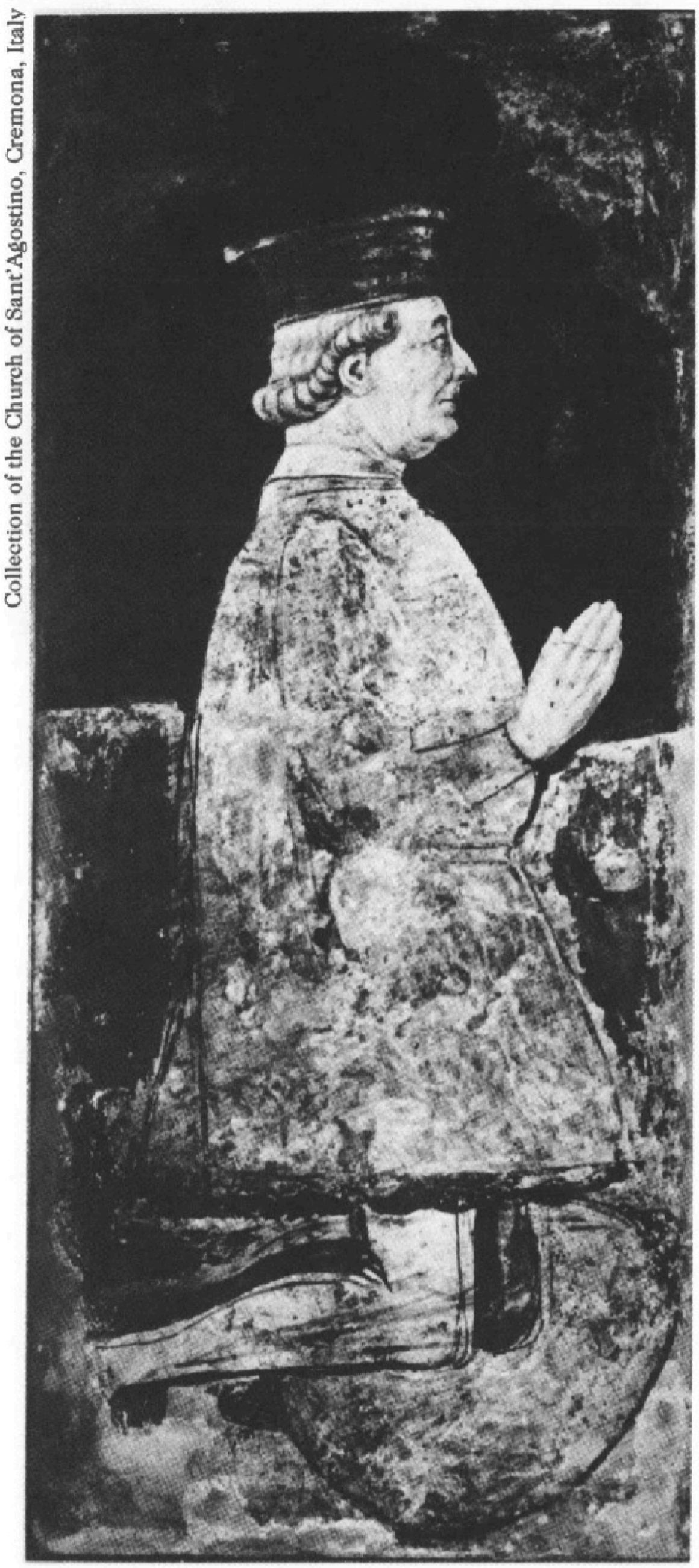
Fresco at Monticelli d'Ongina *Detail of crucifixion scene. The sad, pensive youth, seated on Christ's left hand, is probably the apostle John.*

Frescoes at Monticelli d'Ongina A group of frescoes in two small chapels in the castle of Monticelli d'Ongina was attributed to Bonifacio Bembo by Arturo Carlo Quintavalle (1963), who dated the paintings to circa 1460, roughly contemporaneous with those of the chapel of Saints Grisante and Daria at Sant'Agostino. Mulazzani dated the frescoes to the year 1457 and compared them to the later work, the Coronation triptych. A parallel can be drawn between the Monticelli d'Ongina works and the Cavalcabo frescoes at the Church of Sant'Agostino, the Coronation triptych, and the ducal portraits of Francesca and Bianca Maria Sforza. The profile of the apostle on Christ's left hand, in the fresco of the Last Supper, recalls the style of the figures of the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo Tarot, with his high, round forehead and wavy hair.

Portraits of Bianca Maria Visconti and Francesco Sforza Two portraits depicting Francesco Sforza and Bianca Maria Visconti are painted on the pillars of the ducal chapel of Saints Grisante and Daria at the Church of Sant'Agostino. (These ducal portraits should not be confused with the two portraits in the Brera Gallery, Milan, of Francesco Sforza and Bianca Maria Visconti which are also often attributed to Bembo.) The ducal portraits, a later work than the Cavalcabo chapel in the same church, survive in poor condition and are attributed to Bonifacio Bembo. The attribution, almost universally accepted, is due to tradition and to the previously cited ducal letters of 1462

and October 16, 1469. Neither letter refers directly to the ducal portraits, and Martha Wolff (1974) pointed out that it is merely an assumption that the commission for the picture of Saint Grisante included an order for the ducal portraits as well.

The severity of the Sant'Agostino ducal figures, the stiff rendering, and the gracelessness of the features are distinctly at odds with the flowing and idealized figures in other works attributed to Bembo. Possibly the artist was constrained by portraiture, and inconsistencies in style are inevitable in large-scale works which were often carried out by several artists.



Francesco Sforsa and Bianca Maria Visconti *Portraits in the chapel of Saints Daria and Grisante in the Church of Sant'Agostino, Cremona*

Collection of Denver Art Museum, Denver, Colorado

Collection of Museo Civico, Cremona

***The Adoration of the Magi** (left), **The Crowning of Saints Daria and Grisante; also known as The Coronation of the Virgin and Christ by God the Father** (right), **The Meeting of Joachim and Anna at the Golden Gate** (opposite page)*
The Coronation triptych as reconstructed by R. Longhi (1928)

Cremonese Coronation triptych Roberto Longhi (1928) attributed a reconstructed Cremonese triptych, circa 1462, to Bonifacio Bembo. The central panel of the triptych (Museo Civico, Cremona) has been called The Coronation of the Virgin and Christ by God the Father. "Christ" and "the Virgin" are seated on benches in a narrow alcove, while "the Father" stands on a platform. The ceiling is coffered and the back wall is decorated with floral arabesques.

The iconography for the subject is quite unusual, and has puzzled many art historians. In traditional treatments of the subject, Christ crowns the Virgin in the presence of the Father, rather than, as here, the Father crowning both Christ and the Virgin. Furthermore, on the triptych, the "five wounds" are not shown on Christ. Mulazzani (1981) and Sandra Bandera (1977) have deduced that the central panel of the Cremonese Coronation triptych actually portrays God the Father crowning Saints Grisante and Daria with the crown of martyrdom. The role of Grisante and Daria as protectors of newlyweds would be in harmony with Mulazzani's further theory that the triptych is the missing altarpiece of the chapel of the saints at Sant' Agostino, and was originally flanked by the portraits of Francesco Sforza and Bianca Maria Visconti who, according to tradition, dedicated the chapel to the saints in honor of their wedding.

If this piece was indeed the altarpiece of the chapel, then it would likely be the work referred to by Galeazzo Sforza's 1469 letter in regard to paying Bembo for a picture of Saint Grisante in the chapel at Sant'Agostino.

In examining the piece, one can have little doubt that it is by the same artist who created the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck, which was possibly commissioned by Francesco Sforza to celebrate his wedding to Bianca Maria Visconti. The face of the Pope and the face of the deity on Judgment in the deck bear a striking resemblance to the face of God the Father in the Coronation. The forked, curling beard and ornate crown of "Christ" or Saint Daria are typical of the male characters in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck and of the Emperor in the Cary-Yale deck.

The two panels that might have formed the wings of the triptych show The Meeting of Joachim and Anna, and The Adoration of the Magi (Denver Art Museum, Denver, Colorado). Longhi's attribution of the pieces to Bonifacio Bembo was based on a similarity to the ducal portraits at Sant'Agostino, which show sharp, definite facial features that contrast with rather pudgy and vague renderings of the body.

Anna, in The Meeting, is similar to the Popess in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck, with her wimple and her ascetic features. Also, the ground, with transparent, stylized foliage, can be compared to the ground on the tarocchi cards and in Lancelot of the Lake. The magi bearing the cup recalls the knight of cups of the Cary-Yale deck, with his

Collection of Denver Art Museum, Denver, Colorado

curly hair cut in a tapering line to the neck, the lacy crown, the flat over-tunic with the pleated skirt underneath and the cup itself.

The Virgin and Child with Angels In 1954, some eighteen years after identifying the Cavalcabo frescoes at Sant'Agostino and crediting them to Bonifacio Bembo, Fernanda Wittgens was visiting the Worcester Museum in Massachusetts where she came upon a panel whose style seemed hauntingly familiar.

Attributed to Stefano da Verona (formerly called Stefano da Zevio), the panel depicts the Madonna and her child surrounded by angels. Wittgens recognized the "silvery grays, the watery greens and . . . a subtle mauve" as typical of the hand of Bonifacio Bembo. Moreover, the little angels seen in the green of the garden, where "the miraculous fluorescences of the Bembian color abound, creating a rainbow as background to the sacred idyl, . . . are the twin brothers," affirmed Wittgens, of the angelic musicians depicted in the Cavalcabo frescoes.

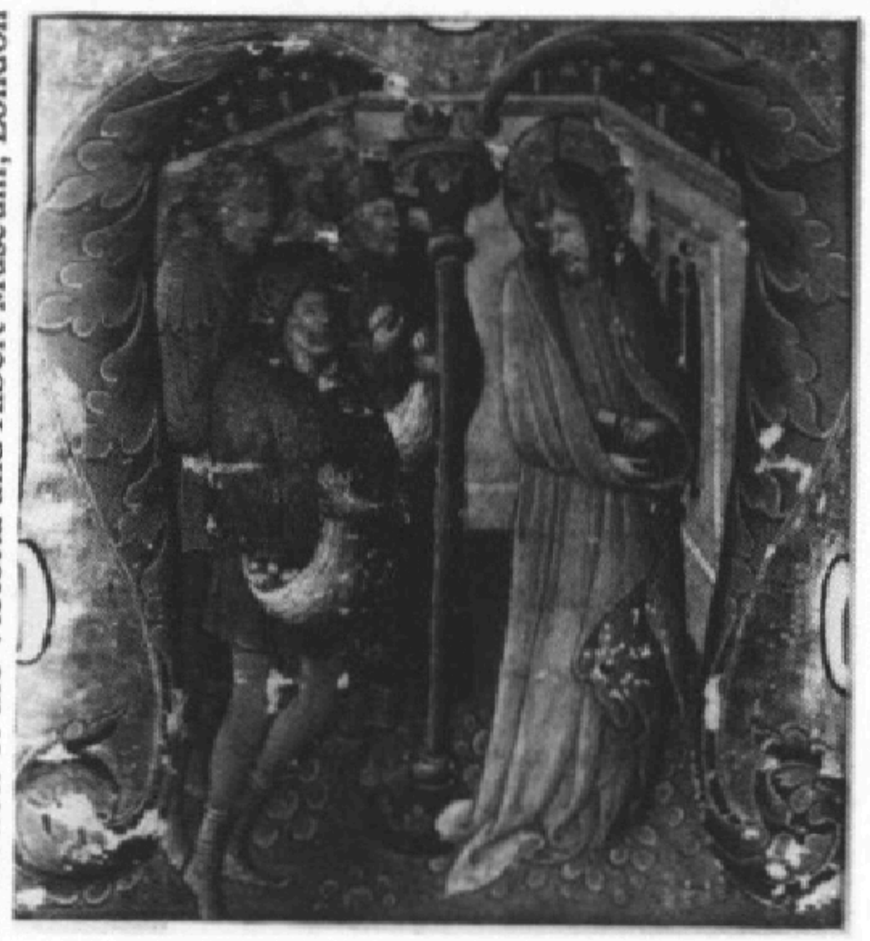
Most art historians, however, have remained loyal to the common attribution of the work to Stefano da Verona.

Portraits of Francesca and Bianca Maria Sforza Two temperas, now held by the Brera Museum of Milan, were attributed to Bembo by Wittgens. These paintings were originally in the ceiling of the basilica of Monza. Malaguzzi-Valeri attributed them to Zanetto Bugatto, who assisted Bembo in the decorations for the vault of the ducal chapel of Milan. A resemblance between the profiles of these portraits and the profiles on the Hope card, queen of coins, and other cards of the Cary-Yale deck can be seen, especially in the receding chins, plump necks and slightly compressed lips. (These portraits are reproduced in the chapter, "The Sforza Family.")

Christ and the Moneychangers The illuminated initial M from a fifteenth-century Italian choir book depicts three Jews preparing to stone Christ within a courtyard painted violet. The initial M is in blue foliation on a panel of burnished gold. Although attributed to Bonifacio Bembo by Maria Luisa Gengaro (1958), the Victoria and Albert Museum credits the work to a follower of Michelino da Besozzo without specific attribution to any artist. The

Collection of Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Massachusetts

The Virgin and Child with Angels



Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Christ and the Moneychangers

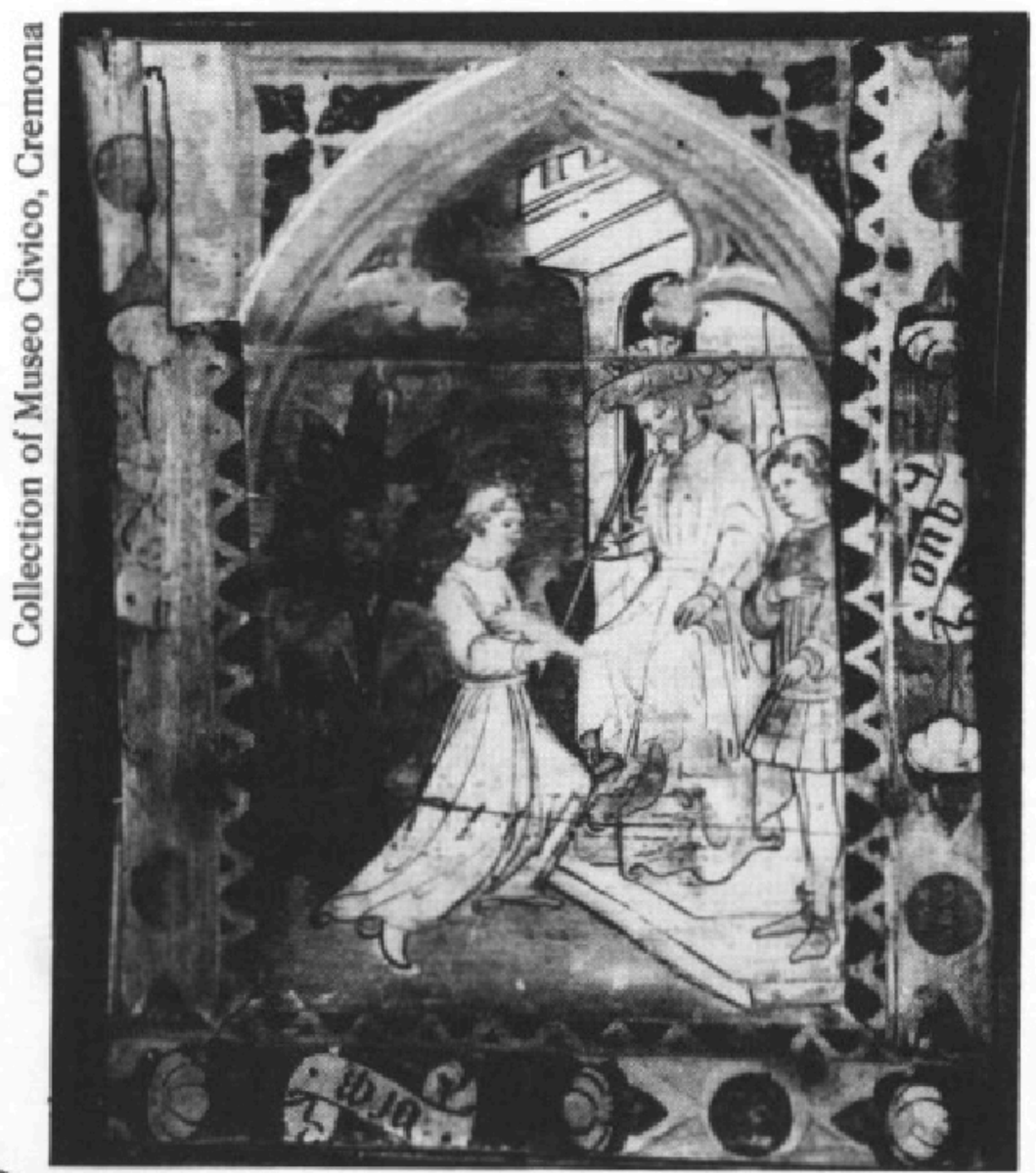
flowing folds of the robes and the flora on the ground recall Bembo's style.

Saint Julian and Saint Alexis Frederico Zeri (1951) described two sections of a polyptych depicting Saint Julian and Saint Alexis, which he believed were by Bonifacio Bembo. Both panels are housed at the Brera Gallery, Milan.

The thin faces of the saints, their round eyes and wavy hair, their posture and positioning on the ground and the short tunic of Saint Julian bear a similarity to the figures of the tarocchi cards.

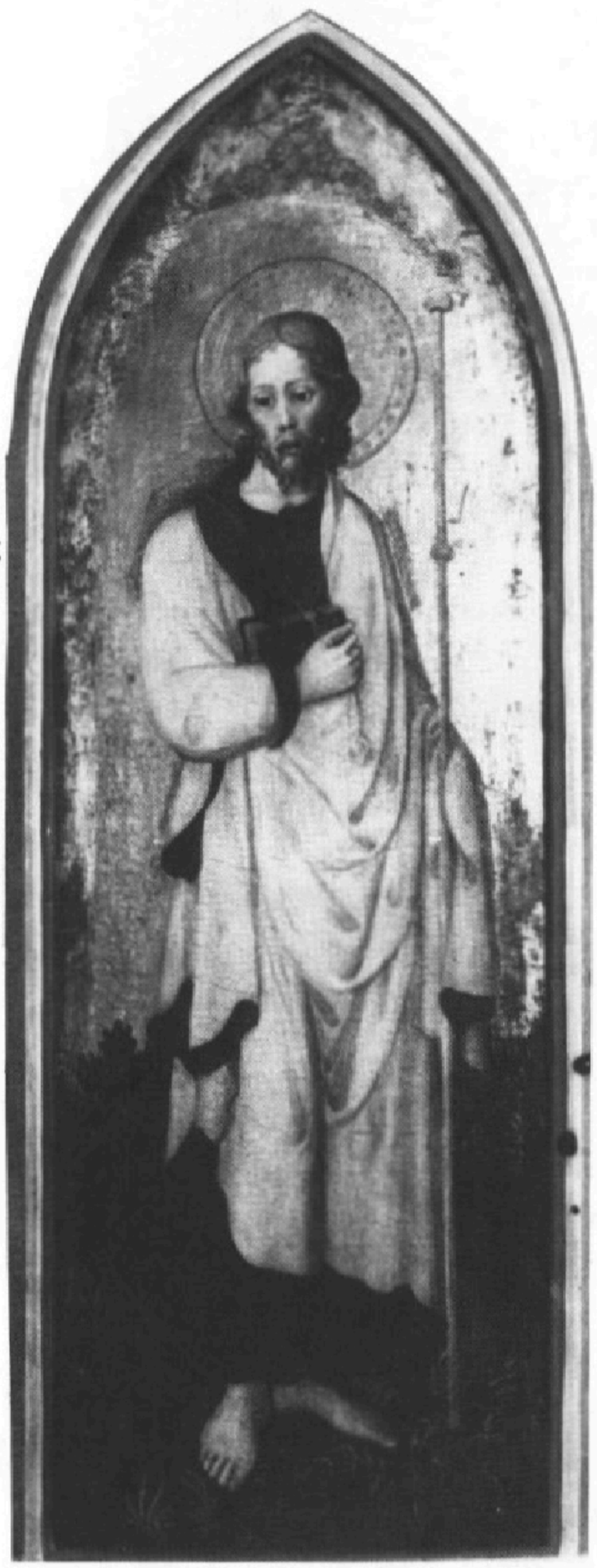
Tempera at the Museum Jacquemart-Andre A small tempera at the Museum Jacquemart-Andre in Châalis is generally believed to be the work of Miralheti, but some researchers suspect it may have been executed by Bonifacio Bembo.

Bible scenes at Museo Civico A series of twenty-nine ceiling panels (Museo Civico, Cremona) depicts Bible scenes of Genesis. The panels were originally from the old



Collection of Museo Civico, Cremona

***Bible Scene** at Museo Civico, Cremona*

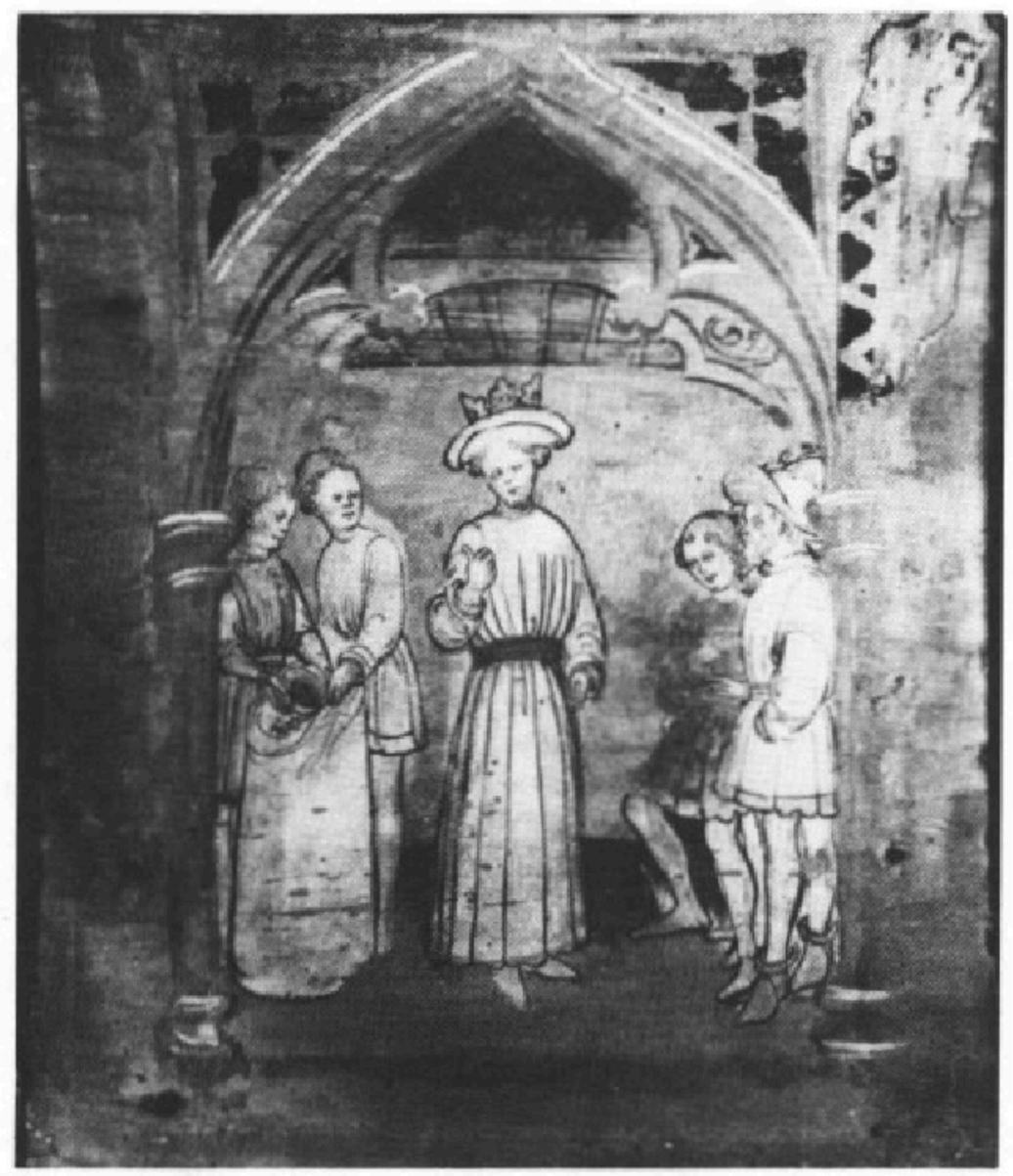


Collection of the Brera Gallery, Milan

Collection of Museum Jacquemart-Andre, Châalis

***Saint Julian and Saint Alexis**, at Brera Gallery, and **Saint Alexis** (labeled "S. Giuliano" by Puppi, 1959) at Museum Jacquemart-Andre*

Collection of Museo Civico, Cremona



***Bible Scenes** at Museo Civico, Cremona*

Cremonese house of the Meli family and, as Rasmo (1939) indicated, they possibly form a single series with ten additional panels at the National Museum in Trento and four panels at the museum in Torcello.

Deterioration of the coloring has almost reduced the panels to line drawings. The scenes, widely attributed to Bonifacio Bembo, are very similar to the illustrations in the Lancelot codex, especially in the facial features, the costumes and the stance of the figures. The ceiling panels are also consistent with the popular style of mid-fifteenth-century Lombardy miniatures.

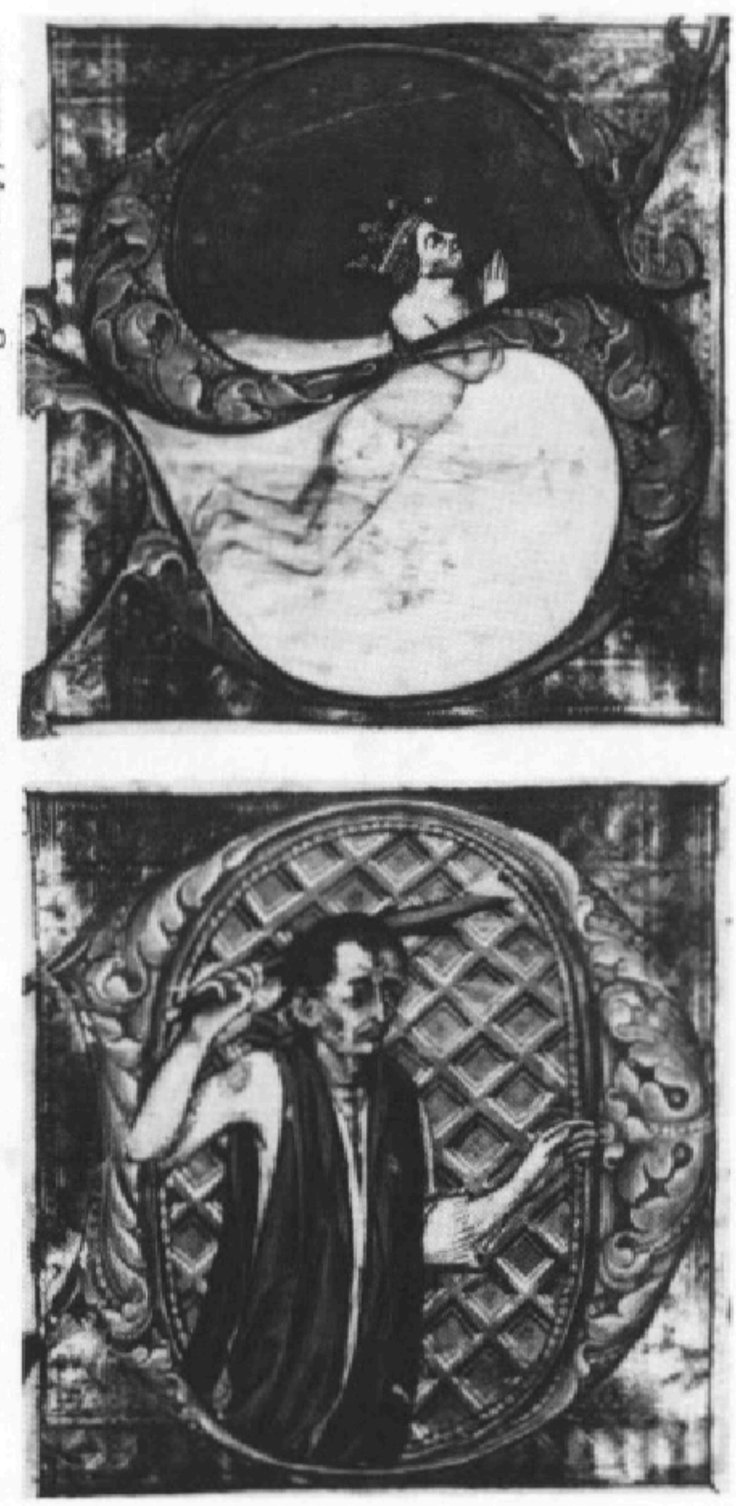
Psalter of Rimini Six miniatures, four of them completely preserved, appear in an incomplete psalter that originated from the abolished religious body of the Reformed Fathers of Verrucchio. The manuscript is housed in the Gambalunga Library in Rimini. The scenes include King David bathing and the king speaking with God.

Maria Luisa Ferrari (1959) attributed the psalter to Bonifacio Bembo. The close similarity in style between the figures in the psalter and those in the diurnal initials of Mirandola indicates the work of one artist.

The last sheet of the Rimini psalter contains a transcription of a papal bull of Pope Eugenius IV, dated in Florence on October 11, 1441, which transferred the convent and church of Saint Gabriel in Cremona to the jurisdiction of the Minor Observants in Cremona. The bull was addressed to the Benedictine abbot of the Church of All-Saints. The original bull is contained in the archives of Milan. The document does not mention the Rimini psalter and the reason for its transcription in the psalter remains unknown.

Ferrari, in her investigations in the Milan archives, concluded that it is likely that the bull was transcribed at the convent of Santa Maria degli Angeli, of the Order of the Minor Observants. This convent was built after 1441 at the Benedictine Abbey of All Saints, to which the convent and church of Saint Gabriel had belonged before the original bull was published. Bianca Maria Sforza, Bembo's patroness, favored the Order of the Minor Observants, as evidenced by her founding the nunnery of the order under the jurisdiction of Santa Maria degli Angeli. Thus, a tenuous link of documented evidence connects Bembo with the Rimini psalter, in that Bianca Maria Sforza could have commissioned one of her favored artists to illuminate the psalter.

Collection of Gambalunga Library, Rimini



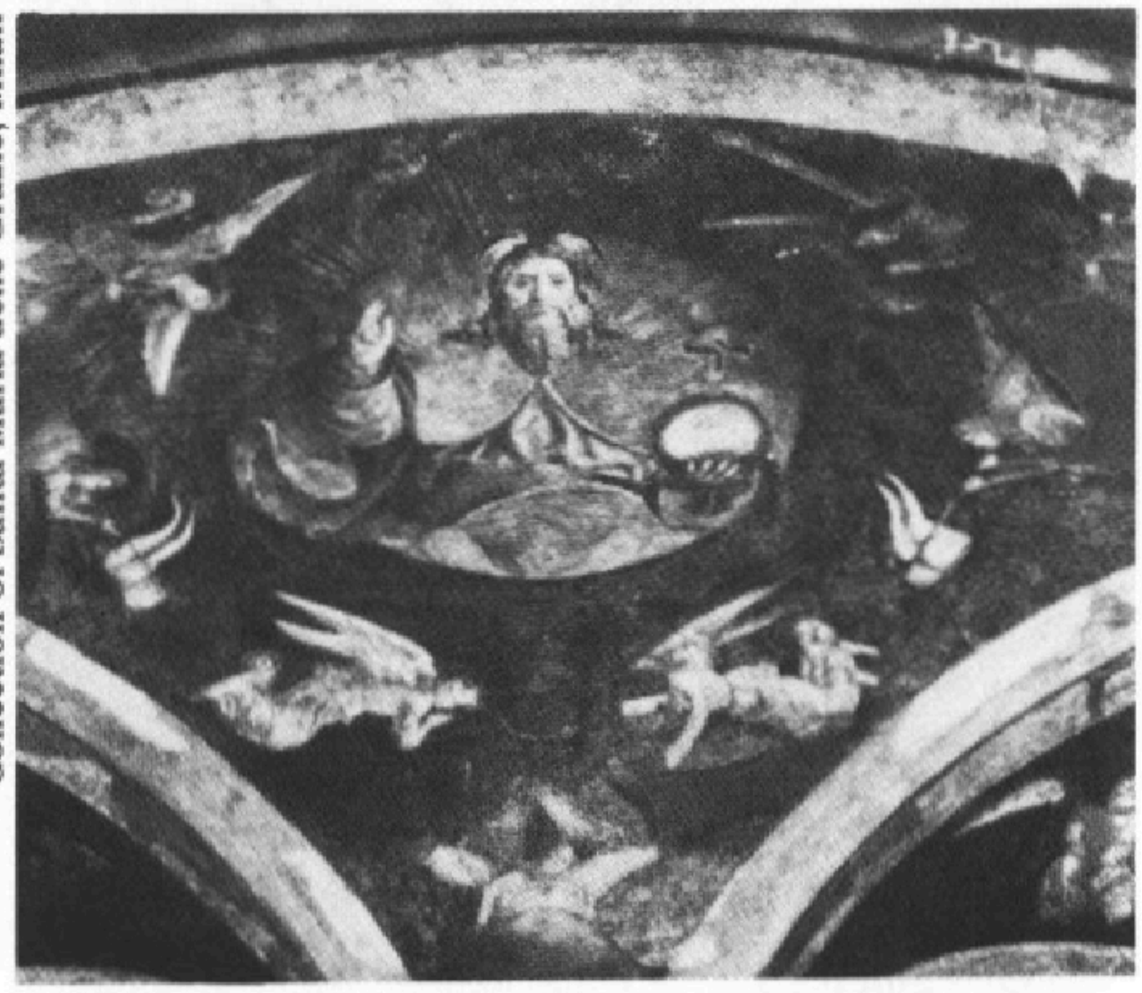
Psalter of Rimini

Frescoes in the chapel of the Madonna at the Church of Santa Maria delle Grazie Gengaro (1958) attributed frescoes for the chapel of the Madonna in the Church of Santa Maria delle Grazie to Bonifacio Bembo and dated them to the period between 1462 and 1467. The frescoes show God the Father and the death of Christ. The Benedictine complex, which also contains Leonardo da Vinci's The Last Supper, was bombed in 1943, but, miraculously, Leonardo's masterpiece, plus the chapel of the Madonna and other parts, including the Renaissance dome, survived.

Annunciation and Madonna of Mercy Two detached frescoes have been attributed to Bonifacio Bembo by A. Puerari (1951). The fresco of The Annunciation was obtained from the demolished Church of Saint Francis. The smaller fresco of the Madonna of Mercy (not shown) originated from a private house on Belcavezzo Street in Cremona. Both frescoes are housed today at the Museo Civico in Cremona.

Frescoes of the ducal chapel in the Sforza Castle, Milan This work was completed by several hands, as is shown by the discontinuity of the workmanship and by the documents, dated from 1473, relating to its commission. Bembo was probably the overseer and Mulazzani sees Bembo's style in the vault, particularly in God the Father at the summit and in the angels surrounding God.

Collection of Santa Maria delle Grazie, Milan



Collection of Santa Maria delle Grazie, Milan

(top right) ***Fresco in the Chapel of the Madonna, Santa Maria delle Grazie*** *An angel kneeling, with hands crossed over chest*

(right) ***Fresco in the Chapel of the Madonna, Santa Maria delle Grazie*** *God the Father holding an orb surmounted by a cross*

Collection of Museo Civico, Cremona, Italy

The Annunciation *The angel Gabriel, bearing a lily, announces the birth of Christ to Mary, while in the center above, God the Father sends the dove of incarnation to Mary.*

Collection of Sforza Castle, Milan

Fresco in the Ducal Chapel, Sforsa Castle, Milan *Christ points upward to God the Father, in the center, after having risen from his tomb.*

Collection of Sforza Castle, Milan

Fresco in the Ducal Chapel, Sforza Castle, Milan

ARTISTS IN FIFTEENTH-CENTURY NORTHERN ITALY

The accompanying list provides the names of some artists and assistants who are believed to have worked in Lombardy during the fifteenth century. Several of the artists collaborated with Bonifacio Bembo in his work for the Sforza family; others are recorded in their own right as working on frescoes, portraits and illuminated manuscripts. Their presence in fifteenth-century Lombardy suggests the possibility that one or more of them contributed to the preparation of early playing cards. Further research about these artists may bring to light valuable information in the search for the tarocchi artists.

Luchino Belbello (Belbello da Pavia) (active ca 1430–1462) Lombardy miniaturist and book decorator. The *Offiziolo visconte* or *Visconti Book of Hours* was left unfinished when the first artist, Giovanni de'Grassi, died in 1398. Several years after 1412, the year Filippo Maria Visconti became duke, Belbello was given the task of completing, with other artists, the illuminated pages of the prayer book. Belbello also painted the important missal for the Gonzaga family and most of the d'Este Bible now in the Vatican Library.

Bembo (fifteenth century) Family whose most famous members were Bonifacio and Benedetto. Father was Giovanni, also an artist. Brothers included Ambrogio, Andre, and Girolamo.

Benedetto Bembo (?–1489?) Brother of Bonifacio. For many years Benedetto's works overshadowed those of Bonifacio, but the work of each brother is now considered individually.

Bonifacio Bembo (ca 1420–1478?) Born in Cremona. Practitioner in Northern Italy of the International Gothic style. Bonifacio was probably inspired by Gentile da Fabriano (ca 1370–1428) and Antonio Pisanello (1397–1450/1455), whose pictures, like Bembo's, idealize court life. According to documentation, Bonifacio was active as court painter to Francesco Sforza and Galeazzo Maria Sforza from 1455 to 1476. Believed to have been the artist of the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo and the Cary-Yale tarocchi packs.

Leonardo da Besozzo (active mid-fifteenth century) Son of Michelino. Collaborated with his father in 1421. He is known to have completed a series of frescoes, after 1433, in the Church of Saint Giovanni at Carbonara in Naples.

Michelino da Besozzo (active ca 1388–1445) First mentioned in 1388 when he worked on the frescoes in the cloister of Saint Peter in Ciel d'Oro at Pavia. Painted The Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine at the Pinacoteca, Siena. The documents of the Milan cathedral show that Michelino worked at the cathedral from 1418 until as late as 1442. He is lauded for professional excellence and great artistic ability. Several art researchers have suggested that Michelino painted the frescoes at the Casa Borromeo in Milan including the famous scene of tarocchi card players. Cattaneo claimed to have actually seen in 1825 the signature of Michelino in the second court which contained the remains of frescoes that may have portrayed the triumphs of Petrarch. However, Raimond Van Marle, writing in 1926, doubted the existence of any signature. According to P. Durrieu, writing in 1911 in *Michelino de Besozzo et les relations entre l'art italien et l'art français*, a series of sixteen cards by Michelino is described in a letter dated 1449 from Jacobo Antonio Marcello, a servant of René of Anjou, to Isabelle of Lorraine, first wife of René. (Although René was called the king of Naples, he was not the king of France.) Since Michelino was active only until 1445, the cards must have been executed before 1445. They are believed to have been commissioned by Filippo Maria Visconti.

The set of cards comprised four groups of triumphs, with four cards in each group. The lowest group was the triumph of Virtue, and the highest group, Pleasure, with Cupid triumphing over all.

Virtue	Riches	Virginity	Pleasure
Jupiter	Juno	Chastity (Pallas)	Venus
Apollo	Neptune	Diana	Bacchus
Mercury	Mars	Vesta	Ceres
Hercules	Aeolus	Daphne	Cupid

Borgognone (1450?–1523) Born Ambrogio Stefano da Fossano, he was a pupil of Foppa. Painted steadily in Milan and Pavia between 1481 and 1523 and is well-known for his work at the Certosa of Pavia. One painting completed in 1494 by Borgognone depicts Christ carrying the cross with monks of the Certosa. The monastery is shown perched on a jagged cliff similar to the cliff in such cards as Death, Temperance, The Star, The Moon and The Sun in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo Tarocchi pack. Many examples of work by this important artist exist today in Bergamo, Milan, Pavia and other cities.

Zanetto Bugatto (active until ca 1476) Worked as assistant to Bonifacio Bembo, in 1472 and 1473, decorating the vaults of the ducal chapel of the Sforza castles in Milan and Pavia. Also collaborated with Bembo and others on the chapel near Vigevano in the summer of 1472. Bugatto was sent to Brussels by Francesco and Bianca Maria Sforza to work in the studio of Roger van der Weyden from 1460 to 1463.

Antonio Cicognara (active second half of fifteenth century) Painter and miniaturist. For many years it was thought that Antonio Cicognara was the artist of the seventy-four-card Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo pack. This theory was promoted by one of his nineteenth-century descendants, Leopoldo Cicognara, who cited as his source the notes by "jurisconsult Giacomo Torresino" on the *Chronicles of Cremona,* written by Domenico Bordigallo. The "notes" however, were apparently fabricated by Antonio Dragoni, and Leopoldo Cicognara's research fell victim to a forgery. The passage referring to tarocchi cards does not appear in the original Latin version of Bordigallo's *Chronicles,* presently housed at the Biblioteca Treccani in Milan, and therefore Cicognara's assertion is without validity.

Jacopino Cietario (active 1460) A large polyptych attributed to Cietario depicts as the central figure the Virgin and Child, with two angels, in a flowery field. A bishop and a young saint in beautiful costume are seen on the left of the Virgin, and Saints Peter and John the Baptist are on the right. Cietario's work was influenced by that of the Zavattari brothers.

Giampietro da Corte (active second half of fifteenth century) Worked as an assistant, with Stefano de Fedeli, to Bonifacio Bembo in 1472 and 1473, decorating the upper chapel at the Sforza Castle in Milan. In 1473, da Corte was commissioned by Duke Galeazzo Maria Sforza to paint the vault of the ducal chapel of Pavia.

Stefano de Fedeli (active second half of fifteenth century) Worked in 1472 and 1473 with Bonifacio Bembo on decorating the ducal chapel in Milan.

Vincenzo "Il Vecchio" Foppa (ca 1430 - ca 1492-1516) Born in Brescia and studied under Francesco Squarcione in Padua. Collaborated with Bonifacio Bembo and Zanetto Bugatto on the altarscreen at the chapel of the Sforza Castle in Pavia. Also worked with Bembo and others at Church of San Jacomo. Various other works commissioned by the Sforza courts of Milan, Pavia, Liguria, Bergamo and Brescia. In 1472 worked with Cristoforo Moretti at the Sforza Castle, Milan. Foppa exerted great influence on artists in Milan and on art as it existed prior to the time of Leonardo da Vinci.

Giotto (1266?-1337) In 1305, Giotto, the great artist of the early Italian Renaissance, began his most ambitious work, the frescoed interior of the Arena Chapel at Padua. The chapel was located just beyond the western tip of the Milanese sphere of influence. The frescoes appear on smooth, uninterrupted wall space and the adjoining ceiling area. Major frescoes along the chapel wall depict stories of the early life of the Virgin and the life of Christ, and medallions across the ceiling depict Christ and the prophets.

Around the base of the walls are frescoes that symbolize the following seven virtues and seven opposing vices:

Prudence	Folly
Fortitude	Inconstancy
Temperance	Wrath
Justice	Injustice
Faith	Infidelity
Charity	Envy
Hope	Despair

Ronald Decker, an American art historian and researcher, views the Giotto frescoes that depict the virtues and vices as suggestive of many of the Major Arcana cards in the tarot pack. A definite connection between Giotto and the early Visconti is well established. Two years before his death in 1337, Giotto painted a fresco series in the palace of Azzone Visconti under the title *Vanagloria,* or Worldly Glory, but the work is lost today. The influence, if any, of the frescoes of Giotto on the selection of themes for the early tarocchi cards is not known, but the iconographic connection is worthy of notice.

Giacomo Jaquerio (active from 1415, died 1453) Believed to have painted the frescoes at the Issogne Castle, which include a fresco of ten figures, two of which are men playing cards.

Andrea Mantegna (1432-1506) Studied under the painter Francesco Squarcione in Padua. He was a court painter in Mantua for Lodovico Gonzaga. Completed in 1473 and 1474 a series of frescoes in the ducal palace. He also painted for Isabella d'Este in Ferrara. Many examples of his work still survive. The Tarocchi of Mantegna prints, usually described as cards, date from 1470 and are often credited to Andrea Mantegna, although no evidence exists to support this claim.

Pantaleone de Marchis (mid-fifteenth century) Worked with Bembo on the pall for the main altar in the Church of Sant'Agostino in Cremona, and in the castle of Monza.

Jean Miralheti (died ca 1457) A small tempera at the Museum of Jacquemart-Andre has been commonly attributed to Miralheti, although some believe it is by Bembo.

Cristoforo Moretti (active 1451-1485) Cremonese artist who worked with Bonifacio Bembo on decoration of the castle and the Arengo Palace in Pavia with religious scenes and representations of the Sforza court. Also worked in 1472 with Vincenzo Foppa at the Sforza Castle in Milan.

Castiglione Olon (early fifteenth century) Longhi suggested that Bonifacio Bembo may have frequented the workshop of this artist after apprenticing under the Zavattari brothers.

Giovan Pietro (ca 1450-1528) Also known as Lo Spagna. Worked as assistant to Bonifacio in 1472 and 1473 decorating the ducal chapel at the Sforza Castle, Milan. Previously was a companion to Matteo di Giovanni di Bartolo, the important Sienese painter.

Antonio Pisanello (1397-1455) Known for his portrait medallions. He served as court artist to the lords of Ferrara, Mantua and Milan. His portrait in 1432 of Emperor Sigismund made him famous. Among the best known of his extant portraits in profile are Lionello d'Este, circa 1441, and the Princess of the House of Este, circa 1443.

Leonardo Ponzoni (fifteenth century) Hired in the summer of 1472 by Galeazzo Sforza to work with Bonifacio Bembo on a votive chapel of Saint Mary outside Vigevano.

Ambrogio de Predis (1455?-1506?) Trained under Leonardo da Vinci. The stunning profile portrait of a young woman, believed to be Bianca Sforza, illegitimate daughter of Lodovico Sforza, has been credited to Ambrogio de Predis and to Leonardo da Vinci. Ambrogio prepared miniatures in the Sforza Book of Hours.

Gottardo Scotti (fifteenth century) Worked as assistant to Bonifacio Bembo in 1472 and 1473 decorating the ducal chapel at the Sforza Castle, Milan.

Marziano da Tortona (ca 1370–1423/25) Although believed to be a painter, no record of his work exists. Lived at the court of Duke Filippo Maria Visconti and acted as his secretary. Cicognara, in 1831, claimed he discerned the name of Marziano da Tortona on the bottom of the Faith card in the Cary-Yale Visconti deck. Around 1440, Decembrio, the official biographer of Filippo Maria Visconti, wrote that the duke enjoyed playing a game that used painted figures. According to Robert Steele (1900), Decembrio also related that Duke Filippo paid fifteen hundred gold pieces to Marziano da Tortona for a pack of cards decorated with images of gods, emblematic animals and figures of birds. Tortona might have been acting as agent on behalf of the unnamed artist.

Costantino da Vaprio (fifteenth century) Worked as assistant to Bonifacio Bembo, in 1472 and 1473, decorating the ducal chapel at the Sforza Castle in Milan. In 1475, collaborated again with Bonifacio, this time on decorations at the castle of Abbiategrasso where Bianca Maria Visconti spent her childhood. In 1476 he helped with decoration of the ducal chapel at Pavia. Collaborated with Bonifacio Bembo and others at the Church of San Jacomo (Giacomo).

Giovanni Zenoni da Vaprio (fifteenth century) Father of Costantino da Vaprio. Thought to have worked with Michelino da Besozzo on the frescoes in the Casa Borromeo.

Stefano da Verona (1375?–1438 or later) (Formerly referred to as Stefano da Zevio). Active chiefly in Verona. Painted in International Gothic style. The picture, Virgin and Child with Angels, in the Worcester Museum, Massachusetts, is usually attributed to da Verona, although some researchers have attributed it to Bonifacio Bembo.

Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519) One of the most famous figures of the Renaissance, Leonardo da Vinci was highly regarded as an artist, scientist and inventor. The masterpiece painting, The Last Supper, was commissioned by Lodovico Sforza as a gift to the Dominican friars of the monastery of the Church of Santa Maria delle Grazie. In 1482 Leonardo worked at Lodovico's court preparing studies for an equestrian statue of Francesco Sforza which was never executed. Nothing in his many notebooks refers to tarocchi cards, in spite of the wide variety of his known interests.

Giacomino (Jacopino) Vismara (fifteenth century) Worked with Bonifacio Bembo in 1473. In a document dated January 3, 1474, Vismara was to be paid 1097 ducats for his work decorating the ducal chapel in the Sforza Castle in Milan. In 1476, he collaborated with Bembo and others in decorating the ducal chapel of the Sforza Castle in Pavia. Also in 1476 worked in the Church of San Jacomo (Giacomo).

Collection of Royal Library, Windsor

Sketch by Leonardo da Vinci *The sketch is believed to be for the proposed monument to Francesco Sforza.*

Zavattari brothers (fifteenth century) Bonifacio Bembo is often cited in association with the Zavattari style, and it is possible that he apprenticed in their shop. The Zavattari brothers worked in Milan and neighboring areas, together or individually, between 1404 and 1479. The brothers were Ambrogio, Cristoforo, Franceschino, Francesco, Giorgio, Giovanni, Gregorio and Vicenzo. In 1444, the Zavattari brothers executed the famous frescoes in the chapel of Queen Teodolinda at the cathedral of Monza. The frescoes describe the life of Queen Teodolinda: her arrival in Italy, her marriage, the death of Agehalf, her second marriage, her dream regarding the construction of a basilica, and so on. The frescoes depict beautiful costumes and elegant gatherings with a multitude of people, horses and dogs. It is not known which of the brothers participated in the Monza project. Van Marle (1926) suggested that the paintings which decorate the fifteenth-century Cary-Yale, Brera-Brambilla and Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo tarocchi cards closely approach the manner of the Zavattari and perhaps were executed by a progeny of the family. Giuliana Algeri (1981) attributed the tarocchi cards to the Zavattari brothers instead of to Bembo.

Bernardo Zenale (1436–1526) Credited with preparation of the altarpiece for Lodovico "Il Moro" Sforza that depicts the duke with his wife, Beatrice d'Este. Malaguzzi-Valeri suggested that Zenale might have painted six of the cards—Strength, Temperance, The Star, The Moon, The Sun and The World—in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo Tarocchi pack.

VII

A POET, A SCRIBE, A CONDOTTIERE AND A LADY

FOUR PEOPLE ASSOCIATED with the Visconti and Sforza families possibly influenced the development of the extant Visconti, Visconti-Sforza and d'Este tarocchi decks. Francesco Petrarch is among the immortal poets of Italy. Marziano da Tortona, a more obscure figure, was the teacher and eventually the secretary of Filippo Maria Visconti. The great condottiere Bartolomeo Colleoni fought side by side with—and sometimes against—Francesco Sforza, and always remained his friend. Isabella d'Este reigned over one of the most brilliant Renaissance courts of Italy, while her sister Beatrice married Duke Lodovico Sforza.

FRANCESCO PETRARCH

Gertrude Moakley, in *The Tarot Cards Painted by Bonifacio Bembo for the Visconti-Sforza Family,* advanced the theory that early Italian tarocchi and minchiate cards were inspired by Petrarch's famous fourteenth-century poem, *I Trionfi* or *Triumphi,* which describes the triumphs of six allegories: Love, Chastity, Death, Fame, Time and Eternity.

Petrarch, born Francesco Petrarca in 1304 at Arezzo, was educated at Avignon and studied law from 1319 to 1326 at Montpellier and the University of Bologna. After his father's death in 1326 he quit law, returned to Avignon and devoted himself to the study of the classics.

After returning to Avignon, site of the papal court at that time, Petrarch became associated with members of the important Roman family, Colonna, and around 1330 he received the tonsure and entered the service of Cardinal Giovanni Colonna. Sometime around 1337, Petrarch left Avignon for Vaucluse, some fifteen miles east of Avignon. Although he traveled widely, Petrarch loved Vaucluse as his favorite home. In Rome, on April 8, 1341, Petrarch was crowned poet laureate, an honor that gave him fame and great personal satisfaction. By this time his writings had brought him financial independence.

A mysterious woman named Laura is the inspiration in much of Petrarch's poetry. According to some historians, Petrarch met Laura, a French lady, around 1327. Laura is sometimes identified as Laure de Noves, wife of Hugues de Sade of Avignon. Petrarch's passionate feelings toward Laura apparently met little or no encouragement. When she died of the plague in 1348, however, Petrarch was stricken with grief. In memory of his departed love, he allegedly put all materialistic desires behind him and resolved to live a chaste life.

Some researchers believe that Laura did not actually exist, and instead was a creation of Petrarch's imagination, a fictitious woman around whom he fashioned poems on the themes of love, unrequited passion and bereavement. *I Trionfi* or *Triumphi* describes the steady sublimation of romantic love, with Laura as the beloved.

Collection of Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

Francesco Petrarch *Portrait in a codice,* De viris illustribus

Petrarch was strongly self-motivated with a perceptive and active mind. His research and translations of the classics became widely known, and his presence was sought by many princely patrons in important cities. In 1353, Petrarch took up residence in Italy, first in Milan as a guest of the Visconti family, and then at Padua with the Carrara.

Duke Giovanni Visconti died in 1354 and the duchy passed to the combined control of his three nephews, Matteo II, Bernabo and Galeazzo II. At the investiture Petrarch pronounced the oration.

After Matteo died in 1355, the rift between Bernabo and Galeazzo II widened. Petrarch established himself at Galeazzo's court which was a center of learning and scholarship. Some writers believe that Petrarch first suggested use of the motto *A bon droyt* to young Giangaleazzo Visconti. The motto is found on many of the Visconti and Visconti-Sforza tarocchi cards.

Throughout his life, Petrarch was an avid traveler. He was also an insatiable collector and copier of manuscripts. He engaged in much correspondence with persons in all walks of life. Most of these letters were carefully preserved by Petrarch and are available today at several museums and libraries.

Like many scholars of his time, Petrarch believed that the understanding and dissemination of ancient knowledge would aid humanity's progress and the quest for self-understanding. The dramatic change in thought and outlook that took place during the Renaissance also affected Petrarch's work. The external world and spiritual well-being were considered from a vantage point that placed emphasis on the importance of individual human potential. Thus, although in *I Trionphi* Petrarch transfigures Laura into a vehicle of exalted values, almost a goddess, one can also perceive the real woman, a woman who is much more than an allegorical symbol in a classical setting.

The revival of Greek and Roman classics during the Renaissance brought renewed interest in Roman triumphal processions. The Visconti and Sforza families, as well as leaders of other Italian cities, loved to participate in the elaborate pageantry of the processions. Many researchers believe that Petrarch's *I Trionphi* inspired, among his many admirers, an artist who recorded the symbols of the procession on tarocchi cards as a pictorial representation of the new atmosphere of intellectual freedom and exploration.

Petrarch was proficient as a poet in both Latin and Italian. His chief Italian work is a collection of poems known as the *Canzoniere* or *Le Rime*. The *Canzoniere* records Petrarch's overwhelming passion for Laura. The intensely moving work expresses an awareness of the conflict between spiritual values and the vanity of earthly endeavors.

The lesser known work, *I Trionphi*, was written over a span of some eighteen years beginning in 1356. Thus, the early development of *I Trionphi* likely took place during Petrarch's stay at the court of Galeazzo II, although Petrarch stated in his "Letter to Posterity" that all his works were commenced or conceived, if not entirely composed, at Vaucluse.

After departing Milan in 1360, Petrarch took up residence in Padua and continued intermittently to revise and lengthen *I Trionphi*. The marginal notes on the extant manuscript confirm that Petrarch corrected and amended the poem until his death on July 29, 1374. *I Trionphi* as it exists today is probably not in the final form desired by Petrarch.

I Trionphi is divided into six triumphs—Love, Chastity, Death, Fame, Time and Eternity—that correspond to six states of the human soul. Petrarch imagined himself in a vision assisting at the triumph of the allegorical figures. Numerous illustrations of the six triumphs of Petrarch have appeared since publication of the poem. The six engravings accompanying this text are from fifteenth-century Florence and are presently housed at the British Museum. The text is a translation by Henry Boyd (1906).

The first triumph is Love depicted as Cupid, blindfolded and shooting arrows. Cupid stands on a flaming vessel set on a pedestal in a wagon drawn by four white horses. The triumph of Love suggests The Lovers card in the tarocchi pack. Petrarch begins the triumph with reference to his unrepaid love.

That day, the source of long-protracted woe,
When I began the plagues of Love to know,

Hyperion's[1] throne, along the azure field,
Between the splendid horns of Taurus wheel'd;

And from her spouse the Queen of Morn withdrew,
Her sandals gemm'd with frost-bespangled dew.

Sad recollection, rising with the morn,
Of my disastrous love, repaid with scorn,

Oppress'd my sense; till welcome soft repose
Gave a short respite from my swelling woes.

A crowd of kings, scholars, sages, young men and maidens surrounds the wagon; all of them have experienced the joy and pain of love. The names of the personages in the crowd include some of the most famous lovers of Roman, Greek and Oriental antiquity as well as knights and ladies of medieval legend. In this setting, as he is drawn into the train of Cupid, Petrarch speaks of his own love for Laura and its effect upon his soul.

Thus, in security and peace trepann'd,
I was enlisted in that wayward band

Who short-lived joys by anguish long obtain,
And whom the pleasures of a rival pain

More than their proper joys. Remembrance shows
Too clear at last the source of all my woes,

When Jealousy and Love and Envy drew
That nurture from my heart by which they grew.

As feverish eyes on air-drawn features dwell,
My fascinated eyes, by magic spell,

Dwell'd on the heavenly form with ardent look,
And at a glance the dire contagion took

That tinged my days to come; and each delight,
But those that bore her stamp, consign'd to night.

In the second triumph, Chastity triumphs over Love when Laura refuses Petrarch's ardor. Chastity, carrying a book and palm, is seen on a pedestal in a wagon drawn by unicorns. The figure of Cupid, bound and captive, kneels at her feet, the broken bow lying nearby. A crowd of virgins moves around the wagon. Thus, the leading figure of each triumph becomes the chief captive and victim of the subsequent triumph.

[1]Hyperion is a Titan of Greek mythology, son of Gaea and Uranus and father of Helios the sun god.

Collection of British Museum, London

Triumph of Love *Engraving from Florence, fifteenth century*

A sky-descended legion, clad in light
Of glorious panoply, condemning mortal might;

All weaponless they came; but hand in hand
Defied the fury of the adverse band:

Honour and maiden Shame were in the van,
Elysian twins, beloved by God and man.

Her delegates in arms with them combined;
Prudence appear'd, the daughter of the mind;

Pure Temperance next, and Steadiness of soul,
That ever keeps in view the eternal goal;

And Gentleness and soft Address were seen,
And Courtesy, with mild inviting mien;

And Purity, and cautious Dread of blame,
With ardent love of clear unspotted fame;

And sage Discretion, seldom seen below,
Where the full veins with youthful ardour glow;

Benevolence and Harmony of soul
Were there, but rarely found from pole to pole;

And there consummate Beauty shone, combined
With all the pureness of an angel-mind.

Such was the host that to the conflict came,
Their bosoms kindling with empyreal flame

And sense of heavenly help.—The beams that broke
From each celestial file with horror struck

Collection of British Museum, London

Triumph of Chastity *Engraving from Florence, fifteenth century*

The bowyer god who felt the blinding rays,
And like a mortal stood in fix'd amaze;

While on his spoils the fair assailants flew,
And plunder'd at their ease the captive crew;

And some with palmy boughs the way bestrew'd,
To show their conquest o'er the baffled god.

Death meets Laura on her return from Rome and triumphs over Chastity. Clutching a scythe, Death, a woman with a skeletal face, stands on a coffin decorated with skulls and bones. The car drawn by four oxen rolls across the corpses of kings, bishops and warriors. The mournful march of an endless train is depicted by Petrarch.

From India, Spain, and Mauritania's coast,
Like meeting floods, appear'd the mighty host;

The sons of every clime and every age,
And covering far the mighty mundane stage.

Then Fortune's minions in the press appear'd,
Pontiffs, and kings, and potentates rever'd;

But naked now, disconsolate, and bare,
They look a ghastly squadron of despair.

Where are their riches now? their honours flown,
The gemmy sparks that starr'd the regal crown?

The guards, the splendid throne, the purple vest,
The rod of sovereign sway from east to west?

O wretched they who place their hopes below
On the poor pageant of this empty show!

But who are faultless? who avoids the blame
Of selling heavenly hope for lasting shame?

And first by heaven, a common doom they share,
When vanity they sow, and reap despair.

O blind of intellect! of what avail
Are your long toils on this sublunar vale?

Tell, ye benighted souls! what gains accrue
From the sad task which ceaseless ye pursue?

Ye soon must mingle with the dust ye tread,
And scarce your name upon a stone be read:

Yet e'en your vanity were not in vain,
Were mortals lessen'd by your fruitless pain!

In the sky, angels convey pious souls to glory while demons snatch away the wicked in a rain of fire.

The fourth triumph, Fame, overcomes Death.

When cruel Death his paly ensign spread
Over that face, which oft in Triumph led

My subject thoughts; and beauty's sovereign light
Retiring, left the world immersed in night;

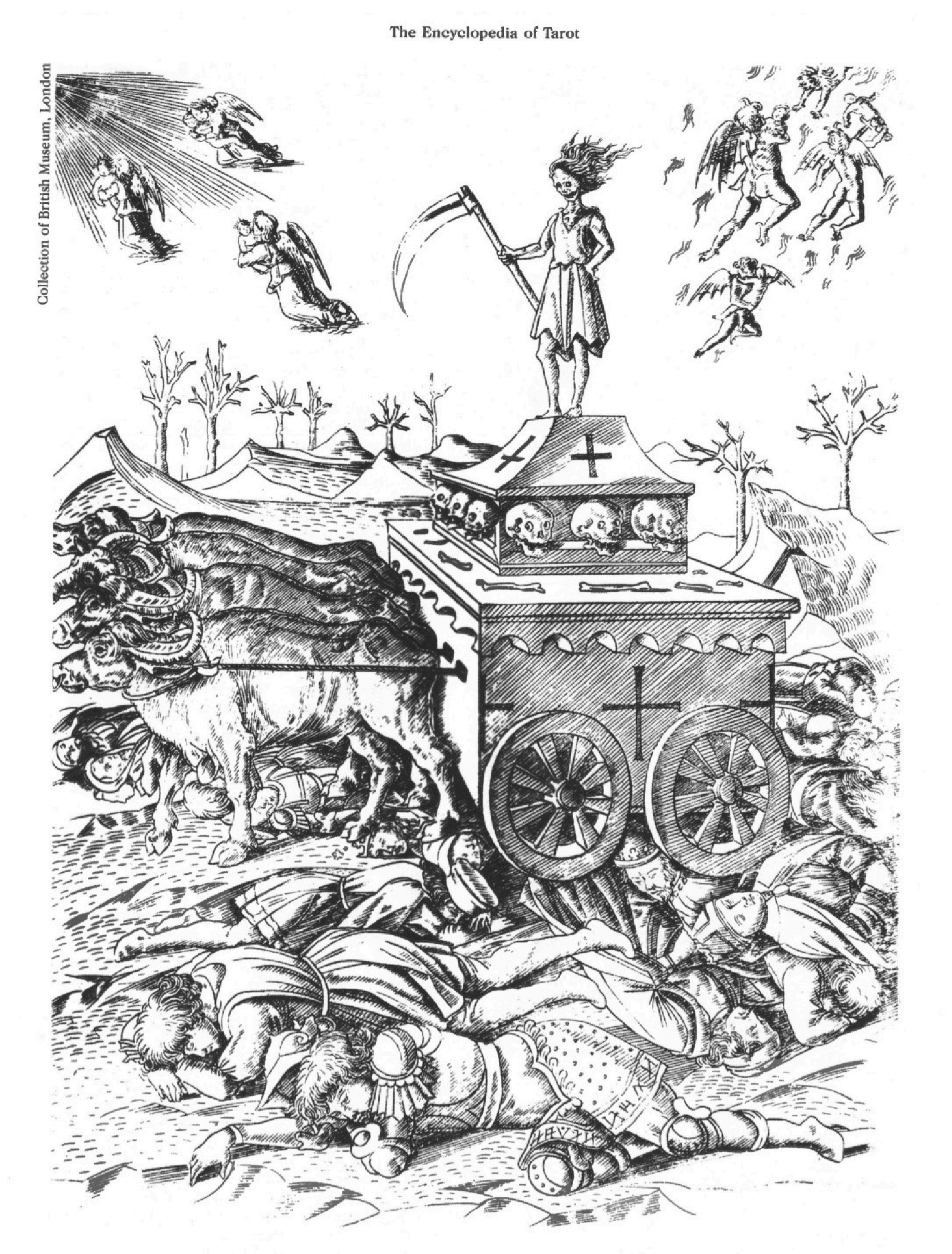
The Phantom, with a frown that chill'd the heart,
Seem'd with his gloomy pageant to depart,

Exulting in his formidable arms,
And proud of conquest o'er seraphic charms.

When, turning round, I saw the Power advance
That breaks the gloomy grave's eternal trance,

And bids the disembodied spirit claim
The glorious guerdon of immortal Fame.

Like Phosphor, in the sullen rear of night,
Before the golden wheels of orient light



Collection of British Museum, London

Triumph of Death *Engraving from Florence, fifteenth century*

Collection of British Museum, London

Triumph of Fame *Engraving from Florence, fifteenth century*

He came. But who the 'tendant pomp can tell,
What mighty master of the corded shell

Can sing how Heaven above accordant smiled,
And what bright pageantry the prospect fill'd.

I look'd, but all in vain: the potent ray
Flash'd on my sight intolerable day

At first; but to the splendour soon inured,
My eyes perused the pomp with sight assured.

True dignity in every face was seen,
As on they march'd with more than mortal mien;

And some I saw whom Love had link'd before,
Ennobled now by Virtue's lofty lore.

The illustration for the triumph of Fame suggests the tarocchi cards of The Chariot, Justice and The World. The seated figure of Fame appears within a globe, the sword of Justice in one hand and the figure of love, Cupid, in the other. The car is drawn by two elephants. Fame is accompanied by a multitude of famous persons on horseback and foot including warriors, leaders, scholars, churchmen, philosophers and poets.

Time, however, inevitably overcomes Fame and the result is oblivion. Time is depicted as an aged, winged man on crutches, with two hourglasses on either side at his feet. He stands in a wagon drawn by two stags. A multitude of people accompanies him on his journey; famous people who now face the emptiness of oblivion. This triumph suggests The Hermit card.

What is renown?—a gleam of transient light,
That soon an envious cloud involves in night,

While passing Time's malignant hands diffuse
On many a noble name pernicious dews.

Thus our terrestrial glories fade away,
Our triumphs pass the pageants of a day;

Our fields exchange their lords, our kingdoms fall,
And thrones are wrapt in Hades' funeral pall,

Yet virtue seldom gains what vice had lost,
And oft the hopes of good desert are cross'd.

Not wealth alone, but mental stores decay,
And, like the gifts of Mammon, pass away;

Nor wisdom, wealth, nor fortune can withstand
His desolating march by sea and land;

Nor prayers, nor regal power his wheels restrain,
Till he has ground us down to dust again.

Collection of British Museum, London

Triumph of Time *Engraving from Florence, fifteenth century*

In the triumph of Time, the Sun, envious of Fame, accelerates its course and the passage of time surges ahead at great speed to hasten the inevitable process of oblivion.

Finally, Eternity triumphs over Time. In the Florentine engraving, a crucifix with God the Father behind and four angels surrounding is mounted on a car drawn by the four evangelists and accompanied by various saintly figures. The depiction of this triumph includes the four living creatures that symbolize the evangelists of the Bible: a winged man, a lion, an eagle and an ox. The sun and moon, shown as captives of this triumph, follow traditional iconography with the moon on Christ's left hand and shown "incorrectly," with its illuminated crescent facing away from the sun. The triumph of Eternity over Time is meant to show that the ultimate victory occurs when one places trust

in the guidance of God, because all earthly things are merely impermanent.

The time will come when every change shall cease,
This quick revolving wheel shall rest in peace:
No summer then shall glow, nor winter freeze;

Nothing shall be to come, and nothing past,
But an eternal Now shall ever last.

Though time shall be no more, yet space shall give
A nobler theatre to love and live.

The winged courier then no more shall claim
The power to sink or raise the notes of Fame,

Or give its glories to the noontide ray:
True merit then, in everlasting day,

Shall shine forever, as at first it shone
At once to God and man and angels known.

Petrarch imagines himself present at the end of the world and in this final triumph he hopes to find himself reunited with Laura through his faith in God. Petrarch rises above the sphere of earthly pain.

That soft attractive glance that won my heart
When first my bosom felt unusual smart,

Now beams, now glories, in the realms above,
Fed by the eternal source of light and love.

Then shall I see her as I first beheld,
But lovelier far, and by herself excell'd;

And I, distinguish'd in the bands above,
Shall hear this plaudit in the choirs of love:—

'Lo! this is he who sung in mournful strains
'For many years a lover's doubts and pains;

'Yet in this soul-expanding, sweet employ,
'A sacred transport felt above all vulgar joy.'

She too shall wonder at herself to hear
Her praises ring around the radiant sphere:

But of that hour it is not mine to know;
To her, perhaps, the period of my woe

Is manifest; for she my fate may find
In the pure mirror of the eternal mind.

To me it seems at hand a sure presage,
Denotes my rise from this terrestrial stage;

Then what I gain'd and lost below shall lie
Suspended in the balance of the sky,

And all our anxious sublunary cares
Shall seem one tissue of Arachne's snares;

And all the lying vanities of life,
The sordid source of envy, hate, and strife,

Ignoble as they are, shall then appear
Before the searching beam of truth severe;

The souls, from sense refined, shall see the fraud
That led them from the living way of God.

Petrarch's six triumphs and the overall imagery of the triumphal procession seem to suggest a relationship to some tarocchi trumps and they may well have served as the inspiration for the imagery on tarocchi cards as indicated.

Collection of British Museum, London

Triumph of Eternity *Engraving from Florence, fifteenth century*

Petrarch's Triumphi	Triumphs or Major Arcana
Love	The Lovers
Chastity	Temperance
Death	Death
Fame	The Chariot, Justice, The World
Time	The Hermit
Eternity	Judgment, The World

Both the tarocchi and Petrarch's work reflect the Renaissance fascination with allegorical symbolism that carried over from medieval times.

MARZIANO DA TORTONA

Marziano da Tortona was born around the year 1370. His family, the Rampini, was important and influential in Tortona during the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries. The privileges held by the Rampini family date from as early as 1380 during the reign of Giangaleazzo Visconti, lord of Milan.

From an early age, Marziano excelled in the study of art and literature. By the age of sixteen, Marziano was in Pavia where he studied for two years before entering the University of Padova and later the universities at Bologna and Florence. Marziano served with Pope Gregory XII, probably as a secretary, writing and transcribing letters. While in Rome, he took his religious orders and entered the Church where he became a cleric of the Apostolic Chamber and eventually an important figure at the cathedral in Tortona.

In June 1409, the Council of Pisa deposed Pope Gregory XII and elected the archbishop of Milan, who took the name of Alexander V. These events were probably the reason for Marziano's transfer to Lombardy. Soon thereafter Marziano

went to the Visconti court at Pavia where he was engaged in the education of the young Filippo Maria Visconti who, in 1409, was seventeen years of age. Decembrio, writing in his biography of Filippo Maria Visconti, relates that Marziano read and interpreted Dante to the young prince and utilized the vast library at Pavia.

Marziano's position as tutor changed after Filippo became duke of Milan in 1412, and the artist and scholar served as chancellor and secretary. During eleven years, from 1412 to 1423, Marziano signed at least fifty-two official deeds dated at Milan, Vigevano, Monza and Bereguardo. After 1418, Marziano was also a member of the secret council at the court.

Decembrio wrote that the duke enjoyed playing a game that used painted figures. According to Robert Steele (1900), Decembrio related that Duke Filippo paid fifteen hundred gold pieces to Marziano da Tortona for a pack of cards decorated with images of gods, emblematic animals and figures. While the description does not fit the early tarocchi cards, it does confirm the existence of playing cards.

Two additional observations are worthy of further consideration. We do not know whether the payment of fifteen hundred gold pieces was made to Marziano as an artist in payment for his work, or if Marziano was acting in his capacity as secretary in the purchase of the cards from an artist. There is no evidence that Marziano was an artist and no works have come down to us bearing his name, which in itself is not surprising since most artists at the time did not sign their works.

At the eulogy for Marziano da Tortona, the great grammarian and Latinist of the day, Barzizza, summed up the merits of Marziano by citing the deceased as a man most learned in the various arts and most gifted in poetry and eloquence, a man whose humanism made him beloved and admired by so great a prince as Duke Filippo Maria Visconti. Noticeably absent in the eulogy is any reference to Marziano as an artist.

On the basis of Visconti papers and other documents it seems that Marziano died sometime between 1423 and 1425. He was definitely deceased by February 1, 1425, since a church document of that date refers to Stefano Gentile, heir of the late Marziano Rampini. Thus, the purchase of the cards must have taken place prior to 1425.

BARTOLOMEO COLLEONI

During the nineteenth century, and probably as early as the seventeenth century, the Colleoni family of Lombardy owned the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo Tarocchi deck. The connection between the Colleoni family and the Visconti and Sforza families goes back to Bartolomeo Colleoni, one of the great Italian condottieri of the fifteenth century. Although he is principally known for his services in behalf of Venice, Colleoni also served Milan at various times under Duke Filippo Maria Visconti, the Golden Ambrosian Republic and Francesco Sforza.

Bartolomeo Colleoni was born at Solza, a small hamlet on the Adda located some six miles from Trezzo. Contrary to the usual birthdate assigned of 1400, Bartolomeo was probably born in 1395 as evidenced by a lead plate found in the vault where his body is entombed. His mother was Riccardona Valvasori Sanguini. His father, Paulo, nicknamed Puho, was a gentleman of modest means.

When Duke Giangaleazzo Visconti died in 1402, Puho took advantage of the ensuing chaos and seized the neighboring castle at Trezzo formerly owned by Bernabo Visconti. The fortress he built there boasted a three-level bridge; the upper level served honored guests, the middle deck was for servants and soldiers, and the lowest level had direct access to the dungeons.

In 1405, Puho housed four cousins who had fled Bergamo. Without cause or warning, they suddenly turned upon him. Puho was killed and his wife was thrown in the castle's dungeon. Bartolomeo was more fortunate, and he was hidden by a schoolmaster for one year. Upon his mother's release, Bartolomeo was reunited with her, but he was soon seized and held as hostage by Giorgio Benzone, tyrant of Crema. Benzone had employed Bartolomeo's brother, Antonio, and he had loaned him a little money against his pay, as was the custom. However, Antonio had died suddenly and Benzone demanded payment from the Colleoni family. Bartolomeo was finally freed through the sale of part of his mother's dowry.

At the age of fifteen, Bartolomeo was sent to serve Filippo Arcelli, lord of Piacenza, as a page. In 1412, upon the assassination of Duke Giovanni Visconti, Filippo Maria Visconti succeeded his brother to the Milanese dukedom. The new duke called upon Francesco Bussone, a young and aggressive condottiere known as Carmagnola, to help reestablish ducal authority throughout the domain.

Carmagnola seized Trezzo and drove out Bartolomeo's treacherous relatives. Carmagnola had no intention, however, of restoring the castle to the Colleoni. Carmagnola next turned his attack against Piacenza. Arcelli and his wife escaped, and Bartolomeo was forced to flee south. He joined the forces of Braccio Montone in fighting against Muzio Attendolo Sforza for the kingdom of Naples.

Instead of assigning the spirited youth to battle, Montone relegated Colleoni to the menial task of stable boy. This so humiliated Colleoni that, at the first opportunity, he crossed sides and offered his services to Jacopo Caldora, the Neapolitan baron serving under Sforza. Caldora was impressed with the tall, young soldier and placed him in charge of a small force of lances which soon met with success on the battlefield.

Colleoni stayed with Caldora for several years and distinguished himself on many occasions, especially in the battle at Aquila where he helped defeat Braccio. At the same battle he met Francesco Sforza for the first time.

In the spring of 1428, the towns of Brescia and Bergamo were yielded to the Venetians by Duke Filippo Visconti. At that time Colleoni entered the service of Venice. Colleoni served with distinction in several battles against the Milanese, and his performance brought him praise and recognition.

When peace was made between Florence and Venice and Milan in April 1433, Bergamo confirmed its fidelity to Venice. Shortly thereafter, Colleoni acquired his home in Bergamo and the building still stands on what is now Via Bartolomeo Colleoni. Sometime in the same year, Colleoni married Tisbe, daughter of Taddeo Martinengo, a condottiere of a noble Brescian family.

Throughout the wars between Milan and Venice, which lasted until 1440, Colleoni remained in the service of Venice. Francesco Sforza also served Venice against his future father-in-law, Filippo Maria Visconti. Thus Bartolomeo Colleoni, whose descendants would possess the illuminated Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo Visconti-Sforza Tarocchi deck, fought side by side with the Sforza heir and future duke whose family served as patrons of the deck.

The doge of Venice, Francesco Foscari, heaped great praise upon Colleoni for his many military accomplishments in behalf of Venice. Colleoni was declared the principal condottiere of the Republic and was granted a

group of small castles—Romano, Antegnate and Covo—all confiscated from the rebel count of Covo.

In 1441, the wedding of Francesco Sforza and Bianca Maria Visconti took place and the marriage brought Sforza into the Milanese dominion. Gattamelata, the condottiere with whom Colleoni had previously served, became seriously ill and was forced to retire to Padua. Colleoni thus appeared to have a free rein in his negotiations with the leaders of Venice and he prepared to renew his condottiere contract by seeking a cavalry of 800 mounted soldiers and 200 infantry. However, the lessening conflict between Venice and its antagonists prompted the Venetian Republic to reduce its armed forces. As further cause for annoyance to Colleoni, payment for himself and his troops was overdue.

Venice countered with some meager proposals that Colleoni found unacceptable and, after much consideration, he decided to follow Francesco Sforza into the Milanese camp. In the summer of 1443, Colleoni joined the duke of Milan, after being accorded much honor by Filippo Maria. He was given the castle of Adorno, a generous gift from his former enemy, and his wife was showered with jewels and gifts. Upon hearing the news, the Venetians were shocked and declared Colleoni a traitor and rebel.

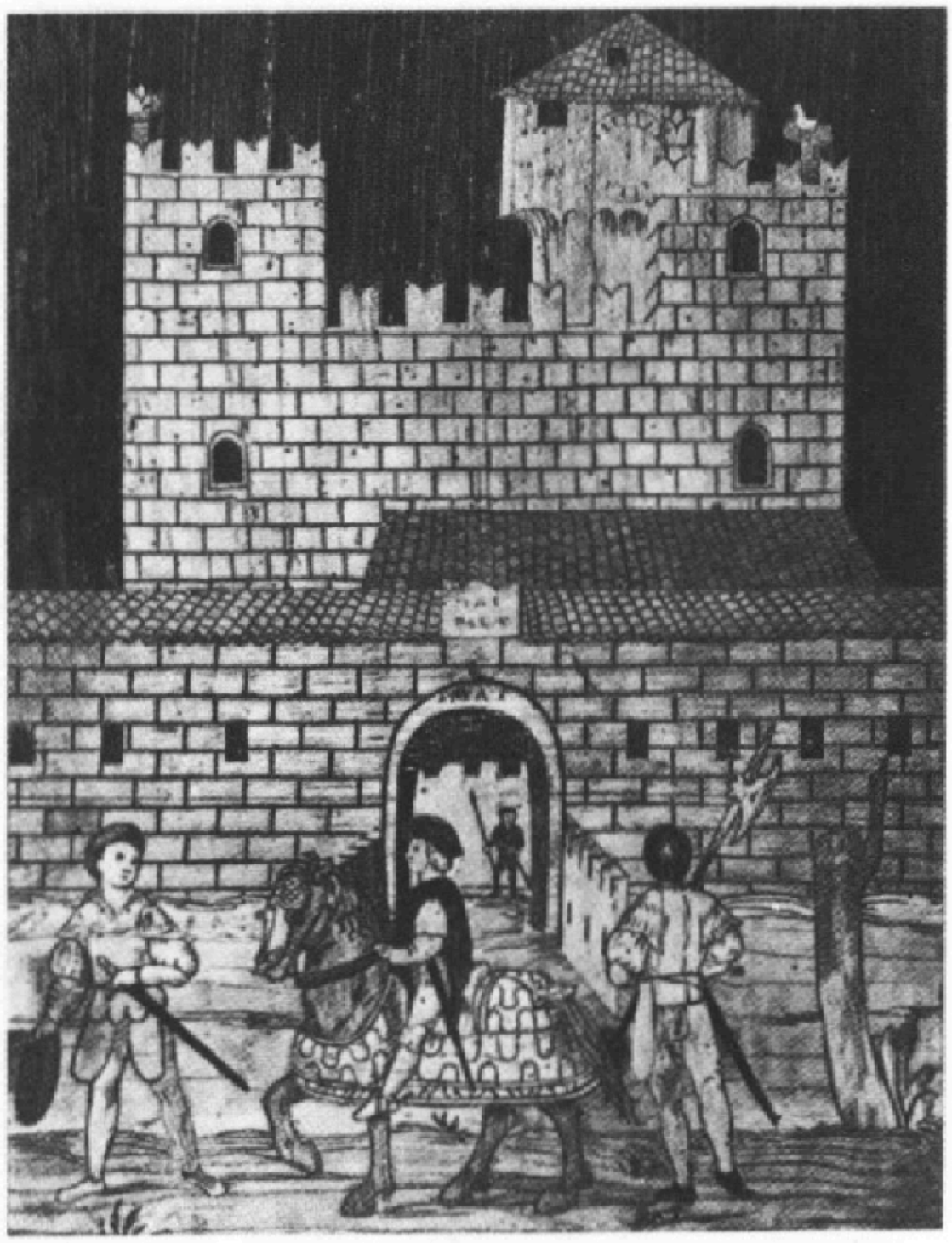
In 1445, when Duke Filippo Visconti and his son-in-law, Francesco Sforza, again experienced one of their frequent fallings-out, the duke ordered Colleoni to attack and recover Cremona, the dowry town granted to Sforza. However, persistent rivalry between Colleoni and Piccinino cast suspicion upon Colleoni, and before he could set out for Cremona, he was arrested by order of the duke and thrown into the dungeons at Monza. Colleoni's wife and daughter were removed from Adorno and taken to Pavia.

Eleven months later, in August 1447, when Duke Filippo died and the Golden Ambrosian Republic came into existence, Colleoni was still in prison. The following month, driven to desperation, Colleoni resolved to escape. Feigning illness, he made a rope from bandages and fled the dungeons. His escape was immediately discovered, but townspeople swarmed into the streets at the alarm and during the resultant confusion Colleoni was able to flee on horseback.

Colleoni galloped to Landriano where he was greeted by his troops with frenzied demonstrations of joy. His wife and daughter were still at Pavia, now held by Sforza. Colleoni was soon reunited with his family.

When Francesco Sforza agreed in 1447 to join the Ambrosian Republic as captain-general, Colleoni decided to serve with him. As captain for the Ambrosian Republic, Colleoni skillfully led his troops to a victory over the army of the duke of Orleans led by Rinaldo Dresnay. While Sforza attacked and won the city of Piacenza from the Venetians, Colleoni seized the town of Tortona and made himself its lord and ruler. Despite Colleoni's success on the battlefield in behalf of the Ambrosian Republic, he remained unpaid by its leaders. A favorable contract offer from Venice lured Colleoni back to the Venetian side.

Sforza crushed the Venetian fleet near Lodi and, in the same year, 1448, he won the battle of Caravaggio. The leaders of the Ambrosian Republic grew fearful of Sforza's many successes and rising popularity and they sought to undermine his siege of Brescia. Sforza learned of the treachery and was furious. At the same time, Venice, refusing to deal directly with the Ambrosian Republic, contacted Sforza directly with peace overtures. Sforza quit the Ambrosian Republic's camp in October 1448 and joined Venice. Thus, Colleoni and Sforza again found themselves as comrades in arms.



Collection of S. Bartolomeo, Bergamo

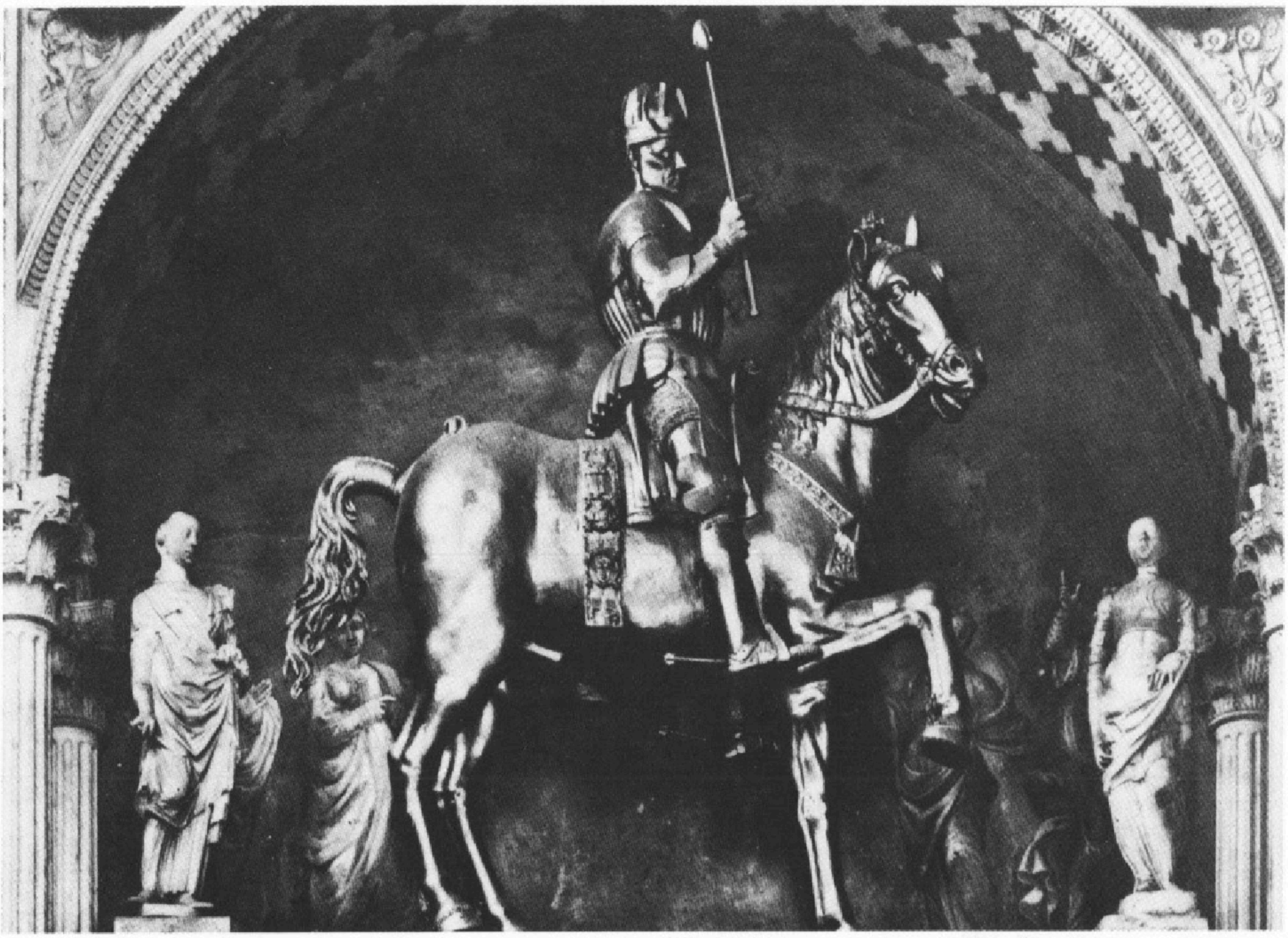
The Colleoni Family Home at Malpaga *Bartolomeo Colleoni purchased the castle in 1456, and it remains in the possession of the Colleoni family today.*

In the following year, while Sforza was busy besieging Vigevano, Colleoni was sent to repulse a large French force who sought to advance French claims to the ducal crown of Milan. Colleoni met the French in April 1449 and three weeks later completely routed them. Sforza gave Colleoni a triumphal welcome in appreciation of his battlefield victories.

The Ambrosian Republic realized the threat to its existence from the popular Francesco Sforza. The Venetians also were concerned that Sforza was now a powerful condottiere who threatened their own territorial interests. Thus, Venice and the Ambrosian Republic conspired with each other and signed a peace treaty that required Sforza to divide his territorial holdings with the Ambrosian Republic. This blow to Sforza's plans left him without Venetian support. Colleoni, still under contract to the Venetians, was ordered to drive his troops toward Milan to relieve Sforza's siege of the famine-stricken city.

Colleoni embarked upon the difficult campaign, but despite a successful advance, Sforza's stronghold on Milan proved impregnable and the city capitulated to Sforza on February 26, 1450.

During the following year Colleoni remained almost inactive while his soldiers plundered the regions of Verona and Treviglio. Meantime, the Venetian Republic had to appoint a new captain-general and, instead of selecting Colleoni, they turned to Gentile Leonessa. Colleoni, extremely displeased, resigned from Venetian service. The Republic immediately ordered him arrested, but he fled during the night and safely reached Mantua where the marquis, Lodovico Gonzaga, offered him hospitality.



Collection of Colleoni Chapel, Bergamo

Bartolomeo Colleoni *The sculpture on the great condottiere's tomb shows Colleoni astride a horse, with the Venetian baton of command in his hand.*

Colleoni's properties were confiscated and, once again, he was separated from his wife and daughter who were imprisoned.

Francesco Sforza, when he learned of Colleoni's plight, offered Colleoni a cavalry of 2,000 horses, 500 infantry, a large stipend, and the right to use the rich armorial standard with the Sforza arms. Colleoni accepted and, over the next two years, fought successfully against Venice. Bergamo, which remained loyal to Venice, was spared, since Colleoni could not bring himself to attack the town he had chosen to make his home.

In 1453, Venice effected a prisoner exchange that resulted in the release of Colleoni's wife and daughter and they were reunited with Bartolomeo in 1454. Gentile Leonessa, captain-general of Venetian forces, died and Colleoni's interest in rejoining Venice was heightened. Additionally, Sforza became piqued at Colleoni's refusal to attack Bergamo. When Colleoni's contract as condottiere came up for renewal, he asked Sforza for permission to leave. Colleoni's consideration was an unusual show of loyalty, as most condottieri did not hesitate to change sides during the terms of their contract if a better offer was made.

In April 1454, Milan and Venice signed the Peace of Lodi which put an end to struggle between the two great forces for about twenty years. Colleoni was free to make his own peace with the Venetians and on March 10, 1455, his career reached its climax when he was appointed captain-general of all Venetian forces with an annual stipend of one hundred thousand florins. It was the fulfillment of Bartolomeo's fondest dream. A few weeks later, at a parade in the piazza at Brescia, Colleoni was solemnly presented with his baton and, at the same time, he was reinstated with the feudal estates of his family. Francesco Sforza wryly remarked of the occasion that Colleoni had let himself be defeated by a large number of ducats, to which Colleoni wittily replied that if he was defeated by a number of *ducati* then Sforza had been defeated by a single *ducato* (the dukedom of Milan).

The following year, 1456, Colleoni purchased from the Venetian dominion the thirteenth-century castle at Malpaga for 100 gold ducats. The castle, situated on the banks of the Serio, was in poor condition. Colleoni devoted the next several years to refurbishing and enlarging the castle, improving the lands and providing irrigation canals. The castle at Malpaga was Colleoni's favorite home for the rest of his life and it is still in possession of the Colleoni family today.

In 1457, Colleoni's services were renewed for three years, "plus two extra." Colleoni set out in 1458 for Venice, followed by an immense retinue of condottieri, squadron leaders, knights, soldiers in bright garments, two hundred horses mounted by gentlemen, and many of the leading citizens of Bergamo, Brescia and other cities. Upon arriving at Venice he was greeted by more than a thousand barges with resounding trumpets and festive noise. The entire city was crowded by people for the occasion. At a ceremony in the Cathedral of San Marco, kneeling before the main altar,

Colleoni humbly accepted the staff of command from the hands of the doge Malipiero as a special commendation for outstanding military valor in the service of Venice.

In 1461, the pope sought Colleoni as captain of papal forces, but Venice disapproved. When Pope Paul II sought to lead a crusade against the Turks he called upon Colleoni, but again Venice preferred that Colleoni remain within its territory. Twice King Louis XI of France offered him a command and his services were sought by Charles the Bold of Burgundy. Always Colleoni preferred to remain with Venice. Even during the term of his contract, Colleoni lived the life of a country gentleman of important stature and wealth.

Besides being a master of military operations, Colleoni was gallant and magnificent in his concern for others, and he willingly employed part of his riches in public works and charities. His numerous local projects included restoration of the old canal leading from the Serio and the construction of a new canal that benefited numerous sawmills, corn mills and winepresses along its banks. He restored the ancient sulphur and mud baths used for cures at Trescorre and sponsored the care of patients by Benedictine nuns. Colleoni was admired and respected for kindness and benevolence. He and his wife had only daughters, no sons, and one of his noble gestures was to create the foundation, Luogo Pio della Pieta, to provide dowries and aid to poor, young women about to marry. The organization exists to this day.

In 1462, Colleoni renewed his contract with Venice for two years. When the period was up, Colleoni desired to remain free in case Francesco Sforza died and the Milanese dukedom became available, but Venice prevailed upon him to enter into a further two-year contract. In the same year Colleoni purchased the Solza castle that once belonged to his father.

In March 1466, Duke Francesco Sforza died and was succeeded by his son, Galeazzo Maria Sforza. Whether Colleoni or Venice nurtured any desire to attack the new duke or take advantage of the change in rule remains unknown. Venice remained neutral and Colleoni continued as captain-general of its forces while remaining at Malpaga surrounded by family, friends and old comrades.

The following year, Colleoni was drawn into the war of Romagna, in which Venice, the papacy and the duke of Savoy were pitted against Florence, Milan and Naples. After

Photograph collection of the author

Bartolomeo Colleoni *Equestrian statue by Andrea del Verrocchi, commissioned around 1479, located in Venice*

several skirmishes and one major encounter, a truce was signed, with no real consequences to either side.

After the truce, Galeazzo expressed the desire to see Colleoni and a meeting was arranged between the famous condottiere and the fifth duke of Milan. However, the mutual admiration and friendship once felt between Colleoni and Francesco Sforza did not exist between Colleoni and the new duke.

Colleoni returned to Malpaga where he attracted many scholars, philosophers, literati and astrologers with whom he delighted to converse. In 1470, personal tragedy struck Colleoni with the death of his daughter Medea, who was immortalized by the beautiful white marble sepulcher built by Giovanni Antonio Amadeo, a young Lombardy sculptor. The following year Colleoni's devoted wife, Tisbe, died. Colleoni was further troubled by a plot, allegedly prompted by Duke Galeazzo Sforza, against his life. The conspirators were discovered and put to death. Venice renewed Colleoni's contract as condottiere despite his advancing years.

In 1472, work was begun on the Colleoni chapel, built at the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore in Bergamo. During March 1474, King Christian of Denmark, traveling back from Rome, visited Malpaga as Colleoni's guest. The festivities were recorded a generation later by Romanino's frescoes in the hall on the ground floor.

In August 1474, Colleoni became ill. He vowed to go to Loreto on horseback to thank the Madonna if she healed him and, after a slow recovery, in January and February of 1475, he made the arduous trip which further weakened him.

Colleoni dispatched to Venice a squadron of eight trusted men and they met with the doge. The leader of the group pulled from under his cloak Colleoni's staff of command, presented to Colleoni in 1458 in the Cathedral of San Marco, and explained that Colleoni wanted to return the staff intact just as it was first consigned to him, as Colleoni could no longer be commander of Venetian troops. The doge, in a generous and grateful act, insisted that the staff of command be returned to Colleoni so that he might keep it for life.

In October Colleoni became ill again. He felt the end was near and he prepared his last will and testament. When the Venetian captain visited Malpaga, Colleoni admonished him to "Tell Venice never to give another general as much power as it has granted me these past twenty years. I could have done much harm with it."

Colleoni added a codicil to his will, bequeathing to the Venetian Republic one hundred thousand gold ducats. He also canceled the arrears of any pay due him, and he requested that the senate erect a statue in his memory to stand on San Marco Square for which he bequeathed ten thousand ducats. Those who had served him faithfully were rewarded with sumptuous bequests and he assigned an entire year's grain harvest to the poor who lived in his lands.

Bartolomeo Colleoni died in his room at Malpaga at dawn on the morning of November 3, 1475. The following night he was carried to Bergamo on a carriage draped in black cloth and drawn by two black horses. His coffin was deposited in Santa Maria Maggiore and in January 1476, after the Colleoni chapel was finished, he was buried wearing a dark red jacket and holding the baton of command.

The leaders of Venice arranged for the monument to Colleoni that is today considered one of the finest examples of equestrian sculpture. The bold figure of Bartolomeo Colleoni astride his horse, sculpted by Andrea del Verrocchio, rests in the quieter setting of Santi Giovanni e Paolo.

Although Venice willingly used the funds from Colleoni's bequest for the monument in his honor, they also passed a decree for political reasons restoring to the Republic many lands given Colleoni in absolute ownership and they seized an additional 90,000 ducats from his estate.

Colleoni and his wife, Tisbe, had several children, but only one, Catterina, survived her father. Catterina married Gaspare Martinengo, a condottiere in the service of his father-in-law. Colleoni had several illegitimate children. Orsina married Jacopo (Marco?) Martinengo, a condottiere who also fought under his father-in-law. Their two children, Alessandro and Estore Martinengo, survived as the counts of Malpaga. Isotta married Gherardo (Jacopo?) Martinengo who also followed his father-in-law as a condottiere. Cassandra is said to have founded and endowed the monastery of the monks of Corpus Domini in Correggio where, as a widow, she led a saintly life until her death in 1519 at the age of 60. Two additional daughters were Doratina and Riccardona.

The important association between Bartolomeo Colleoni and dukes Filippo Visconti and Francesco Sforza probably played a part in the eventual ownership by descendants of the Colleoni family of the seventy-four-card Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo Visconti-Sforza Tarocchi pack. The Colleoni family apparently came into possession of the tarocchi cards sometime in the seventeenth century and it can be seen from the history of the family that the hand-illuminated cards were a treasured momento of glorious past times.

ISABELLA D'ESTE

The court of Francesco Gonzaga and Isabella d'Este at Mantua was one of the most prominent and glorious during the Italian Renaissance. Isabella d'Este was a remarkable woman. She received a classical education and grew up in an atmosphere of culture and refinement.

Collection of Musée du Louvre, Paris

Isabella d'Este *Sketch by Leonardo da Vinci*

The young marquis of Mantua, Francesco Gonzaga, married Isabella d'Este on February 15, 1490, and the wedding was celebrated in Mantua. In January 1491 Beatrice d'Este, Isabella's younger sister, married Duke Lodovico "Il Moro" Sforza of Milan, and the relationship between the courts of Milan and Mantua became very close. Duke Lodovico Sforza is known to have relied upon Isabella's judgment and advice. Although Isabella's brother, Ippolito, was a cardinal of the Church, he enjoyed playing with tarocchi cards, as shown in a letter he sent to his mother in 1492 acknowledging receipt of tarocchi cards.

Isabella also maintained a close relationship with the reigning families of Naples, Ferrara and Urbino, as well as with the papacy and with the monarchs of neighboring countries. Perhaps above all else she is best remembered as a patron of arts and letters. She commissioned some of the most brilliant artists of the time and bought rare statues and antiques. Her library was well regarded by scholars and literati. The portrait of Isabella d'Este by Titian is one of the masterpieces of the Renaissance.

The death of Isabella in 1539 ended the magnificent court at Mantua. Some of her art treasures were sold by descendants and the remaining objects of art in her palaces and villas were destroyed by marauding German and French forces in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, respectively.

"Countess Gonzaga" is chronicled as one of the former owners of the Cary-Yale Visconti Tarocchi deck. Presumably the reference is to a descendant of Isabella and Francesco, possibly as recent as the nineteenth century. We can only conjecture that "Countess Gonzaga" considered the hand-illuminated Cary-Yale Tarocchi cards a precious reminder of the noble and illustrious Renaissance courts.

An early version of tarocchi cards, known as the d'Este tarocchi cards, is shown in Volume I of *The Encyclopedia of Tarot.* The incomplete pack has gold backgrounds framed in silver. The sixteen extant cards comprise eight trumps—The Fool, The Magician, The Emperor, Temperance, The Star, The Moon, The Sun and The World—and eight court cards—king, queen and knight of swords; king, knight and page of staves; queen of cups; and king of coins. The d'Este cards measure 140 by 78 millimeters, and are considerably smaller than the cards of the Visconti and Visconti-Sforza tarocchi decks. The so-called d'Este cards may have belonged to Isabella d'Este, her younger sister, Beatrice, or their brother Ippolito.

Collection of Museum of Vienna, Vienna

Isabella d'Este *Portrait by Titian*

VIII

EARLY SYMBOLISM OF THE MAJOR ARCANA

THE MEANING OF THE IMAGERY on early tarocchi cards has been discussed by tarot researchers and occultists for centuries. Some believe that the Major Arcana cards are an interconnected story about life. Other historians believe the hand-painted fifteenth-century cards represent identifiable people, places and events of the Italian Renaissance.

Some firmly state that the occult was not associated with the tarot until the attributions in *Le Monde Primitif,* written by Court de Gebelin in the eighteenth century. These researchers hold that the cards were first created only for playing games. On the other side are the followers of Court de Gebelin, who claim that the tarot constitutes the Book of Thoth, supposedly written by the ancient Egyptians as the synthesis of all human knowledge.

A. E. Waite, a major occultist of the twentieth century, did not feel the need to give the tarot an Egyptian pedigree, but rather considered the tarot a universal system that could not be attributed to one society. He emphasized that the tarot was a tool to be used for gaining insight. Waite acknowledged that tarot cards could only be traced back to the fourteenth century, "when the first rumors were heard concerning the cards."

Since no record exists as to the identity of any figure or scene found on the early cards, it is not surprising that tarot devotees have researched many unusual areas for an explanation of the symbolism.

Peter McDonald, a schoolteacher from Washington state, has studied the tarot from both occult and iconographic points of view and is the author of an unpublished manuscript, "The Trees of Eternity." He believes that the tarot was created, not haphazardly, but with specific meanings that are often hidden, yet become apparent through careful study.

Dr. R. V. O'Neill, a research scientist at the National Laboratory at Oak Ridge, researches tarot in the light of Renaissance philosophy, particularly the heretic, occult and Neoplatonic ideas of the time. O'Neill is the author of *Tarot Symbolism* (1985).

George Wald, a professor of biology at Harvard University and corecipient of the 1967 Nobel prize in physiology for his research on the human eye, has long been fascinated by the symbolism of the Major Arcana cards of the tarot, especially The Tower and The World cards.

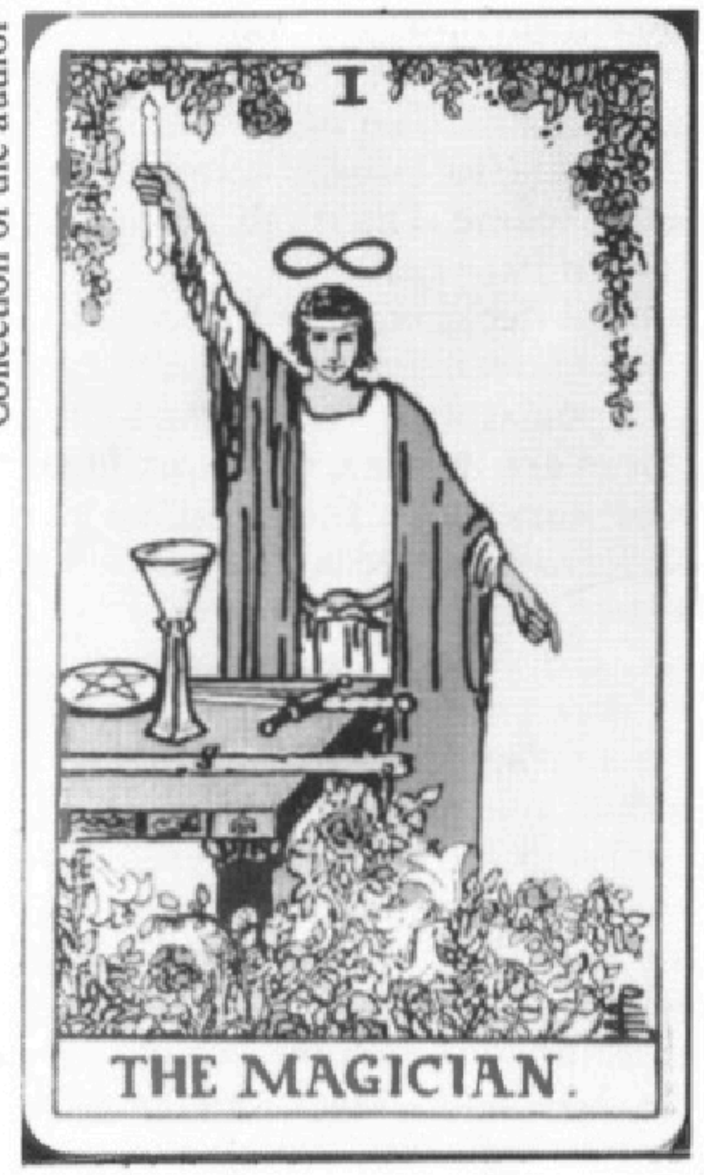
It is useful to research art history when studying the images of the tarot. *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art,* by James Hall, is a very useful guide to symbolism in art. Other books on symbolism, legends and mythology can be helpful. These include *Dictionary of Symbols and Imagery,* by Ad de Vries, *Dictionary of Mythology, Folklore and Symbols,* by Gertrude Jobes, and *A Dictionary of Symbols,* by J.E. Cirlot.

Much of today's interpretation of the tarot is based on the 1781 work by Antoine Court de Gebelin, *Le Monde Primitif,* and subsequent works that focus on "esoteric" or occult meanings of the cards. However, a great deal of the symbolism now found in popular tarot packs is generally not seen in decks made before the end of the eighteenth century. For example, The Popess of the fifteenth century does not wear the horned headdress that is an essential attribute of Isis, the Egyptian goddess who is linked to the card in its present form of The High Priestess. The earliest extant decks seem to rest on the Christian symbolism fostered by the Church and by artists who, consciously or unconsciously, also incorporated pagan imagery.

Because cardmakers in different regions made different packs, the evolution of the tarot cannot be strictly defined and placed in chronological sequence. Many regressions and adaptations occurred. Another difficulty occurs in the scarcity of decks from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Despite tens or possibly hundreds of thousands of tarot decks made in France during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, only a handful survive today.

In the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, the Tarot of Marseilles started to evolve. Some of the cards remained fairly consistent, while others developed several versions before their iconography was established in the eighteenth century. Variations occurred due to historical circumstances; for example, The Empress and The Emperor were changed to Grandmother and Grandfather, respectively, during the French Revolution. The Tarot of Marseilles is the model for most tarot decks in use today. The most popular deck in current use, the Rider-Waite Tarot, is an occult pack with involved symbolism, yet it draws its Major Arcana imagery mainly from the Tarot of Marseilles.

Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York



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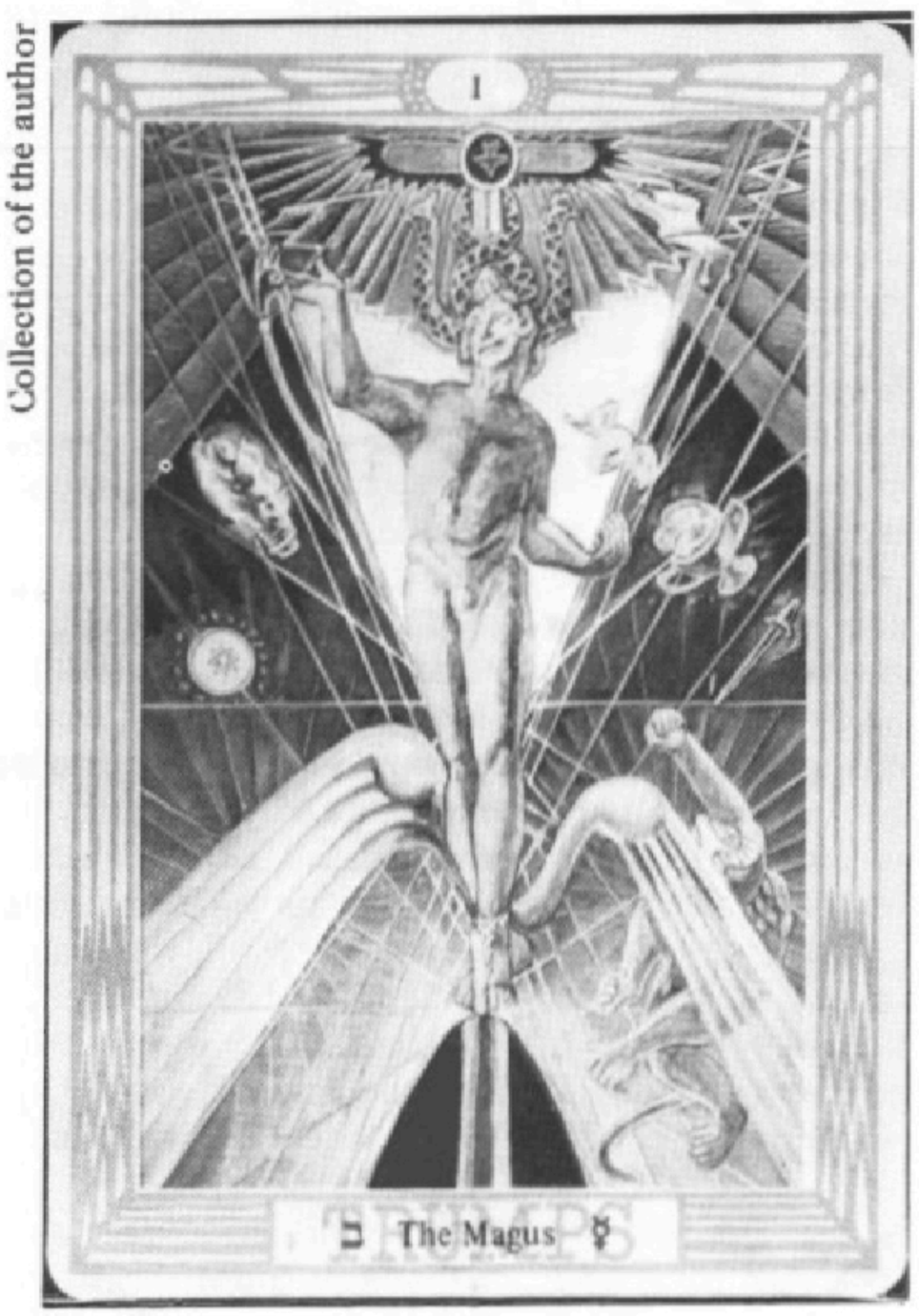


Collection of the author

Cary Collection of Playing Cards, The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut

Aleister Crowley Collection, Humanities Research Center, University of Texas, Austin, Texas

Who is The Magician? *Counterclockwise from top left: In the Visconti-Sforza Tarocchi deck, circa 1450, he resembles a sleight-of-hand artist or perhaps a merchant measuring his gains. Jean Payen's 1713 Tarot of Marseilles deck shows* Le Bateleur, *"the juggler," holding a wand aloft and awing the crowds with his "magic." Oswald Wirth's* Bateleur, *probably made in 1889, is nearly identical in his pose to Payen's figure, but he now has a deeper intention: to unveil the secrets of the universe. Aleister Crowley, in his Book of Thoth Tarot, elevated* Le Bateleur *to The Magus. The artist of the deck, Lady Frieda Harris, captured all the joy of a clown, a carnival juggler, while portraying a fully divine figure with the mystical powers of the pagan gods Mercury and Thoth. The Magician in the Rider-Waite Tarot, drawn by Pamela Colman Smith under the direction of Arthur Edward Waite, is the master of the tarot. He holds a wand up high and the other symbols of the tarot—sword, cup and coin—are on his table. The lemniscate appears above his head.*

With the influx of occultism into the realm of tarot in the nineteenth century, different symbols began to appear on the cards. The objects on the table of *Le Bateleur* were transformed from trinkets to sword, wand, cup and pentacle. The Popess became The High Priestess and gained a crescent moon on her tiara.

The symbolism in tarot decks can be divided into four groups. The first group appears on the fifteenth-century hand-painted cards, particularly the Visconti and Visconti-Sforza cards. Next, there are the images on the fifteenth- through nineteenth-century cards that lead up to and include the Tarot of Marseilles decks and other similar types, such as the Belgian and Swiss tarots.

The third classification marks the time during which the tarot started adapting occult symbolism, as set forth by the authors Court de Gebelin, Papus, Etteilla and Eliphas Levi, while retaining essentially medieval imagery.

The fourth group presents the symbolism used in many decks based on the occult, including the deck designed by A. E. Waite called the Rider-Waite Tarot, and the deck by Aleister Crowley known as the Book of Thoth Tarot. Both these decks were greatly influenced by the occult fraternity known as the Order of the Golden Dawn, and the medieval imagery of the tarot was radically altered, especially in Crowley's deck, to use images drawn from sources as diverse as Celtic and Egyptian mythology.

One of the puzzling aspects of the Visconti and Visconti-Sforza decks is that they stand in a class by themselves; many of the cards provide no link to subsequent decks. If the Visconti packs were the original decks of tarot cards—the first decks made—then the question arises as to why the images were changed in subsequent decks. Dr. O'Neill suggests that the hand-painted decks owned by the Milanese ducal families were actually based on pre-existing decks from which many of the original symbols were "expurgated." The popular tarot deck used by the local citizenry, O'Neill believes, was the true original deck, and resurfaced later as the Tarot of Marseilles.

The fact that the fifteenth-century hand-painted decks are the oldest *extant* decks, O'Neill feels, does not necessarily mean they are the original decks. They were preserved as works of art, while popular decks, probably cheap woodblock prints, would have been discarded after becoming worn or if lacking one or more cards. The dearth of cards from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries indicates that such everyday items were unfortunately not considered worthy of keeping. O'Neill, who considers the tarot an illustration of Neoplatonism and the mystical heresies that touched Northern Italy during the fifteenth century, proposes that the ducal family wanted a game that was amusing, and not too mystical. Says O'Neill:

> The tarot deck was developed by Renaissance magi and had a serious purpose, even though hidden in the form of a game. It was a hierarchical view of reality, based on Platonic concepts synthesized with a variety of Gnostic and mystical ideas. As such, the tarot was another manifestation of the symbolic systems developed during the Renaissance. The artist who developed the Visconti and Visconti-Sforza decks had in mind the production of a game only. He carefully expurgated those elements of the symbolic system which might be offensive to the royal patrons. Cheap decks made for the mass market may have reflected the philosophies of the Renaissance intellectuals.

Some examples O'Neill gives of the "expurgations" are the transformation of *Le Misero* of the Tarocchi of Mantegna to the figure of Lent—the Fool with feathers protruding from his hair—avoiding the theme of poverty, which would clash with the splendor of the court. The Chariot, O'Neill believes, was changed from the triumph of Mars to the triumph of Chastity to evade the connotation that the royal family based its power on war rather than on peaceful diplomacy. The Devil and the Tower, symbolizing "the dark night of the soul," were simply omitted. The World as the creative force was replaced with two "delightful little cherubs" upholding an "earthly paradise." Additionally, in the Cary-Yale Tarocchi deck, a woman presides over a world that perhaps idealizes the status quo that the aristocracy wished to maintain.

The Visconti and Visconti-Sforza tarocchi decks also contain heraldic devices, which are best considered apart from the general symbolism of the cards. The heraldic devices found on the Visconti and Visconti-Sforza cards are discussed in Chapter III.

The Goldschmidt cards have exceptional images that hardly fit in with those of other tarots. It is possible that the cards were intended for religious or other instruction. One card shows a hunter with hawk and dog. In the background is a spiked wheel, symbol of the martyrdom of Saint Catherine of Alexandria. Another card, which shows a bishop with an anchor, probably represents Saint Nicholas of Myra, the patron saint of sailors. A skull stabbed with a dagger may symbolize the martyr Saint Thomas Becket (1118–1170), archbishop of Canterbury. The woman holding the city may be Saint Cunegunda (ca 1033). Cunegunda was the wife of Henry II, king of Germany and Holy Roman Emperor. In an ordeal to prove that she was innocent of marital infidelity, she walked unharmed over red-hot plowshares. Sometimes she is shown standing on a plowshare, and she often holds a model of the Bamberg Cathedral, which she and her husband founded. Alternately, the woman holding the model could be Elizabeth (1207–1231), the princess of Hungary whose charity was venerated. She is sometimes shown holding a model of the town of Marburg, where she died. The fountain encircled by the snake biting its tail is a symbol of eternity. The meanings of the other cards are obscure.

This chapter describes the symbolism on the hand-painted tarocchi cards, and on the Tarot of Marseilles decks and similar types. Not included in this analysis are tarock decks, which have no general pattern of symbolism, and decks limited in popularity to a particular region, thus having no great influence on the development of tarot in general. Several tarot decks, while significant in themselves, provide few links with previous or subsequent decks and are not included in the analysis; these decks include the Catelin Geofroy deck, the Parisian Tarot of the seventeenth century, and a few of the Gumppenberg decks such as the Neoclassical pack. The Tarocchi of Mantegna deck is not a standard tarocchi pack, but it gives important clues to the Renaissance iconography of certain cards.

THE RENAISSANCE AND TAROT

The earliest extant tarot cards date from the fifteenth century and were made in Northern Italy. Cocai's remarkable poem (1527) describes fortune-telling with tarocchi cards, but probably the primary use of tarocchi cards in the fifteenth century was for card games. It would be risky to suggest that fifteenth-century tarocchi cards were used by initiates in occult lodges, but in discarding all occult

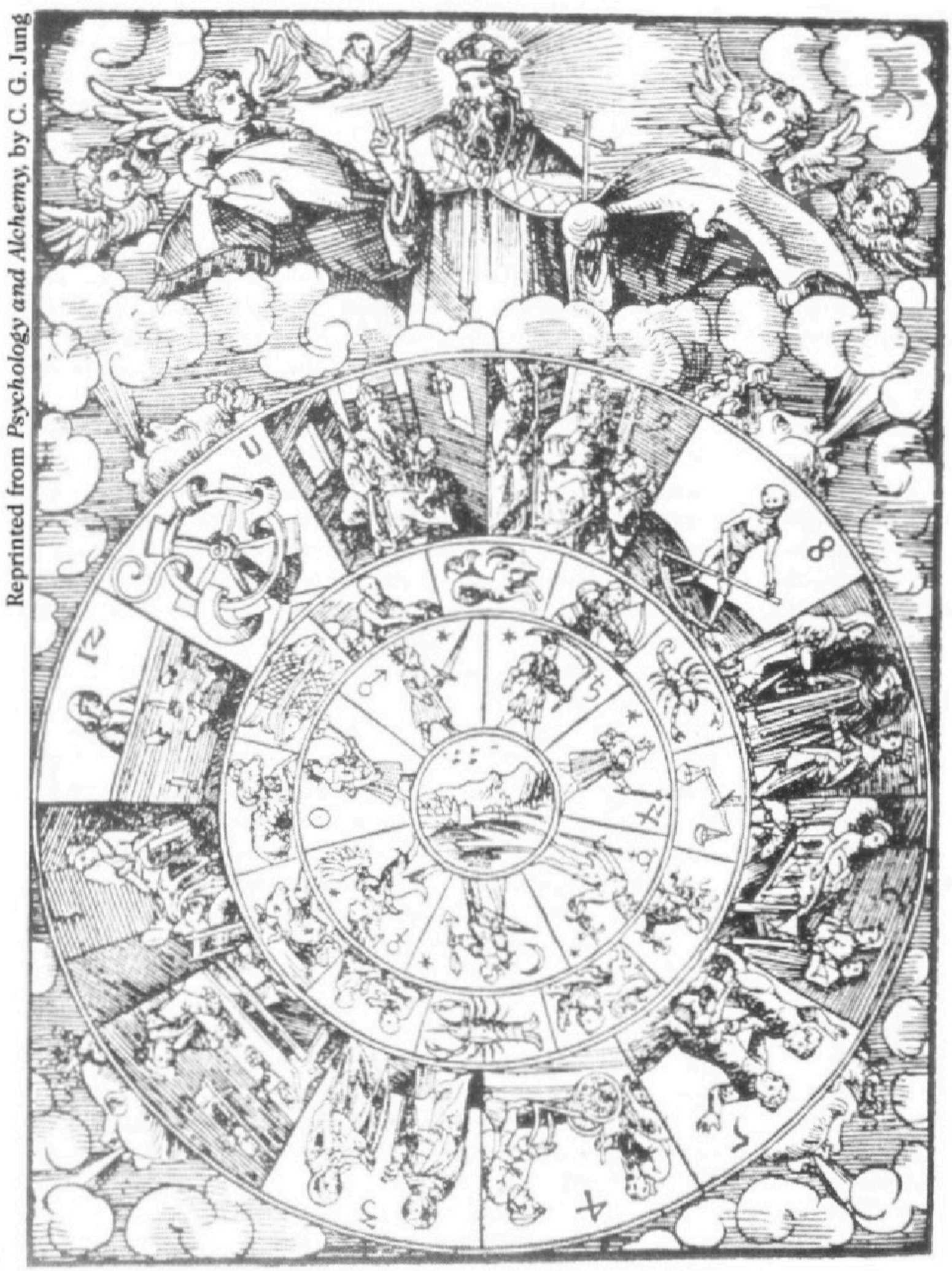
associations one may overlook the richness of the symbols. Much of what is now considered occult was assumed to be part of life by medieval and Renaissance Europeans. In this sense, the occult could be considered the "unseen," or the supernatural in general.

Popular art reflected the presence of occult motifs in everyday life. O'Neill describes a 1515 astrological work by Erhard Schoen that bears a remarkable resemblance to the tarot.

> In 1515, Erhard Schoen made a woodcut for the nativity calendar of Leonhard Reymann. The calendar is in the form of a wheel, and on the outmost ring the twelve houses of the zodiac are depicted. The resemblance between the houses of the zodiac and several cards of the tarot indicate that the calendar may have been modeled after extant tarot decks, or vice versa. The second house shows a miser sitting at his table and counting money. The image resembles the early Magician cards. The fourth house shows a hunchbacked monk with a cane, resembling the Hermit. The fifth shows two children at play, as on The Sun. The seventh house depicts a man standing between a man and a woman, the image of The Lovers in some tarot decks. The eighth shows the skeleton of Death with its sickle. The ninth is the Pope with two attendants. The tenth is the Emperor with scepter and orb, and the eleventh is the Wheel of Fortune. The resemblances between the calendar and the tarot are too great to be attributed to chance. The symbolic system demonstrates that the images of the tarot were held in common by the artists of the day, and were used in different contexts. Also, the calendar proves a correlation between tarot and astrology.

Additionally, the twelfth house shows a man in stocks, a form of punishment that could be linked with the twelfth card of the tarot, The Hanged Man. The picture as a whole resembles The World, with a figure reigning over the circle and four beings in the corners.

Areas of study now labeled by some as "pseudosciences" were held in high regard by Renaissance scholars. Astrologers often held a high place in Renaissance courts. Alchemy was also practiced and, until the intrusion of charlatans, was considered a respectable pursuit. Alchemy is known as the forerunner of the science of modern chemistry, as



Reprinted from *Psychology and Alchemy*, by C. G. Jung

Nativity Calendar, 1515 *The German cardmaker Erhard Schoen made a nativity calendar for Leonhard Reymann. The inmost ring of the calendar, surrounding a picture of mountains, shows personifications of the seven planets then known to humanity. The next ring is the constellations of the zodiac, with its symbolic animals and personages. The outmost ring, showing the twelve houses of the zodiac, has pictures that often bear remarkable resemblances to the Major Arcana of the tarot.*

astrology is mother to astronomy. The mundane motive of the alchemist was to discover the philosopher's stone, which would transmute base metals to gold and prolong life indefinitely. On a deeper level, the alchemist was a scholar and philosopher, seeking knowledge in the physical universe in order to discover the secrets of higher orders. In this sense, alchemy was linked to magic, the use of ritual and formulas in order to gain control over the natural world.

Although alchemists and astrologers were not generally persecuted by the Church, practicing magic was a dangerous craft. A person who prescribed love potions or who cured mysterious ailments with herbs ran the risk of being accused of sorcery. The fear of spirits and the supernatural was fairly universal. Several Visconti—Matteo the Great and his sons and Valentina Visconti—were accused of sorcery. Although the accusations were probably fabricated for political reasons, the fact that they had unpleasant consequences for the accused indicates that magic was taken seriously by the authorities and the citizens.

The authors of *Holy Blood, Holy Grail* (1982) link the tarot and Francesco Sforza to René of Anjou and the occult. Supposedly, in 1448, René created a secret society known as the Order of the Crescent. Unfortunately, the claim is not substantiated and the further contention that Anjou might have created the tarot is merely conjecture. It seems doubtful that René of Anjou and Francesco Sforza had an "intimate friendship," as the authors claim, for René's behavior in Milan and its environs was offensive to both Sforza and his wife.

One of the distinguishing aspects of the Renaissance was the great variety of accomplishments in art and scholarship. The influx of ancient Greek, Roman and Hebrew manuscripts opened a whole new area of thought, and a spirit of exploration enlivened the arts, the sciences and philosophy. Furthermore, the Renaissance was not a time of the specialist, but rather of the person who extended interest over a wide area of pursuits.

Even today, the term "Renaissance man" denotes a person with diverse interests and expertise. The emphasis of the Renaissance was on synthesis, with truth defined as harmony. Medieval allegory, with its fixed and simple meanings, metamorphosed into symbolism, whose flexibility allowed for layers of meaning to be created and for concepts to be united and interchanged among philosophical and mythical systems. The fascination with intricate symbolism can be seen in the art of the time.

Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494) is considered one of the foremost figures of the Renaissance, embodying many of the attributes of the time. Walter Pater (1922) describes Pico and provides an image of the Renaissance humanist.

> In explaining the harmony between Plato and Moses, Pico lays hold of every sort of figure and analogy, on the double meanings of words, the symbols of the Jewish ritual, the secondary meanings of obscure stories in the later Greek mythologists. Everywhere there is an unbroken system of correspondences. Every object in the terrestrial world is an analogue, a symbol or counterpart, of some higher reality in the starry heavens and this again of some law of the angelic life in the world beyond the stars. There is the element of fire in the material world; the sun is the fire of heaven; and in the super-celestial world there is the fire of the seraphic intelligence. "But behold how they differ! The elementary fire burns, the heavenly fire vivifies, the super-celestial fire loves." In this way, every natural object, every combination of natural forces, every accident in the lives of men, is filled with higher meanings. Omens, prophecies, supernatural coincidences, accompany Pico himself all through life. There are oracles in every tree and mountain-top, and a significance in every accidental combination of the events of life.
>
> This constant tendency to symbolism and imagery gives Pico's work a figured style . . . Above all, we have a constant sense in reading him, that his thoughts, however little their positive value may be, are connected with springs beneath them of deep and passionate emotion; and when he explains the grades or steps by which the soul passes from the love of a physical object to the love of unseen beauty, and unfolds the analogies between this process and other movements upward of human thought, there is a glow and vehemence in his words which remind one of the manner in which his own brief existence flamed itself away.

In this light, the Major Arcana of the tarot, in a procession of symbolism and allegory, with endless variations and associations available through contemplating the images and rearranging the cards, were truly a Renaissance game—complex, aesthetic and, in contrast to the ruthless quest for power by both Church and aristocracy, gently amusing.

0 THE FOOL

The earliest extant version of the tarot Fool is in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck. He is a pathetic figure in tattered white garments, with a club over his shoulder and feathers in his hair. He resembles, in a sense, *Le Misero* of the Mantegna deck, but no dog is nearby. A clear predecessor to the image is in Giotto's depiction of the vice of Folly, in the Arena Chapel of Padua. Painted monochromatically in trompe l'oeil style to give an effect of carved relief, a barefoot figure with feathers on its head wears ragged white clothes and bears a club. An unshaven, raggedly dressed man bearing a club was used fairly frequently as a symbol of madness or folly. Although Gertrude Moakley refers to the figure as a female, the sex is actually indeterminate. Opposite Folly, on another wall, is the virtue Prudence.

Moakley believes that the Fool represents the spirit of Lent during the carnival in Italy. During Lent, figuratively speaking, one dons the garment of repentance, which, literally, was a plain white shirt and pants in Renaissance Italy. Moakley further strengthens the connection by referring to Fraser's description of the spirit of Lent which had "seven feathers attached like legs, which are pulled out one by one as the weeks of Lent pass," and by referring to medieval portrayals of the month of March, which show a person wearing feathers and ragged stockings. Only six feathers are clearly visible on the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo Fool, although there is possibly another one where the club passes behind the head. The freakish weather and the bizarre mating behavior of animals have associated the month of March with madness (for example, the popular saying, "mad as a March hare"), and when March ends, the next day is April Fool's Day.

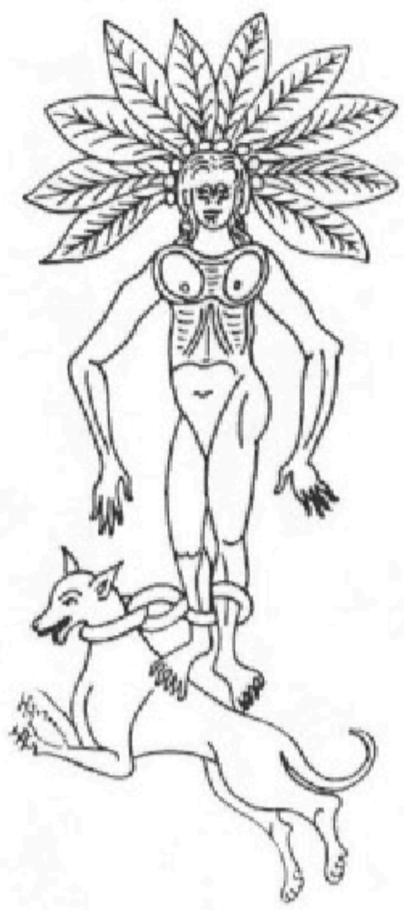
By the seventeenth century, the pathetic, raggedly

Collection of the Arena Chapel, Padua, Italy

Folly *Fresco by Giotto, circa 1305*

Collection of Municipal Museum, Bologna

The Foolish Man *The Foolish Man carries a club and wears ragged clothes. A plague sore is on his cheek, in spite of the protective garlic bulb necklace. An illumination from a Renaissance psalter.*



Collection of the British Museum, London

Mandrake *A dog is ensnared by the mandrake. Redrawn from a thirteenth-century manuscript*

clothed figure had become the court jester. There is no explanation as to why he is outdoors carrying walking staff and pack. A dog chases after him, giving an impression that he is being driven out of town. Dr. O'Neill suggests that the Fool might be a wandering priest or mendicant of a heretical sect, such as the Waldenses or the Beghards. Isabel Cooper-Oakley (1900) mentions that priests of the mystic sects of heretics often taught their doctrines in the guise of wandering troubadors.

The Waldenses were a religious sect founded in the twelfth century. Their teachings emphasized the Bible as the primary guide to the Christian, and they denounced the trappings of the Church. During the medieval and Renaissance times, they were most successful in Dauphine, France, and in the Piedmont region of Italy near Milan, and they had contact with similar groups, especially that of the Humiliati (Umiliati) with whom Sister Manfreda, a relative of the Visconti, was associated (see Volume I). The Beghards were a religious association of men which flourished until the fifteenth century, although condemned by the Council of Vienna in 1311.

In the heretical context, the dog on The Fool card could represent a priest. In paintings with the Dominican order as the theme, black and white dogs (after the black and white habit of the order and as a pun on the saint's name—*Domini canes,* "dogs of God") are shown driving away wolves, that is, heretics, who are attacking sheep, symbolically the faithful. The most simple explanation is that dogs tend to attack strangers, and the Fool, with his pack and stick, is a wandering performer and a stranger.

The Fool in the Gringonneur deck may be the one who, as Moakley says, supplanted the old carnival king with comedy. The Gringonneur Fool contrasts markedly with the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo Fool. Larger than life, he grins broadly, holding a string of beads between his two hands. His ass's ears and sagging loincloth emphasize the celebration of fertility reflected in carnival. Four small figures at his feet gather stones. He will be destroyed at the end of carnival as the period of penance begins.

Peter McDonald offers an unusual concept as to the possible identity of the Fool. Mandrake harvesters are always depicted in early herbals as being attended by a dog. It is fabled that the mandrake howled with pain when uprooted, and anyone hearing the cry would die or go mad. To satisfy the mandrake, a dog was tied to the plant and chased or lured with meat, thus pulling up the roots but strangling in the process, forming a sacrifice to the spirit of the mandrake. There were other variations on the ritual of pulling up the mandrake, but all used the dog as a "bait" or sacrifice to cancel the toxic effects of the harvest. The juice of the mandrake was highly prized as a remedy for insomnia and nightmares, as an aphrodisiac, and as a fertility potion, among other things. It was also considered both as a cause of "devil-sickness," or insanity, and as a cure for it. Further connections between the mandrake and the tarot are found in the discussions on The Hanged Man and The Moon.

I THE MAGICIAN

O'Neill outlines two aspects of The Magician. One is the roadside trickster, playing "the old shell games" with gullible passers-by. A man stands behind a table with cups, coins, dice, and other instruments before him. He raises a thin rod in the air. This image predominates in the Tarot of Marseilles deck, with the title *Le Bateleur,* "The Juggler." The other image is that of the artisan or tradesman with his tools on the table before him. In Italian decks, he is often shown as a cobbler, with a shoe last on the table. The Tarocchi of Mantegna shows a metalsmith. The Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo image is more ambiguous and the figure is variously described as an alchemist, a miser, and a sleight-of-hand artist. The knife, the cup, the two coins and the rod are found in later Tarot of Marseilles imagery, but the hand-painted figure is seated and does not give the impression of a roadside attraction. It is possible that the figure is a merchant or innkeeper, and the wand is a quill pen, the knife a sharpener for the pen, and the cup an inkwell. On the side, perhaps, is a pile of coins or grain. The presence of so mundane a personage in the allegorical sequence of the deck is puzzling, however, and the true occupation of the figure remains obscure.

II THE POPESS

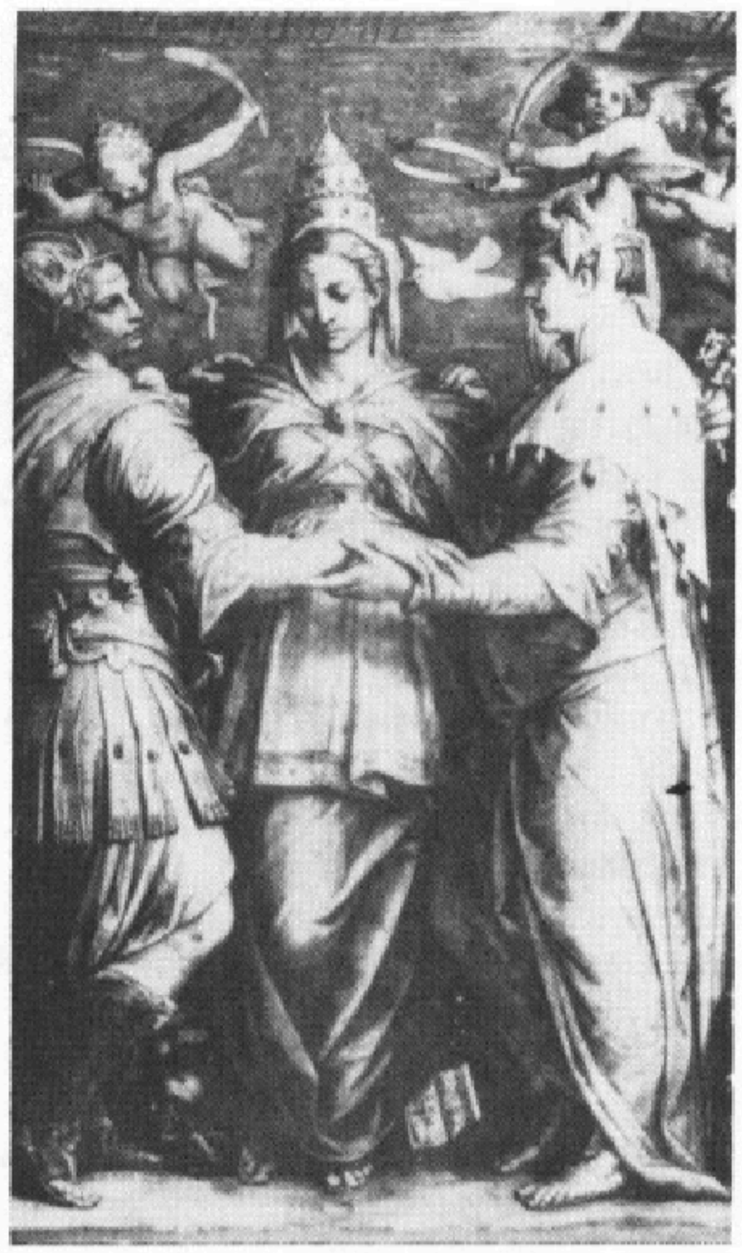
Part of the mystery of the fifteenth-century tarocchi decks is whether the figures on the cards are purely allegorical or whether they were intended to represent historical personages. Until the portrait of a historical figure is definitely identified on a tarocchi card, only conjecture can be made as to the identity of the figures.

In medieval and Renaissance art, a female figure was often allegorical, whereas the male figure was used to represent a specific mythical or historical man. Thus, since Samson evoked the quality of great strength, the Strength card in several decks portrays a female figure with the attributes of Samson, a pillar and a lion skin.

The Popess may represent the papacy itself, without reference to any particular pope or female leader. An example of a woman crowned with the papal tiara can be found in Giorgio Vasari's picture commemorating the defeat of the Turks at the Battle of Lepanto. The alliance of Spain, Venice and the papacy is represented by three women embracing, with the "popess" wearing the triple tiara and holding the two keys traditionally belonging to the pope.

The Popess does not appear at all in the Cary-Yale

Reprinted from *The Old Hocus Pocus*, circa 1740



Collection of the Vatican

***Allegory of Papal Triumph** (detail) Giorgio Vassari (1511-1574) was commissioned to celebrate the victory of Spain, Venice and the Papacy over the Turks with this painting. The Papacy is symbolized by a woman dressed in robes and papal tiara, with the papal keys in her left hand.*

***The Juggler** (above) Woodcut from the book* The Old Hocus Pocus, being the Anatomy of Legerdemain, or the Whole Art of Jugling *[sic], circa 1740. The Juggler holds a wand, and on the table are objects including a bell, cups, twine and a box.*

***The Popess Card** (right) II* LA PAPESSE, *tarot by Nicolas Conver of Marseilles, 1761; II JUNON from 1JJ Swiss Tarot, originally published in the eighteenth century; II* LE'SPAGNOL CAPITANO ERACASSE, *from the Vandenborre Tarot, eighteenth century*

Collection of the author

Tarocchi pack, and it is unknown whether it is missing or whether it was replaced by Charity, one of the three virtues that are an unusual feature of the deck. Swiss decks of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries featured, instead of The Popess, the Roman goddess Junon standing near a peacock. The Flemish tarots of the late eighteenth century replaced The Popess with *Capitano Fracasse L'Espagnol*, a comic figure with overblown self-esteem.

If The Popess was only an allegory for the papacy, the question remains as to why the card was suppressed at different times in the history of the tarot. The zeal of the sixteenth-century Reformation would be a likely cause for the removal of The Pope and The Popess. At times the papacy found the "religious" cards in the deck blasphemous. It could also be that the Popess was interpreted to be the female pope, Joan, or the leader of a religious order that the Church considered questionable, such as the Guglielmites (see Volume I). Thus, the card would have been offensive to the Church.

The garb worn by the Popess in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck might be that of a member of the Poor Clares, the order of nuns founded in 1212 by Saint Clare, a disciple of Saint Francis. However, no special link is known to exist between the Visconti or Sforza and the Poor Clares or Saint Clare herself.

The waist cord, or cincture, is an allusion to the cord by which Christ was bound to the pillar when he was whipped, and its knots denote chastity, temperance and self-restraint. The Popess holds a book; in art, a sealed book often appears in the hands of the Virgin Mary after her ascension into heaven. The Virgin Mary enthroned with a book personified the Church. Books are also associated with the founders of religious orders. The legend of Pope Joan relates that the female pope reached her position through great erudition, a quality symbolized by a book.

The Rosenwald sheet (see Volume I) shows a woman wearing papal robes and a double tiara and holding a book and a key. Her robes are not those of any particular order.

The association between The Popess and the goddess Isis was probably not made until the influence of occultism entered tarot. However, Dr. O'Neill points out the similarity between an image of Isis in the Appartamento Borgia in the Vatican and the image of The Popess on the Tarot of Marseilles. In the Vatican painting of Isis, the goddess sits on a throne with a veil stretched between two pillars behind her and an open book on her lap.

III THE EMPRESS

The Empress card has remained essentially the same since the fifteenth century, with a few interesting variations. The Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo and the Cary-Yale cards show a maternal figure on a throne, a shield bearing the imperial eagle in her left hand and a thin rod in her right hand. She is honored with four female attendants in the Cary-Yale deck. The Jacques Vievil deck of the mid-seventeenth century shows the Empress in the same pose, but the back of her throne is higher. She wears a helmetlike crown and her scepter has an orb mounted with a cross at its tip. The Vievil Empress was to become the standard Empress in virtually every subsequent deck. However, the shield was transferred to the right hand and the scepter to the left. The change in the position of the shield and scepter may be to distinguish from the symbolism of the Emperor, who holds the scepter in his right hand.

The throne of the Empress underwent some interesting changes. In the fifteenth-century decks, the throne, except the base, is concealed by the figure of the Empress. Later, the sides of the back curved up to form two columns that on first glance appear to be wings. In fact, they metamorphosed into wings in the early-eighteenth-century decks by Pierre Madenie of Dijon and Sebastian Ioia of Augsburg. However, they reverted to the mundane throne back until almost two centuries later, when the Empress was again given wings in a pen and ink deck that resembles the designs of Oswald Wirth.

The use of the eagle as a symbol of power and victory dates back to Roman classical times, when the eagle was used on the banners of the Roman legions. It was one of the attributes of Jupiter, the supreme ruler of the gods and of mortals. It was also the emblem of the Holy Roman Emperor. The orb, which appears in The Empress, The Emperor, The Chariot and The World cards of several decks, signifies sovereignty over the earth. Surmounted by a cross, it was used by the Holy Roman Emperor.

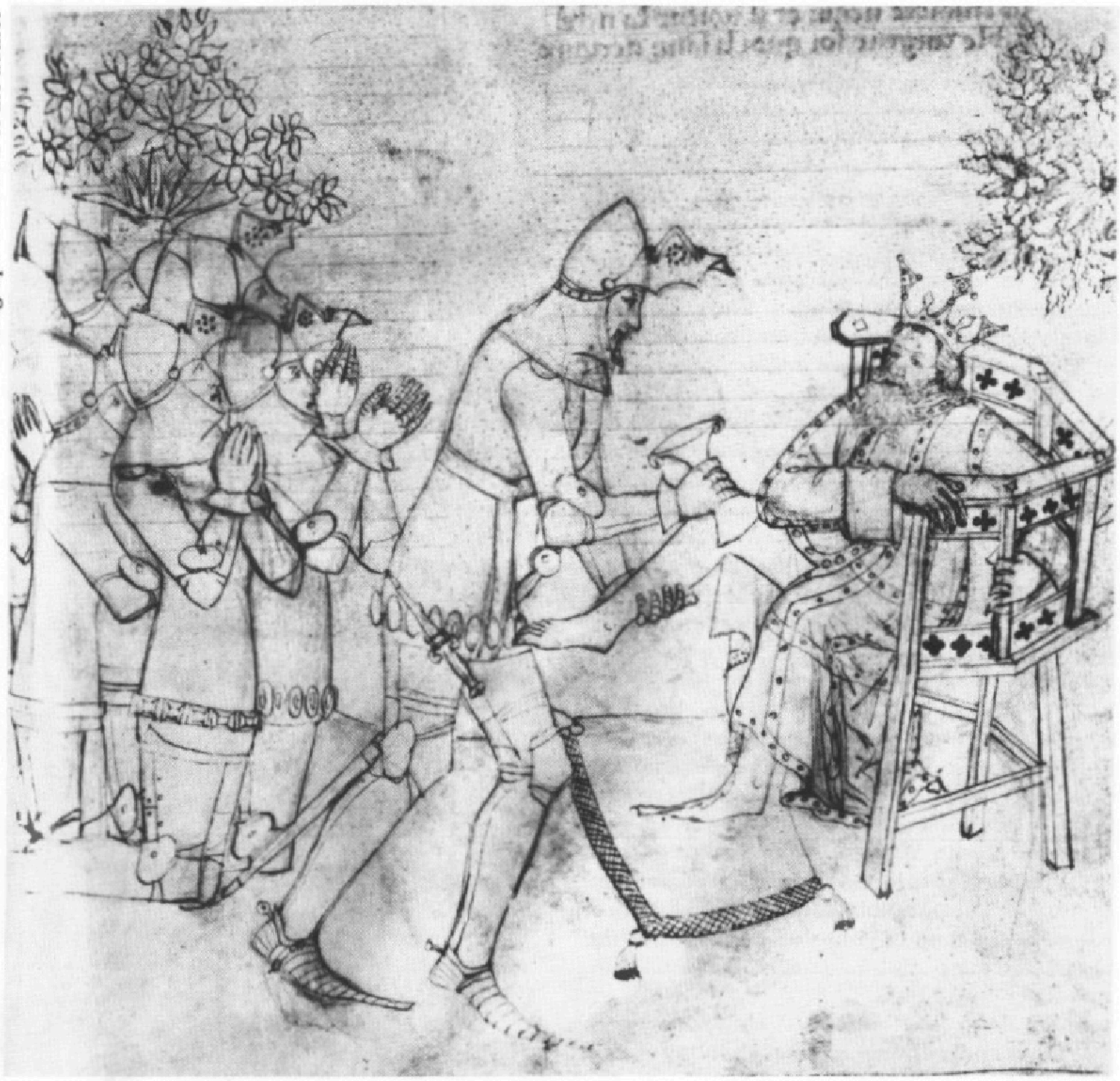
Photograph collection of the author

Heraldic Eagle of the Holy Roman Emperor *The eagle clutches in its claws the symbols of imperial power, a scepter and an orb.*

IV THE EMPEROR

The Emperor is almost always seated, holding an orb and a scepter. In the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck he holds a plain orb in his left hand and a thin rod in his right hand. The imperial eagle appears on his hat. The Cary-Yale deck is the first deck known to show the Emperor with his legs crossed, even if only at the ankles. He, like the Empress, has four attendants, and in this instance they are male. The Rosenwald sheet, like the Cary-Yale and the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo decks, shows the Emperor full face, while the Gringonneur card shows the familiar profile, with legs uncrossed.

Beginning in the seventeenth century, the Emperor is almost always represented in profile, holding the scepter in his right hand and an orb in his left hand. The shield bearing the eagle appears on the side of the throne. The Emperor wears a helmet instead of a hat or crown, and his right leg is crossed over his left leg. With few exceptions, the Emperor



Photograph collection of the author

Galahad Heals the Fisher King *From an Italian manuscript of the fourteenth century*

faces to the left of the card, that is, toward the Empress, when she is numbered III and the Emperor is numbered IV. Symbolically, it could be said that his back is to the Pope, signifying the separation of ecclesiastical and secular power, a state desired by the Holy Roman Empire, which wished to reign over the material world, relegating the spiritual world to the Church.

Many researchers, including Peter McDonald, perceive the legendary Fisher King in the Emperor. The Fisher King appears in some legends about the Holy Grail. He was the king of the Grail castle and was wounded by one of King Arthur's knights (see discussion of The Tower). The wounded king could only find solace through fishing, and thus he was called the Fisher King. The wound was to his thighs or genitals, and the Emperor draws attention to his legs by crossing them. Due to the wound, the king's lands lay infertile until he was healed with the salve of Christ's blood from the Holy Grail. During the period of his illness, his kingdom was called the Waste Land. The Fisher King's impotence is like the barrenness of winter, and spring symbolizes his healing and regeneration. Spring is also the time of Easter, when Christians celebrate the new life given to the world by the shedding of Christ's blood, and the proof of eternal life in the Resurrection.

It is possible to see the story of the Fisher King and the symbolism of Easter in the procession of The Hanged Man and The Emperor by associating the two cards with the signs of Pisces and Aries.

The Emperor can be linked to the zodiacal sign of Aries, which is the first sign of the zodiacal procession and is ruled by Mars. This masculine sign represents leadership and the martial spirit, and it is easy to see the Emperor as an Aries, with his helmetlike crown and his high rank among the personages of the tarot. The sign begins with the spring equinox, March 21, close to the time of Easter, and its symbol is a ram. The ram is also considered a symbol of sacrifice, since in ancient times Passover was commenced with the sacrifice of a young ram. Christ, who celebrated Passover with his disciples on the night he was betrayed, identified himself as the sacrificial lamb.

The Hanged Man, Pisces, represents the wounded king, Christ crucified, and as long as he is wounded the land remains in a state of suspended animation (see discussion of The Hanged Man). Pisces is the last sign of the zodiac and, in the calendar, takes place in the last month of winter. The Emperor, Aries, is the healed king, Christ resurrected, and the renewal of his land takes place in the spring, under the sign of Aries.

V THE POPE

The Pope card of the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck portrays an older man holding a cross in his left hand and giving benediction with his right. He wears a three-tiered crown. A sumptuous robe covers his white garment. Like that of the Popess, his robe fastens at the throat, parts to allow freedom of motion for his arms, and then folds closed over his lap.

In Christian art, the right hand is always used for benediction. Sometimes the left hand is used for setting a curse, particularly by Christ in pictures of the Last Judgment, but on The Pope card, the left hand is innocuous. The two keys held in the hand of the Gringonneur Pope are the papal keys to the gates of heaven and hell.

Two cardinals appear in the Gringonneur deck. Later decks usually show two priests. Several people were traditionally shown as petitioners of the pope. Saint Catherine of Siena (1347-1380) succeeded in persuading Gregory XI to return to Rome from Avignon. It was she who, witnessing the sufferings of Italy under constant wars, wrote to Sir John Hawkwood, begging him to use his battle skills "against the infidels" rather than against his "fellow Christians." Her appeal was unheeded. Saint Bruno (1033-1101) founder of the Carthusians, lived in Cologne and was educated at Tours and Rheims. He is usually shown kneeling before Urban II to receive blessing. The Carthusians were patronized by both the Visconti and the Sforza, who funded the building of the famous Certosa at Pavia. Saint Denis, the patron saint of France, secured the blessing of Pope Clement I before starting on his missionary journey to Gaul in the third century. Ignatius of Loyola (1491-1556) founded the Society of Jesus, known as the Jesuits, and knelt before Paul III seeking papal confirmation of his order. Saint Laurence (?-258) was known for his charitable acts to the poor, and knelt to receive the deaconship from Sixtus II.

In the Vievil deck the two figures appear with full heads of hair, but thereafter the figures are virtually always tonsured. The main figure in the Vievil deck is not actually a pope, but rather a bishop, as indicated by his miter and crosier.

The pontifical gloves that appear on the hands of many of the popes in the tarot started to be worn by popes of the Roman Church in the eleventh century. Red crosses appear on their backs, representing the wounds of Christ and reminding the viewer that the pope is considered by the church as the representative of Christ on earth. The triple cross and the triple tiara are the exclusive privilege of the pope, and symbolize the Trinity and the three estates of the Church: Rome, Christendom, and the spiritual realm.

The Swiss tarots of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries substituted the pagan god Jupiter for the Pope. Jupiter is near an eagle, symbol of his power, and he often holds lightning bolts in his hands. The Flemish tarots used Bacchus to replace the Pope. The irreverent god of wine, clothed only in grape leaves, is seated astride a barrel, and he drinks from a wineskin.

Collection of the author

The Pope Card *V* LE PAPE, *from tarot by Nicolas Conver of Marseilles, 1761; V JUPITER from 1JJ Swiss Tarot, originally published in the eighteenth century; V BACUS, from the Vandenborre Tarot, eighteenth century*

Private collection

VI THE LOVERS

In both the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo and the Cary-Yale decks, The Lovers cards are like the "betrothal portraits" that were made popular in Germany and were taken up in Italy. In the betrothal portraits, the couple is linked by Cupid, who is usually shown as a winged, naked youth, blindfolded and carrying arrows. No bow appears in the two fifteenth-century decks; instead a small deity of love bears two arrows, one for each member of the couple so that they might love each other equally. In the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck, Cupid stands atop an ornamental fountain, symbol of eternal youth, where he is often found in Renaissance art. In spite of the bloodshed and infidelity within the aristocratic families of the Renaissance, the idyllic "Garden of Love," with its fountain and Cupid, was a favorite subject in art. The little dog at the feet of the couple in the Cary-Yale deck is a symbol of fidelity. The conjugal bed is red, the color of passionate love, and the drapery lining is green, for fertility. The Gringonneur deck has an unusual portrayal of three couples in procession, while two cupids are busy with bows and arrows above. The mood is changed here from one of solemn commitment to one of revelry.

In the seventeenth century, the scene on The Lovers changed again to show a man standing between two women. The man seems to be choosing between the two women. A popular theme in allegorical art was the choice between Vice and Virtue. However, on most tarot cards before the nineteenth century, the women are practically identical. There are not the usual exaggerated features that distinguish Vice from Virtue. Perhaps the man is choosing between two women who are in love with him, or is leaving his mother to go with his sweetheart. It is possible that woodblock pictures showing a couple being married by a man were crude enough so that the man of the couple was mistaken for a woman, especially since men of medieval times sometimes wore long robes and had long hair. The pose of the hands in the marriage pictures—the couple reaching to clasp hands in front of the central figure—

Collection of Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence

***Betrothal Portrait** (top) Austrian portrait shows Cupid crowning a man and woman, who touch hands.*

***Wedding Scene** (bottom) A couple is married as the king joins their hands. Detail of illustration from the Codex Palatino 556, attributed to Bonifacio Bembo*

could have been distorted to two women grasping at the man in the center. Such a mistake is possible if The Lovers card were modeled on a picture such as that which appears as number 7 in the Schoen zodiac calendar. Pictures showing a central figure mediating between two others, sometimes joining hands, were also used to symbolize reconciliation.

The tarot of Adam de Hautot, made around 1780, shows an interesting variation of The Lovers card. The man in the middle seems to be torn between another man and a woman. His male companion has a sad expression, and the woman gazes up at Cupid. Payen and Noblet, in the eighteenth century, show one woman wearing a crown of laurel, and the other wearing flowers. It is possible that the youth is choosing between study and play, or between a serious, scholarly life and one of physical delight. The theme was known and was described eloquently by John Milton's 1631 poems "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso," in which the life of pleasure is contrasted with thoughtful and intellectual pursuits.

The 1807 Gumppenberg deck, exceptional in many ways, shows a woman with two men, one man in armor and the other in king's clothes. No choice is made; she takes both men by the hand. Italian decks of the nineteenth century offer the young man the choice between a crowned woman and a woman in simple clothes, the women symbolizing wealth and true love.

With the exception of the Ioia deck, circa 1720 to 1780, from Germany, which shows an older man marrying a couple and is remarkably similar to the Etteilla deck's card on the same theme, the united couple was not shown on the tarot again until the late eighteenth century.

VII THE CHARIOT

The triumphal chariot of the fifteenth century was used for allegories, and sometimes for historical figures. The Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo and Cary-Yale decks show a young woman in the chariot pulled by two small white horses. The figure in the chariot of the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo pack holds an orb and a scepter. The winged horses indicate that she was probably intended to be an allegorical figure rather than a mortal. Since the orb is an attribute of Fame, perhaps this card represents the Triumph of Fame. The orb is topped with a cross, putting a specifically Christian interpretation on the pagan figure.

In the Cary-Yale deck the canopy is painted inside with gold stars on a blue ground. The woman bears the Visconti dove with flames bursting around it, and a man leads her horses, which have no wings. Moakley describes the festival on Holy Saturday.

> In Florence, on Holy Saturday, one of these big carts is filled with fireworks and drawn by white oxen to the Duomo (cathedral). While the *Gloria* is sung, an artificial dove runs along a wire to the car, carrying a spark of the new fire from the altar to set off the fireworks.

Such pageantry and mechanical gimmicks would have appealed greatly to a Renaissance crowd of merrymakers.

The Chariot card usually shows a man standing in a square vehicle drawn by two horses. In the Gringonneur tarot, the vehicle almost resembles a bier, with its dark, fringed drape and the coffinlike shape on which the charioteer stands. However, in the Triumph of Death, which often shows a funeral car, a skeletal figure is usually riding. The charioteer may be standing, instead, on a bridal chest,

Photograph collection of the author

Marte *From the Tarocchi of Mantegna. Some scholars have associated VII The Chariot with the triumph of Mars.*

since in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italy, the Triumphs of Petrarch were often represented on *cassoni*, or bridal chests.

The charioteer of the Rosenwald sheet stands in a boxlike car holding an orb and a sword. In the Vievil deck the warrior takes the Tarot of Marseilles form whereby he wears a crown and armor, bears a wand, and wears a crescent moon epaulet on his shoulder. The two creatures drawing his chariot are horses with the faces of men. They disappear from the iconography of the tarot to be replaced by the absurdly stylized horses of the Tarot of Marseilles, but return in the occult decks as sphinxes.

A. E. Waite described the crescent moon epaulets of the charioteer on his own deck as the Urim and Thummim. These objects are mentioned in the Old Testament, but not specifically identified as crescent moons or even as to shape or content. They were the oracular media by which the will of God was determined. In Exodus (28:9–12), instructions are given as to the construction of the media, and Aaron was to wear them on his shoulders. But later, in Exodus (28:29–30), the instructions say, "you must put the sacred lots [the media] into the judicial pouch, that they may lie on Aaron's heart whenever he enters the presence of the Eternal . . ." and so it seems that the media were worn in a kind of pouch or necklace attached by the two upper corners to two gold chains, which were in turn fastened to two gold rosettes worn on the shoulders. The wording of the description is unclear.

During the Renaissance, Diana, goddess of the moon, was sometimes portrayed moving across the sky in a chariot, and she is shown thus in the Tarocchi of Mantegna. Perhaps the crescent epaulets of the charioteer are left over from this tradition.

The crown on the head of the charioteer, his scepter, and the canopy over his vehicle suggest that he is a ruler and not a common warrior.

Photograph collection of the author

Michael the Archangel *Bearing a sword, Michael weighs the souls of the dead. The pan holding the souls of the wicked is pulled down by the paw of the ghastly Satan that Michael tramples. Fifteenth-century woodcut, probably German*

VIII JUSTICE

As one of the four cardinal virtues (the others are Fortitude, Temperance and Prudence), Justice is one of the cards in the tarot that has remained virtually unchanged until the twentieth century, when the images on the tarot took a much broader spectrum. The earliest example of Justice, in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck, shows a lovely blonde woman standing and wearing a crown, with a scale in her left hand and a sword upright in her right hand. The card is distinguished from the rest in the deck by the background. A gothic arch is behind the woman, and a second scene above the arch shows a knight with drawn sword riding a horse. A luminary can be seen in the top right and left corners of the card. The knight could be riding to defend the cause of Justice, in the chivalric tradition.

Dr. O'Neill points out that the female virtue of Justice resembles the archangel Michael, who is shown holding a scale and a sword. In portraits of Michael, one pan of the scale holds a virtuous soul, usually praying, and the other holds a damned soul. Satan in a ghastly form is trampled underfoot by the archangel, and the ruler of hell often pulls down the pan of the scale holding the damned soul.

The scale of Justice dates to Roman antiquity, and symbolizes impartiality, while the sword is an emblem of the power of Justice. The blindfold, another symbol of impartiality, was not used as an attribute of Justice until the sixteenth century, since clear-sightedness was supposed to be one of the features of Justice. Tarot decks virtually never show Justice blindfolded, even into the nineteenth century. Generally, blindness in the tarot has negative connotations. The Fool of a nineteenth-century Etteilla deck walks with his hands cupped over his eyes, a sign of spiritual blindness. On the Wheel of Fortune, Dame Fortune is blindfolded to indicate that she gives out her treasures regardless of merit or virtue.

In the Gringonneur deck, Justice has a multisided nimbus. Such haloes were used in art to denote allegorical figures. Other shapes, such as circles or triangles, belonged to divine beings or saints. A similar nimbus is shown on the virtues in the Rosenwald sheets.

Justice in the Tarot of Marseilles is seated on a throne which is like that of the Empress, but more defined, with a curving back and posts at the sides.

IX THE HERMIT

The Hermit is well-known in medieval and Renaissance art as a man of great virtue and spiritual strength. Often in paintings his presence is a reprimand to sinners who are frolicking and carousing.

The Hermit was probably modeled on the founder of Western monasticism, Saint Anthony the Great, who was born in Upper Egypt and lived from the mid-third to the mid-fourth century. After his parents died, Saint Anthony gave his wealth to the poor and dwelt in solitude in the desert for many years. He is depicted as an old, bearded man carrying a stick or crutch with a tau-shaped handle; the tau also often appeared on the shoulder of his cloak. The tau crutch may have symbolized the mission of helping the poor and sick, and the tau was an Egyptian sign of immortality adopted by the Egyptian Christians. Saint Anthony also carried a bell, perhaps to drive off the evil spirits who tempted him in his great trial in the desert. It is possible that the bell evolved into the lantern shown on The Hermit. In Renaissance art, the archetypal philosopher wore classical robes and carried a lamp. The philosopher Diogenes was often portrayed holding up a lamp in a marketplace in broad daylight, as a crowd gathered around him. The lamp symbolized the search for truth and virtue.

In the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck, the figure does not appear to be a hermit or a humble man. He is robust, although bent, and wears a rich blue robe hemmed in gold, and an elaborate hat. In one hand is a stick and in the other is an hourglass. The crutch and hourglass are attributes of Father Time, as is an aged appearance and a hunched back. However, Father Time is usually shown as a gaunt old man wearing only a loincloth or a loose white robe. The Hermit in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck could be an alchemist, since pictures of the alchemist's shop often included an hourglass. His unfashionable, though richly colored, garments set him apart from the royal figures of the deck, putting him in the realm of the artisan, which was the class of alchemists, or perhaps the scholar.

The Gringonneur Hermit is closer to the type known in the later Tarot of Marseilles. He does not have a crutch, but his appearance is monastic. He holds an hourglass. The Rosenwald sheets simply portray an old man on crutches.

The pose of the Hermit in the Vievil deck is like that of the Tarot of Marseilles, although he does not hold aloft a lantern, but merely the hem of his robe. Thereafter, the Hermit is usually shown as an old man in monastic robes, carrying a crutch with one hand and a lamp with the other. A comic variation occurs in Ioia's distinctive pack: the Hermit is a blind layman walking with crutch and lamp.

Reprinted from *Kupferstich und Holzschnitt in Vier Jahrhunderten . . .*, by Paul Kristeller, 1921

Saint Anthony *Detail of an early sixteenth-century engraving. Saint Anthony holds a bell in his left hand and a crutch in his right hand.*

X THE WHEEL OF FORTUNE

The Wheel is the instrument of Dame Fortune; it is always turning and to ride it is to place oneself in the realm of instability and impermanence. The riders of the Wheel in the tarot have always had more or less animal characteristics, denoting foolishness and base desires. Riding the Wheel signifies attachment to material aspirations and the animalistic nature rather than the spiritual nature.

The patrons of the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck apparently had enough humor to see themselves in this light, as indicated by the courtly costumes of the figures on the Wheel. The Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo Wheel follows the typical image as described by Hall (1974). In spite of the warning of the ragged figure who, bearing the Wheel on his back, says, on a ribbon coming out of his mouth (the Renaissance equivalent of the comic balloon), "I am without reign," the ascending figure looks up hopefully and says, "I will reign." At the top sits the ruler wearing a gold brocade robe and bearing the scepter and orb of power. He announces, "I reign." The descending, now unlucky, one has an animal's tail and says, "I have reigned." Dame Fortune, in the center, is blindfolded, showing that she rewards the good and the wicked alike.

The card labeled *La Fortune* in the Gringonneur deck is actually The World card. The titles on the Gringonneur cards were added after the cards were made. (See discussion on XXI The World.)

The Tarot of Marseilles and similar type decks use the Wheel to symbolize Fortune, but Dame Fortune is not present and usually there are only three figures. Often the top figure is a monkey, wearing a crown and bearing a sword. The monkey was a symbol of malice, vanity and cunning. Another monkey descends, while a dog, symbol of greed, ascends. Sometimes the figures have just the ears or tails of animals, sometimes just the heads, while others are completely animal wearing human clothes. The image, with figures that vary in their degrees of animality, persists as a popular image for the card.

XI STRENGTH

Strength, also known as Fortitude, is another of the cardinal virtues to appear in the tarot. In the Tarocchi of Mantegna, she is shown with traditional attributes. She breaks a column, recalling Samson of the Old Testament breaking the pillars in the temple of the Philistines (Judges 17:30), and wears a lion skin, recalling Hercules slaying the Nemian lion or Samson tearing a lion apart with his bare hands. The slaying of a lion is an archetype of heroic strength. Hercules is often depicted astride the back of the lion, forcing the jaws apart with his hands. The Gringonneur deck shows a woman with an allegorical halo, as she breaks a column.

The Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo Strength card (see Volume I) depicts an extremely masculine figure with short hair who wears armor and raises a club above a crouching lion. The man might be Hercules, who is commonly shown carrying a club, a symbol of virtue. As a portrayal of Hercules, the picture is naive since the Nemian lion was impervious to weapons and Hercules would not be ready to slay it with a club. Possibly the lion is an ally of the man and is poised to defend him.

The Cary-Yale deck is the first extant to show a woman overpowering a lion, the image that was to be taken up in the Tarot of Marseilles and is one of the most enduring images of the tarot.

Collection of Biblioteca Nazionale Centrali, Florence

Samson and the Lion *The long-haired figure recalls the allegorical woman on the Strength card of the tarot. Miniature from the* Visconti Book of Hours

A miniature in the *Visconti Book of Hours* depicts Samson, with long hair and flowing robes, gripping the jaws of a lion, ready to tear the animal apart with his bare hands as related in Judges (14:5-9) of the Old Testament. It is possible that an illiterate artist of the time created the traditional image of the Strength card—a female figure gripping a lion's mouth—when he mistook the long-haired biblical character for a woman.

Wolff (1974) indicates that although the iconography of a woman and a lion had no precedent in fifteenth-century Italian representations of Fortitude, the image was used in French illustrations of the time. Bembo, or the patron who specified the cards, may have known of the French tradition. The contrast of the woman and the fierce lion was an allegorical lesson on how gentle Fortitude could overcome brute force, and the image showed the subjugation of the animal nature to virtue.

XII THE HANGED MAN

Gertrude Moakley (1966) describes in well-substantiated detail the custom of hanging traitors by their feet which was prevalent in Italy as well as other parts of Europe. Pope John XXIII commissioned what Moakley calls a "shame-picture" of Francesco Sforza hanging by one leg with a caption labeling him as a traitor. The Gringonneur deck shows a man hanging upside down and grasping two sacks, referring, Moakley says, to Judas, who received thirty pieces of silver in return for betraying Jesus to the high priests.

The Hanged Man is one of the cards in the tarot in which the iconography has been almost completely consistent in the history of tarot. A man hangs by one foot, usually his left, from a gallows composed of two poles and a crossbeam. His free leg crosses behind the bound one, and his hands are bound behind his back. In the Tarot of Marseilles, his fingers hang down from behind his shoulders. There is usually a concavity in the ground beneath his head.

In Flemish tarots a curious mistake occurs. The artisans, probably illiterate, who carved the blocks formed the title so that it corresponded to an upright Hanged Man; in other

words, the Hanged Man is shown as if he were dancing on the tip of his toes. Court de Gebelin (see Volume I), followed by Etteilla, claimed that this version of the card was more correct since the card actually symbolized Prudence balancing on one foot, while the noose was actually the garbled form of a snake on the ground. Although the lack of the cardinal virtue of Prudence in the tarot has baffled many researchers—the other three cardinal virtues are in the deck—Etteilla's claim seems dubious.

A puzzling aspect of the card is the tranquil, if somewhat melancholy, expression of the Hanged Man, and his open, focused eyes. It is possible that The Hanged Man card might have a more noble meaning than that of treachery. According to tradition, the apostle Peter, on whom Christ founded his church on earth, wished to be crucified head down, because he felt unworthy to die in the same manner as Christ. The tradition of hanging a traitor upside down could have been derived from this legend, since Peter was the apostle who denied Jesus three times in the Garden of Gethsemane.

Peter, whose name means "rock," was also called the "fisher of men," and was often portrayed with a fishnet or a fish. The zodical sign with fish as its symbol is Pisces, which corresponds anatomically to the feet and occupies the time of year from February 19 to March 20 or 21. It is the last sign of the zodiac and thus connotes death and dissolution. It is easy to see a link between Pisces and the Hanged Man, whose feet are at the top of the card. Furthermore, the period of Lent extends through the reign of Pisces, one of whose meanings is mysticism and self-denial.

It was Peter, among the apostles, who protested when Christ washed his *feet*, out of humility that Christ should not bend to such a task. In the same episode Christ said "He who has bathed only needs to have his feet washed; he is clean all over. And you are clean—but not all of you." In his phrase, "not all of you," Christ refers to the traitor, Judas. In art, the episode of Christ washing the feet focuses on Peter's protest, and Judas is often shown in this scene tying his sandal. The scene took place during the Last Supper, when Christ and his disciples celebrated Passover.

Referring to the earlier discussion in this chapter of IV The Emperor, Christ himself is also symbolized by the fish. In foretelling his own death and resurrection, Christ mentioned the giant fish that swallowed Jonah, then spat him out unharmed (Matthew 12:40).

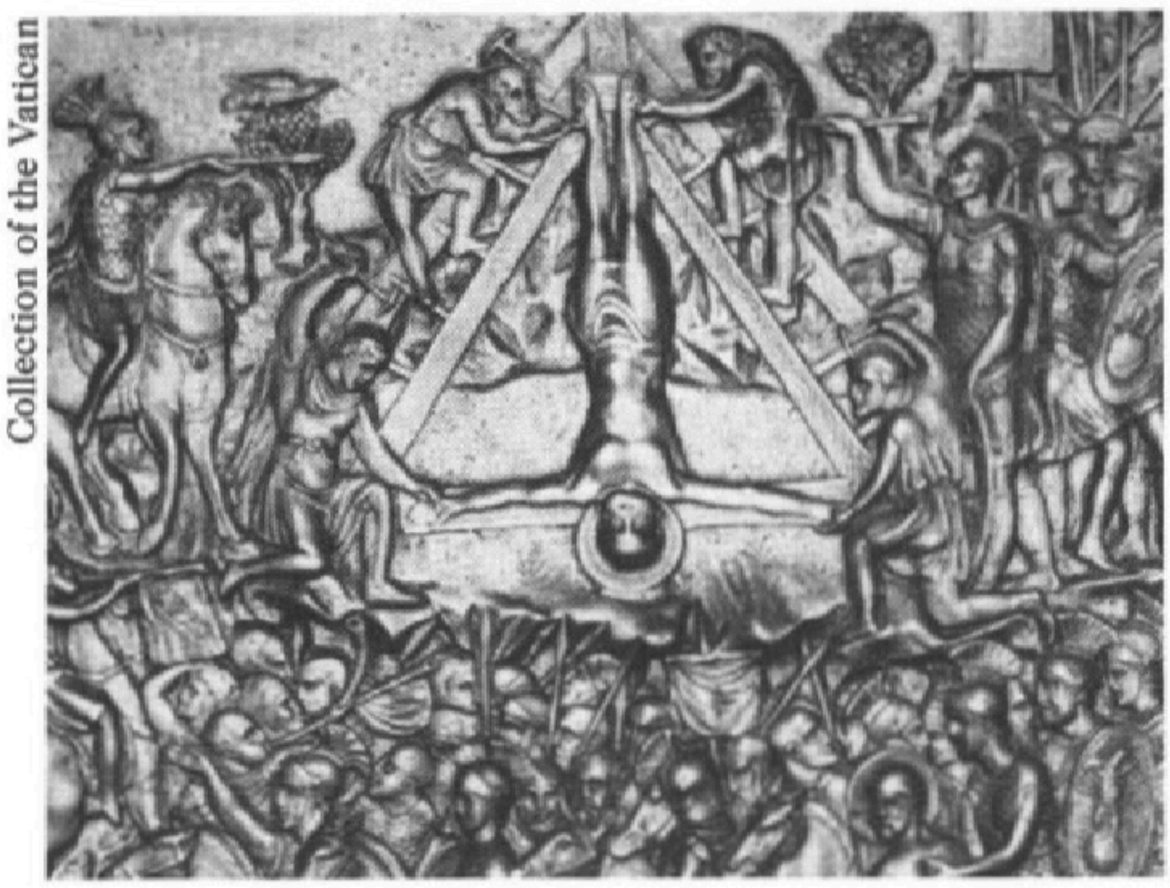
The mandrake tradition is concerned with the gallows. Peter McDonald calls attention to the following passage from *The Mystic Mandrake*, by C. J. S. Thompson, curator at the turn of the twentieth century to the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons.

> A curious superstition that became associated with the mandrake, probably between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, was that it sprang up and grew where the body of a criminal had polluted the ground, and generally beneath a gallows.
>
> The story is thus told by Schmidels in 1751:
>
> "At the foot of the gallows on which a man has been unjustly hanged for theft it is said that there springs from the urine, voided just before death, a plant with broad leaves, a yellow flower, and a root which exactly represents the human form even to the hair and sexual organs. . . ."
>
> According to another version of the legend the human progenitor of the plant must be not a thief, but an innocent and chaste youth who had been forced by torture to falsely declare himself a thief and consequently ended his days on the gallows.

XIII DEATH

In times when death was ever-threatening in the form of war, the plague and other diseases, art was occupied with various depictions of the force that overcame all people regardless of rank. The most popular depiction of Death was that of a human skeleton, a graphic illustration of decay. Various allegorical pictures show Death confronting people in different situations.

The *danse macabre* showed a line of people of various occupations, a skeleton between each. The people included the pope with tiara, the emperor with his crown, cardinals and lesser folk. The procession was performed as a ritual dance in parts of Europe, and was commonly depicted in books of the fifteenth century. The depiction of Death as a skeleton wearing a robe and carrying a scythe and an hourglass, also attributes of Father Time, began with the Triumphs of Petrarch during the fifteenth century.



Collection of the Vatican

***The Crucifixion of Peter** (detail) Bronze relief from a door of the portico of Saint Peter's Cathedral in Rome*

***Pope and Emperor** in* **La dance Macabre des Hommes** *Printed by Antoine Vérard, Paris, 1486*

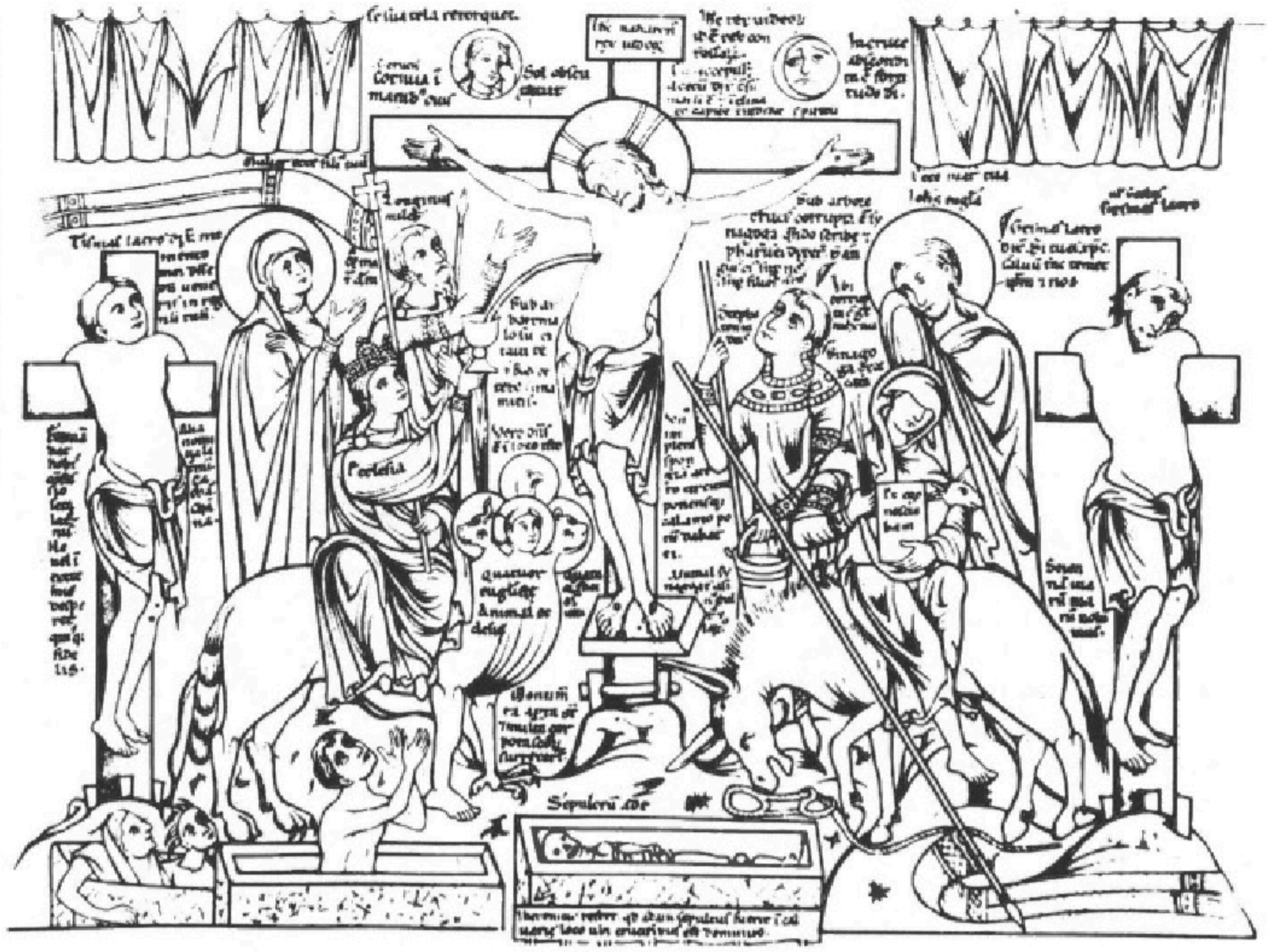
The figure of Death in the Cary-Yale deck may derive, as Dr. O'Neill indicates, from the Apocalyptic horseman of Revelations (6:7–10). "And when he opened the fourth seal I heard the voice of the fourth living creature calling, 'Come.' So I looked, and there was a livid horse; its rider's name was Death and Hades followed him. They were given power over the fourth part of the earth, to kill men with sword, famine and plague and by the wild beasts of the earth." All the methods by which the pale horseman would destroy humanity were experienced by the people of the Renaissance and medieval times. The victims of Death in the Cary-Yale pack can be seen in a pit under the rider. The thin scarf around the skull may be the remains of a shroud.

The Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck shows a skeleton with a scarf around its skull, standing and holding a bow and arrow. The bow could refer to the first horseman of the Apocalypse who was "holding a bow; he was given a crown and away he rode conquering and to conquer" (Revelations 6:2). The bow is a grim reminder of the ravages of war, since it is composed of spinal vertebrae.

The image of Death on horseback carrying a scythe, with or without victims at the horse's feet, was most popular with the earliest tarot decks. The Gringonneur deck adds an extra macabre twist by showing the Pope and his cardinals beneath Death's horse. Beginning with Vievil's deck of the mid-seventeenth century, the figure of Death is seen on foot with his scythe. Around him are hands and feet, and often two heads, those of a king and a queen. The expression on the skeleton's face varies from a sinister grin to a vicious snarl. The image persisted until Waite revived the old form with his depiction of Death as a skeletal knight on horseback, carrying a banner instead of a scythe.

Reprinted from *Picture Book of Devils, Demons and Witchcraft*, Ernst and Johanna Lehner, Dover Publications, 1971

The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse *Each horseman holds a symbolic object: bow, sword, scale and trident, while the dragon devours a bishop. Print by Albrecht Dürer, Nuremberg, 1498*



Photograph collection of the author

Crucifixion Scene *Several motifs from the tarot can be seen in this nineteenth-century engraving, which was reconstructed from a twelfth-century Flemish original. The moon and sun are at the top, left and right of the cross tip. They appear in the order of the tarot, with the moon preceding the sun as numbered XVIII and XIX, respectively.* Ecclesia, *riding the tetramorph, catches the blood of Christ in a chalice. The four-headed animal symbolizes the church, with the four heads representing the four evangelists (see discussion of XXI The World). At the bottom of the print, the dead arise from tombs, suggestive of XX Judgment card.*

XIV TEMPERANCE

Temperance is the third cardinal virtue found in the tarot. The image of the woman pouring water between two ewers has remained constant in the tarot, and none of the other attributes of Temperance, such as a clock, a torch or a bridle, were added until the late eighteenth century. On the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo card, the woman is standing, and she clearly goes through the motions of pouring, although no water is visible between the ewers. In other decks of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the female figure is shown seated. Vievil's deck and the Flemish tarots show the woman standing. She holds a scepter topped with a bird, possibly a pelican, in her left hand, and with her right hand she pours water from a pitcher to another pitcher on the ground. A banner unfurled in the air on her right reads *FAMA SOL.*

The Tarot of Marseilles Temperance came to be the most popular. A winged woman stands outdoors, pouring water from one pitcher to another, both of which she holds in her hands. Often she wears a disk or a flower on her forehead. The disk on the forehead could be a mirror, for truth or clear-sightedness.

The water being poured between ewers may symbolize the diluting of wine with water. Temperance in medieval times meant, as it does now, moderation in alcohol consumption. A symbol of Temperance not found in the tarot deck is the torch that Temperance holds as symbol of her ability to overcome the fire of lust. One of the Sforza heraldic emblems shows two buckets hung on a torch that burns at both ends.

A parallel to the symbolism of Temperance can be seen in one of the events of Christ's crucifixion (Matthew 27:45–54).

> Now from twelve o'clock to three o'clock darkness covered all the land, and about three o'clock Jesus gave a loud cry, *Eli, eli, lema sabachthani* (My God, my God, why forsake me?). On hearing this, some of the bystanders said, "He is calling for Elijah." One of them ran off at once and took a sponge, which he soaked in vinegar and put on the end of a stick, to give him a drink. But the others said, "Stop, let us see if Elijah does come to save him!" (Seizing a lance, another pricked his side, and out came water and blood.) Jesus again uttered a loud scream, and gave up his spirit.

The vinegar, in other words, sour wine, which Christ took in the Gospel of John (19:30), and the mixture of blood and water that ran from his side, indicate that the symbolism of Temperance may refer to the Crucifixion, or the sacrament of communion, in which wine and water are mixed to symbolize the blood shed by Christ to redeem humanity.

XV THE DEVIL

Although no Devil card exists among the Visconti or Visconti-Sforza cards, or in the Gringonneur deck, depictions of Satan abounded in Medieval and Renaissance art.

Early representations of The Devil card in the tarot showed an animalistic creature, sometimes bearing a pitchfork. The Rothschild sheet shows a composite creature with bird's feet, a man's face for a belly, and a horned, goat-eared head devouring a human. The fire-breathing composite devil, walking alone outdoors, is to be found in the Vievil deck and also in the Flemish tarots. Generally, he is horned and has bat wings, and a face appears on his belly. The Devil's bat wings were a late medieval symbol, indicating the perversion of the Devil's original angelic form. Sometimes there are also faces on the knees, and the hands and feet are claws. This animalistic creature can be found in ancient Persian and Egyptian mythology; medieval artists transformed the features to be somewhat more anthropomorphic. The bizarre placement of faces on different parts of the body was dreamed up by medieval monks, and these devils were actors in religious drama. The horns and cloven hooves of the Devil were a reminder of the god Pan and the enmity of the Church toward paganism.

The composite Devil of the tarot does not call to mind so much the Satan who rules over hell, but rather an apparition that might be described by a traveler who has passed across a lonely heath at night. He is the Devil of the folk, rather than of fine art.

The Rosenwald sheet Devil, with its hairy body, resembles the mythical wild men reputed to live almost as animals in the woods. They were often depicted in tapestries of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Although the wild man symbolized crude passions, as opposed to the transfigured love in the chivalric tradition, depictions of him were often romanticized. Often he is shown fighting strange creatures, such as unicorns, or at work, sometimes with a female of his kind, or dancing. His traditional weapon is the club.

***The Devil** (top) Detail of a woodcut showing Satan tempting Saint Patrick. From* Le Purgatoire Sainct Patrice, *Paris, 1530*

***Wild Folk** (middle) Decorative engraving shows the fabled wild people of the forest, their bodies covered with hair. From Strassburg, 1483. Reprinted from* Kupferstich und Holzschnitt in Vier Jahrhunderten . . ., *by Paul Kristeller, 1921*

***The Marriage of the Fool and the She-Devil** (bottom) Anti-Lutheran pamphlet shows a reform minister presiding at the ceremony. The poses of the figures recall The Lovers card of the tarot, while the couple resembles the figures on The Fool and The Devil cards in the tarot.*

The Tarot of Marseilles Devil card, showing the Devil on a pedestal to which two demons are chained, gradually took over. Generally the Devil and its demons are portrayed as more or less animalistic. The horned, winged Devil raises one hand while holding a torch in the other. Often it has female breasts, and while usually clothed in a loincloth or at least hair, the deck of Pierre Madenié shows male genitalia along with female breasts. In Chosson's 1672 deck, the Devil and the two demons have stag horns and pointed ears, like earthy spirits of the woods. The Ioia Devil card is a masterpiece of grotesquery, the demons a hideous blend of animal and human.

The Devil of the tarot is generally a comic figure, whether through the crudeness of the woodcuts, the intention of the makers, or simply a twentieth-century viewpoint that tends to play down the manifestation of the supernatural, particularly in evil forms. It is hard to imagine, however, that cardmakers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries actually intended The Devil to frighten or teach a moral lesson to dedicated card players.

XVI THE TOWER

The most common interpretation for The Tower, originally titled *La Maison de Dieu* (The House of God), is that it depicts the Tower of Babel from the Old Testament, whose construction was abandoned after the confusion of tongues (babble) was inflicted on the builders by God. The card generally shows a tower crumbling under the impact of a lightning bolt. Nothing in Genesis (11:1–9), however, mentions a bolt of lightning destroying the Tower. A portrayal of the Tower of Babel from the medieval Bedford Book of Hours shows the moment of the confusion. Fighting breaks out among the builders as misunderstandings develop, and a man falls from the top along with pieces of stone.

The Tower cards from the sheet in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Gringonneur deck, and the Rosenwald sheet show a tower, with no figures, struck by fire from heaven. The Rothschild sheet shows a castle or temple burning as two men fall violently to the ground. From the

Collection of the British Library Board, London

The Tower of Babel *The miniaturist captured the moment of confusion, when each builder starts speaking in a different language from the others. From the Bedford Book of Hours*

middle of the seventeenth century, the image was of a dentated tower being struck with fire or lightning from a smoking sun, while two figures, usually men, one behind and one in front of the tower, fall to the ground. The exceptions take place in the Vievil and the Flemish tarots. On these, the scene is of a large tree under a radiant cloud, with circles of some matter, perhaps hail, falling through the sky. A man is in the foreground and, though his back is to the viewer of the card, the ingenious (or naive) twisting of perspective allows us to see his face, which, together with his upthrown hands, expresses wonderment or fear. The card could be an illustration of the appearance of the angels before the shepherds upon the Nativity, with snow falling on the ground, but the card is titled, *La Foudre,* meaning "lightning." The Flemish decks may have adopted this card to further remove religious references from the deck, replacing "The House of God."

George Wald contributes the following fascinating theory to The Tower.

> In the late seventeenth century and through the eighteenth century, this card was known as The House of God. Later, as its symbolism was forgotten, it was renamed The Tower. The card portrays one of the most striking incidents in the legends surrounding King Arthur and his knights, and the Holy Grail. Although the Arthurian cycle of legends concerned Britain, it was read by Italians and French as well, and, indeed, was known throughout Europe as a subject of art.
>
> Card XVI shows a castle tower being shattered by a bolt of lightning, in flames, usually with two figures falling to the ground, one sometimes shown wearing a crown. This is no ordinary lightning bolt, but is miraculous: the sun is shining brilliantly. This image was already well-defined in tarot cards of the sixteenth century.
>
> The castle Tower was called The House of God because it contained two of the holiest relics in Christendom, the spear that wounded Christ upon the cross, and the chalice, the Holy Grail, that caught his blood.
>
> The legend of Joseph of Arimathaea relates how the relics came from Palestine to the Grail Castle in Wales. At the time of Jesus, both Judea and Britain were Roman provinces, and travelers passed frequently between the two. Joseph of Arimathaea was an aristocratic Jew, "a respected member of the council [the Sanhedrin], who was also himself looking for the Kingdom of God" (Mark 15:43). Joseph, according to the four Gospels, got permission from Pilate to take the body of Christ for burial. He also, according to legend, got the spear which had pierced Christ's side and the cup of the Grail, with which he had caught blood from the feet of Christ as the Lord hung on the cross.
>
> The legend continues: Joseph of Arimathaea brought Christianity to Britain and founded the Abbey of Glastonbury, the oldest in England. Indeed, the formal claim to precedence by the British bishops at the Council of Basel in 1431 was based on the claim that Joseph had founded the British line of the Church shortly after Christ's crucifixion (Tuchman, 1956). Joseph had also established a royal line of descent, the Grail kings, who kept the spear and chalice in the Grail Castle. At the time of Arthur and the Round Table, the Grail King was Pellam, later called the Fisher King (see The Emperor).
>
> The incident depicted on card XVI involves the "dolorous stroke" struck in the Grail Castle—the House of God—by one of Arthur's knights, the luckless Sir Balin. King Pellam had a dastardly brother who was in the habit of making himself invisible and then plunging his spear through any knight he encountered. In such manner he had already killed two companions of Sir Balin. Eventually Balin found him and cut him down at a feast in the Grail Castle. King Pellam rose to avenge his brother. With a first stroke he shattered Balin's sword, disarming him. Then he chased Balin from room to room through the castle, until

The Grail Castle *The castle, in the midst of waters, resembles The World of the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo Tarocchi. The zodiac surrounds the castle, with the sun in Libra and the moon in Cancer. Reprinted from* Graltempel und Paradies, *by Lars Ivar Ringbom, Stockholm, 1951*

> they reached a sumptuous room in which a strangely wrought spear lay upon a golden table—the spear was the one which had pierced the body of Jesus. "And when Balin saw that spear, he got it in his hand and turned him to King Pellam, and smote him passingly sore with that spear, that King Pellam fell down in a swoon, and therewith the castle roof and walls broke and fell to the earth, and Balin fell down so that he might not stir foot nor hand. And so the most part of the castle, that was fallen down through that dolorous stroke, lay upon Pellam and Balin three days" (Sir Thomas Malory, *Le Morte d'Arthur;* London: Everyman Library, 1967; vol. 1, p. 64).
>
> The "dolorous stroke" deserved its widespread fame, for it caused much trouble in the land. Balin was rescued after three days by the magician Merlin, but Pellam's wounds were unhealed for many years. Until he was made well by the salve of

Christ's blood, applied by Sir Galahad, his lands lay barren. As Balin rode away from the castle, "he found the people dead, slain on every side. And all that were alive cried, O Balin, thou hast caused great damage in these countries; for the dolorous stroke thou gavest unto King Pellam, three countries are destroyed, and doubt not but the vengeance will fall on thee at the last" (ibid., p. 65). Indeed, it did, for after further misadventures he and his brother, neither recognizing the other, fought with each other to the death (ibid., pp. 67-68).

XVII THE STAR

A star in medieval and Renaissance symbolism had several possible meanings. It could symbolize the Star of the Magi, which guided the three Magi to the place of Christ's birth; it was also a symbol of Christ and the Virgin Mary. Urania, the muse of astronomy, was crowned with stars.

The figure on The Star card of the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck was probably intended to symbolize astronomy or astrology since she holds only a star. The Victoria and Albert Museum version of the card depicts a regal woman in armor, bearing a hawk on her left arm and an eight-pointed star in her right hand.

The d'Este card depicts two astrologers, one looking at a sheet and the other looking up. A similar image is found in the Gringonneur deck, but on The Moon card instead. The Vievil and the Flemish tarots show an astrologer seated on a chair, holding a compass and an hourglass. On the right is a tower with a clock, and above are five stars. Moisture falls from the sky.

The Star card on the Rothschild sheet suggests the three Magi. Three men, one crowned and the other two wearing peaked hats, stand together. One of the men holds a large crown, presumably for the new king (Christ) who will be greater than Herod. A small censer at the upper left may be for the gifts of frankincense and myrrh, while the cloth in the hand of the man at the left may hold the other gift, gold.

The Rosenwald sheet presents a stylized version of The Star with a giant, eight-pointed star between ribbony clouds, similar to those seen beneath the woman on the Cary-Yale World card. On the same sheet, the other luminary of night, The Moon, also has the ribbony borders, while The Sun has a sky with more naturalistic clouds.

The Tarot of Marseilles image appeared in the late seventeenth century. A nude woman pours water from two pitchers into a stream or pond. Several stars, usually one large and seven smaller, are above her. Often there are two trees in the background and a bird is perched in the left-hand tree.

A sixteenth-century *kalendar* (Lynch, 1976) depicts a clothed man kneeling at the edge of a pond, pouring water from two urns onto the land and into the pond. The picture illustrates the zodiacal sign of Aquarius, the waterbearer. Usually, Aquarius is shown as a nude man pouring water out of one large urn. In the Tarocchi of Mantegna, Poesia, the muse of poetry, pours water from a pitcher into a small pond while playing a flute.

The eight stars may symbolize the seven days of creation, plus the eighth day of regeneration, as described by Saint Augustine. Additionally, the seven smaller planets may symbolize the seven planets of the ancients, with the larger star symbolizing Christ as the "morning star" (Rev. 22:16).

Generally, nudity is a symbol of virtue and truthfulness.

Aquarius *The man, kneeling on the edge of the pond and pouring water from two urns onto land and into the pond, resembles the lady of The Star card. From a calendar by Johann Stöffler, 1518, collection of New York Public Library, New York*

Sometimes it connotes vice, but that meaning is unlikely in the setting of The Star. The bird is a symbol of the soul, a carryover of ancient Egyptian symbolism used by Christian artists. Birds also symbolize the element of air, the element that rules Aquarius.

Collection of Library of Saint Mark, Venice

An Astrologer *The sage man holds a compass and a book, and an armillary sphere is nearby. An illumination from* Historia Naturalis, *Pliny, Padua, 1481*

XVIII THE MOON

The earliest extant Moon card in the tarot is much like the earliest extant Star card. Both are in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck. The Moon shows a woman wearing a simple dress and holding a crescent in her right hand. Like the figure on The Star card, her long blond hair flows down her back and her forehead is plucked or shaved in the style of the Renaissance. The high forehead may have been cultivated to give an appearance of refined sagacity, since old scholars would be balding. The slight puffiness around the eyes is another attribute of Renaissance portraiture, but where it lends sensuality to Botticelli's figures, the woman on The Star card appears haggard. The simplicity of the card indicates that the image was meant to represent the moon as a planet, and to remind one of the symbolic properties of the moon. The tower in the background on the right of the card may be an observatory, or merely an architectural ornament. Otherwise, it could prefigure the towers that appear as a prominent feature of the Tarot of Marseilles Moon card.

The Gringonneur Moon card depicts two astronomers studying the crescent moon with compasses and book, while the d'Este card shows one scholar drawing the moon in a book. The Gringonneur picture closely resembles The Star of the d'Este cards. The Rothschild sheet shows two astronomers in classical dress, crowned with laurels. One holds a compass and an armillary sphere, the astronomical instrument which represented the principal "circles" of the heavens with metal rings and was used as a symbol of astronomy. Here, it is mounted with a small cross. The other figure holds a T-square.

The Vievil and the Flemish tarots show a woman with a distaff in the moonlight. The image is harmonious, in that the moon was known to rule women's cycles and spinning was a symbol of woman's domestic role. In a more sinister interpretation, the woman could represent Clotho, one of the three Fates who, in Greek and Roman religion, were believed to determine man's destiny, including the events of life and its duration. The thread symbolizes life, which the Fates measure and cut. The Virgin Mary was often shown with a distaff at the Annunciation, but the image of the old, witchlike woman on the card probably has nothing to do with the Virgin's story.

The earliest known representation of the Tarot of Marseilles Moon card is in the deck by Jean Noblet of Paris, from the mid-seventeenth century. Two dogs, flanked by two towers, howl at the moon while a crayfish emerges from a pond at the bottom of the card. Usually, moisture is shown falling from the moon. Dr. O'Neill's diligent search in Renaissance and medieval imagery has turned up no precedent in art for the Tarot of Marseilles Moon. The Moon, appropriately enough from the occult point of view, is one of the most enigmatic cards in the deck.

Hounds, since classical times, have been known to have a special connection with the moon. The classical moon goddess, Diana, was a huntress who was accompanied by dogs. It is common knowledge that dogs bark and howl at the moon. Moisture is also one of the properties of the moon. The moon was believed to control the waters of the earth, the tides, as well as the fluids, or humors, of the body.

The crescent moon with horns upturned, as on the Mayer tarot, was believed to augur either flood, with the moon bearing water, or drought, with the moon retaining water. The decks that show no moisture have the horns upturned (although the Payen and Noblet decks have upturned horns with moisture also). There was also a belief that shellfish grew as the moon waxed, which may explain the presence of the large crayfish in the pond at the bottom of the card. The crayfish is related to the crab, symbol of the zodiacal sign of Cancer, which is ruled by the moon.

The towers are mysterious in that, along with the structure in The Tower card, they represent the only prominent architecture in the Tarot of Marseilles deck. Towers may be linked with astronomy, as The Star cards of other decks show an astronomer in a scene with a tower. The towers may also be a remnant of the time during which the moon was an attribute of the goddess Hecate, who ruled the aspects of womanhood feared by the ancients and medieval men alike: childbirth and menstruation. In medieval times, Hecate was considered queen of the witches. She was celebrated at the crossroads, particularly at the meeting of three roads, and those who feared her, according to Ad de Vries (1974), erected pillars or columns to ward off evil. It was also on these sites that dogs were sacrificed, perhaps to placate the more beneficent aspect of the moon, Diana, and that hanged men were buried.

Photograph collection of the author

The Witch *In an eerie and tangled wood, an old witch stands on a slab, holding a distaff. Above her is a sphere of moon and stars, and a mysterious light blazes in the upper right corner. Woodcut attributed to Holbein, from the Augsburg edition of* De Consolatione Philosophiae, *1537*

Another connection with the mandrake can be found here. An excerpt from C. J. S. Thompson's book reads:

> In some parts of Wales the mandrake superstitions were also connected with black briony with its dark green leaves and red berries. Its large tap-root was used in place of the true mandrake, and was supposed to have similar virtues. Its leaves and fruit were called "charnel food," and it was believed only to grow beside the gallows tree or near crossroads where suicides were buried, whither witches went to gather them and uprooted the plant which they used for the purpose of magic. Furthermore, when uprooted, it was said to utter shrieks and groans like a human being, and its agony was dreadful to hear. From its stalk a sweat like blood oozed, and with each drop a faint scream was heard. There was an old saying in some parts of the Principality that people who uprooted the mandrake would die within a year, and they would die groaning as the mandrake died, or uttering penitent prayers for having pulled up the unholy plant.
>
> In other districts of Wales there was a belief in the legend that the mandrake grew from the tears of an innocent man who had been hanged on the gallows.

The old botanical name of mandrake, *Atropa mandragora,* was said to derive from the name Atropos, the eldest sister of the Fates, who, as related earlier, measured the fate of a person with a spun thread.

XIX THE SUN

The Tarocchi of Mantegna and the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo Tarot show similar pictures on The Sun card, called Iliaco in the Tarocchi of Mantegna. In the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck, a putto stands on one foot on a cloud, holding the sun above his head. The masculine face on the sun possibly means that the card symbolizes the Greek sun god, Apollo.

The Mantegna card, Iliaco, shows a youth standing on the ground and gazing at the glowing head he holds. Ilia was one of the names of Rhea Silvia, the mother of Romulus and Remus, the twin brothers who founded Rome. The Mantegna figure may thus prefigure The Sun of the Tarot of Marseilles, which shows two small boys in front of a wall.

The Gringonneur Sun card and that on the uncut Bibliothèque de l'Ecole Nationale Supérieur des Beaux-Arts are similar to The Moon cards from the Vievil and Flemish decks, with the sun instead of the moon at the tops of the cards. The women spinning are young, and stand near a tree instead of sitting. The d'Este Sun illustrates the story of Diogenes and Alexander the Great. Diogenes was a Greek Cynic philosopher who lived during the fourth century. He was known for his extremely austere way of living, and even used a tub for a house. Alexander visited him and offered to fulfill any wish. Diogenes merely asked Alexander to step aside, as he was blocking the sun. The Sun card shows Diogenes sitting in the mouth of the tub, gesturing with his hand to Alexander the Great.

The Tarot of Marseilles Sun usually shows two small boys in front of a wall, the sun beaming on them. They may be Romulus and Remus, the twin brothers who founded Rome. The wall may foreshadow the incident in which Remus jumped irreverently over the city wall and was killed by his brother, who continued to rule Rome by himself.

Some decks, for example those by Heri (first quarter of eighteenth century), Noblet (seventeenth century) and Benois (ca 1810–1830), show a man and a woman together, in the same pose as the boys, in front of the wall with the sun shining on them. The crude woodcuts could blur distinctions, and the "brothers" could actually have been meant to be a boy and a girl, or the artisans who showed a man and a woman might have mistaken the brothers for a boy and a girl. The man and woman may relate to the fall of humanity as related in Genesis. The newly clothed man and woman could be standing outside the wall of the Garden of Eden. O'Neill links The Sun with the popular image of the Renaissance, the Garden of Paradise, a walled-in garden of peace, happiness and security. The walled-in garden usually shows the Madonna with the Christ child, but sometimes men and women play in a garden, swimming in the Fountain of Youth. O'Neill calls attention to Leonardo da Vinci's painting, The Virgin of the Rocks, which shows the infants Christ and John the Baptist with their mothers in a sheltered grotto; thus, the two boys could symbolize John the Baptist and Christ, who were often shown together in Renaissance art.

The Flemish tarots depicted a man on horseback bearing a banner under the sun. A.E. Waite may have been influenced by this image for The Sun in his own deck which shows a child on horseback.

Peter McDonald offers a theory as to the numbering of The Moon and The Sun. Richard Lawler's book, *Sacred Geometry,* states, "The ratio of 18/19 is of interest since it is the ratio . . . that determines the lunar and solar year in eclipse cycle." McDonald posits that the numbers were an astronomical mnemonic. The number 19 also ties in with the Metonic cycle used to determine the date of Easter by the Gregorian calendar, which was introduced in 1582. The cycles of the moon decide the date of Easter, which falls on the Sunday following the first full moon after the equinox. The Metonic cycle is the nineteen years that passes between the appearance of the full moon on the same date.

XX JUDGMENT

The Last Judgment, a popular subject of Renaissance art, was to occur at the second coming of Christ. There would be a Resurrection of the dead, and then the souls would be consigned to heaven or hell. "Many of those who sleep in the dust of the earth will wake, some to everlasting life and some to eternal abhorrence" (Daniel 12:2).

Judgment is one of the most consistent cards in the history of tarot. Although the exact details of the picture vary from deck to deck, the essential scene remains the same. The trumpet call of one or more angels awakens several people from their graves. The people are shown without the dignity of clothes or stylish coiffure, although some are draped with a shroud.

The Cary-Yale picture depicts four figures rising from terracotta tombs with a castle in the background. Two angels bearing trumpets with banners are above them. Above is written *Surgite ad judicium,* "Stand up to receive justice." The human figures are approximately the same age, possibly reflecting Saint Augustine's belief that, at the time of final Judgment, everyone will be the same age as Christ was at his death—thought at the time to be thirty—regardless of their age at their own death. The Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck shows a young couple and an old man rising out of a terracotta tomb. Two angels blow trumpets and God the Father holds the sword of Judgment and the orb of supremacy. The presence of a God figure on

Reprinted from *The Invention of Printing*, by Theo. L. De Vinne, 1878

The Last Judgment *The raising of the dead is shown in a page from* The Apostle's Creed, *a German work dating from circa 1450. Four angels blow trumpets in the corners. At the bottom left is Zacharias and on the right is Judas.*

the card is exclusive to the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck; otherwise, only angels are shown as divine beings on Judgment. The presence of God the Father is, in fact, also unusual in art, since representations of the Last Judgment usually show Christ acting as the judge.

The Vievil deck depicts two men and a woman; a town is in the background and the banner on the angel's trumpet is marked with a cross. The banner of Resurrection was traditionally marked with a red cross.

The Adam de Hautot deck adds a few skeletons to the group of people. The Tarot of Marseilles shows a woman on the left of the card, a tonsured man with his back turned in the center, and an older man on the right. The angel emerges from a brilliant cloud and blows a trumpet which bears a banner emblazoned with a cross.

The Gringonneur deck shows a lively group making a variety of gestures. Two men raise their hands, while a woman modestly shields her body and another seems to be trying to escape. Three people in the foreground cross their arms over their chests.

The skeletal figures in some decks illustrate the idea that the dead would emerge as skeletons, gradually gaining flesh as they rose. This tradition comes from the story in Ezekiel (37:1–9) in which bones rise, join together and are clothed in flesh. They are given life by the winds from "the four corners of the earth," sometimes found on The World card when the four winds replace the four creatures.

In Matthew (24:31), Christ said to the apostles concerning the Son of Man's second coming, "with a trumpet blast [God] will send out his angels, and they will gather his chosen from the four winds." Therefore, Renaissance and medieval pictures of the Judgment almost always featured angels with trumpets. The angelic form with wings was first adopted in the sixth century and was modeled after the Roman goddess of Victory. In the Old and New Testaments angels were usually indistinguishable from humans, for example, in the story of Jacob wrestling with the angel, and in the gospel of Saint Mark, in which the angel announcing Christ's Resurrection appears as a youth clothed in white.

Another incident of a raising of the dead occurs in the Bible. At the dramatic moment of Christ's death on the cross, the earth splits "and a number of bodies of the saints who slept the sleep of death rose up. . . ."

In some decks, The World can be interpreted as following the same theme as Judgment, thus making a kind of diptych within the deck. (See discussion of The World.)

XXI THE WORLD

For the early, untitled tarot cards, there has been uncertainty as to which cards could be called The World. For example, the Gringonneur deck shows a figure standing on top of a globe that encircles the scene of a village. The figure is haloed and holds sword and orb. The halo is the type used for allegorical figures. Sometime after its creation, the card was labeled *La Fortune,* but it is very similar to the card, in the uncut sheet at Bibliothèque de l'Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, which has elements of the Tarot of Marseilles World card. The Wheel of Fortune is clearly another card on the same sheet. Another World card like the Gringonneur type appears on the Rosenwald sheet and it also is distinct from The Wheel of Fortune, on the same sheet.

The card now called The World in the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck—called The Castle of Plutus by Cicognara and others—depicts two putti holding up a globe which contains a city under the stars surrounded by a moat. The city is medieval, with turrets and with a cathedral in the center, but it is impossible to give the place an exact identity unless specific references to the card are found someday in Renaissance archives.

The World of the Cary-Yale deck shows a woman dressed in aristocratic clothes, holding a bannered trumpet and a crown, and floating in ribbony clouds above an idyllic scene of Renaissance life. In art, ribbony clouds were often the vehicles of divine personages. A large crown is under the woman. In the scene, a person fishes in a pond, while two men, apparently friars, ride in a boat. A knight on a white horse bears a banner in the center. In the background are four groups of buildings, each with moats, and three ships are in the sea. A lighthouse is on the edge of the water. As with the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo card, the exact location of the scene is unknown. The area near Milan was connected with several rivers, which might explain the importance of water in the scene. The figure of the woman may represent security under aristocratic rule. She does not seem to be a divine figure, since she has neither halo nor wings. She may portray Fame, with her trumpet and crown.

The idyllic scene may be from the cycle of Arthurian legends. The codex of Lancelot of the Lake, attributed to Bonifacio Bembo, indicates both that the nobility of Milan were familiar with the Arthurian cycle, and that the creator of the Cary-Yale deck was artistically familiar with the tales.

The Tarot of Marseilles World is similar to pictures of the Last Judgment, in which, typically, Christ sat enthroned, surrounded by "the four living creatures," shown as a man or angel, a lion, a bull and an eagle, each of which represents one of the four evangelists. The "four living creatures" in the corners of the card also symbolize the elements: air for the man, water for the eagle, fire for the lion and earth for the bull, and they correspond to the cardinal signs of the zodiac: Aquarius, Scorpio, Leo and Taurus, respectively. The Church created a role for each of the four evangelists that corresponds with the life of Christ. Matthew, the man, symbolizes the incarnation of Christ; Luke, the bull, symbolizes Christ's Passion, the events leading up to and including the crucifixion; Mark, the lion, is the symbol of the Resurrection of Christ; and John, the eagle, represents the ascension of Christ into heaven. Usually the creatures are arranged so that they can be "read" in a counterclockwise direction, with the man in the upper left corner, the bull below, the lion on the lower right and the eagle on the upper right, creating a sequence of the major articles of the Christian faith. Christ usually holds one hand up in benediction and carries a book in the other hand. Some fifteenth-century Italian works show Christ hurling arrows at the damned, similar to Jupiter in the Tarocchi of Mantegna. Christ as Jupiter, the all-powerful, was a recognized image of the Renaissance. Christ could have in his right hand a scroll, referred to in Revelations (5:1). A fourteenth-century manuscript is illustrated with a picture of Christ Triumphant, sitting on a throne over a ribbony bow, with the winged figures of the four evangelists below. Christ holds a globe and a scepter.

Vievil's deck of the mid-seventeenth century depicts a Christ figure, but most subsequent decks show a feminine figure who holds a wand, which might have evolved from the arrows or the scroll.

A passage from Matthew (27:27-29) provides a link between the Passion of Christ and The World card from the Vievil and Payen decks.

> Then the soldiers of the governor took Jesus into the praetorium and got all the regiment round him; they stripped him and threw a scarlet mantle round him, plaited a crown of thorns and set it on his head, put a stick in his right hand, and knelt before him in mockery, crying "Hail, king of the Jews!"

The World card may show the Resurrection of Christ, or his ascension into heaven which occured forty days after the Resurrection. Resurrection pictures usually show Christ standing on the ground in front of his tomb, sometimes holding the banner of Resurrection. Italian devotional pictures of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries showed Christ in the mandorla, floating in the sky. These images were censured by the Council of Trent as scripturally

Reprinted from *The English Fortune-Tellers*, by John Phillips, 1703

Fortune *The lady dispensing the symbols of fortune resembles the woman sometimes shown on The World. The iconographic similarity has led several scholars to identify The World of some tarot decks as Fortune. The concepts of the fickleness of Fortune and the vanity of worldly endeavors were indeed linked in the popular mind.*

Photograph collection of the author

Christ Triumphant *In a carved ivory of the eleventh century, Christ is shown beardless. The four living creatures, symbolic of the evangelists, surround the mandorla containing Christ.*

inaccurate, and they generally were not seen after the second half of the sixteenth century. Italian Resurrection pictures often replaced the Roman guards with the four evangelists.

Until the Council of Trent, the ascension pictures more commonly showed Christ floating in the sky inside the mandorla. According to Hall (1974), the mandorla with the figure inside was sometimes, especially in Italian Renaissance paintings, modeled after stage sets constructed for religious plays performed in the church. "The 'ascension images' could be raised or lowered with ropes or pulleys, and were sometimes part of an elaborately complicated machine. In time, when these devices were perfected, live actors were used."

George Wald relates his own experience of The World.

> I was introduced to the tarot through a strange experience coming from a quite different direction. Some years ago I found in the Dutch city of Delft a series of eighteenth-century Biblical tiles showing Jesus as a beardless androgyne. When seminude, as when beaten by Pilate's soldiers or crucified, he was shown with heavy, pendulous breasts.
>
> From time to time over the years I have tried to determine what might have impelled the simple, probably illiterate workmen who made those tiles, or the customers who purchased them, to think of Jesus in that way, so breaking with the icon of the bearded Christ that had been traditional for over a millenium. Christ with a beard appeared in the role of teacher and sufferer, as contrasted with the beardless (although rare) Christ Triumphant, in which he is portrayed as the Son of God, transfigured from the Son of Man (Didron, 1851). Michelangelo's Christ in Judgment portrayed a youthful, unbearded and athletic type of Jesus. One day I came upon that pathetic androgyne again, this time in a reproduction of tarot card XXI The World, in the deck by Payen, dated 1713. It was beyond question the figure of Jesus, as demonstrated by its similarity to the Christ of the Vievil deck, the presence of the four creatures, and the traditional mandorla (Italian for "almond"), the two-pointed oval that frames the figure.
>
> The designation of The World to Christ is appropriate. God the Father is in heaven, but Jesus is God made manifest on the earth. As he says in John (9:5), "As long as I am in the world I am the light of the world." But he is also identified as *being* the world. An example occurs in one of the most widely known legends in European folklore, that of Saint Christopher. On a wildly stormy night this gigantic man, then a pagan, was driven by a persistent child who wished to be carried across a raging torrent. As the man struggled across, the child seemed to grow heavier and heavier. "And when he was escaped with great pain and passed the water, and set the child aground, he said, 'Child, thou hast put me in great peril. Thou weighest almost as I had had all the world upon me' . . . And the child answered, 'Christopher—named so now—marvel thou no thing. For thou hast not only borne all the world upon thee; but thou hast borne Him that created and made all the world upon thy shoulders. I am Jesus Christ . . .' (de Voragine; 1899)
>
> And finally, why an androgynous Jesus?
>
> Let us note first that the notion of an androgynous god is both widespread and makes a kind of sense. One traditional representation of the Hindu god Shiva (Shiva Ardhanari) is split down the middle, male on the right side, female on the left (see illustration Volume I). Buddha and the Bodhisattvas are commonly portrayed as beardless, corpulent and heavy-breasted, essentially androgynous. In a sense, if a god who is to be all-in-all, all-powerful, all-encompassing, is given a human representation, that should be androgynous; otherwise he/she would lack aspects that man and woman possess.
>
> But there is also a particular sense in which the androgyne has always clung to the figure of Jesus. The character given God the Father is unalterably male: assertive, aggressive, the God of Battles. In contrast Jesus is gentle, forbearing, forgiving, loving his enemies, nurturing ("Suffer little children to come unto me"), an ostensible male fulfilling a feminine stereotype. The pre-Reformation church and laity at prayer, as distinct from the formal theology, for centuries experienced Jesus as Mother, Sister and Nurse, as well as King, Knight, Lover and Brother; and developed to go with this attitude an androgynous system of metaphor (McLaughlin, 1975). So Saint Anselm, the eleventh-century archbishop of Canterbury, prayed: "Christ, my mother, you gather your chickens under your wings . . . For by your gentleness the badly frightened are comforted, by your sweet smell the despairing are revived, your warmth gives life to the dead . . . Mother, know again your dead son . . ." The thirteenth-century prioress Marguerite d'Oingt, addresses Jesus as the Mother who in labor on the cross as child-bed brings forth a redeemed world (McLaughlin, 1975).
>
> The idea of an androgynous Jesus persists into the present, albeit now with a note of disparagement. Herman Melville in Moby Dick speaks of "the soft, curled, hermaphroditical Italian pictures (of Jesus) in which his idea has been most successfully embodied . . ." (Mumford, 1929). The German church historian Hans Preuss (1932) remarks: "But there is always something remarkable in the early Christians conceptualizing the Lord, for whom they bled and died, as so boyish, indeed girlish." And the theologian Georg Koepgen (1939) states: "Christianity is neither masculine nor feminine, it is male/female, in the sense in which the masculine and feminine share in the spirit of Jesus. The tension and mutual conflict of the sexes are brought in Jesus into an androgynous unity."
>
> So the idea of Jesus as androgynous is ancient and persistent. What remains a problem is to uncover what impulse in eighteenth-century Europe brought those tilemakers in Delft to portray him so, what made that representation acceptable to purchasers of the tiles, and what made that image for a time so familiar as to bring it onto tarot card XXI.

The androgynous aspect of The World card was also commented upon, independently, by Dr. O'Neill, and is indeed a striking feature of the card. As with all interpre-

The World Card *The World card from Jacques Vievil's deck (circa 1643 to 1664) shows Christ haloed, wearing a robe and carrying a scepter. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris) XXI* LE MONDE *of Jean Noblet's seventeenth-century deck, like that of the Heri deck from the first quarter of the eighteenth century, shows a female "Christ." The halo is gone and breasts are added. The figure now wears a girdle of leaves in addition to the cloak. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris) XXI* LE MONDE *from Heri's 1718 deck shows the familiar figure of the woman dancing on one foot, clothed in a flowing scarf and holding a wand. The four living creatures are still in the corners and the wreath remains essentially the same. (Schweizerisches Landesmuseum, Zurich)*

tations of the early symbolism of the tarot, one must be cautious in reading too much into the card. The crudeness of the early woodcuts sometimes created androgynous figures. However, the early Vievil World card clearly portrays Christ, and the change to a female figure is unexplained, especially since the figure remains surrounded by the four Biblical creatures for most of the history of the card. A striking example of a "transitional" World card is in a deck by François Heri (first quarter of the eighteenth century). The figure in the wreath has Christ's attributes of robe and scepter, but no halo. Also, the figure is now seen as a woman, with breasts. The figure on The World found at the Sforza Castle is too damaged for a determination of the gender, but the pose and the cape and scepter are the same as those of the Heri card. The Heri and the Sforza Castle figures are very similar to the male Christ figure of the Payen deck. Another deck by Heri, dated 1718, shows a woman dancing on one foot, with a scarf draped over her body and a scepter in her hand. The 1718 deck also replaces the Pope and Popess with Jupiter and Junon, whereas the deck with the Christlike figure retains the religious figures.

The Flemish decks once again removed the overtly Christian card from the deck by showing the figure on The World as a winged woman, holding a large strip of cloth and standing on the terrestrial globe, a globe divided into three sections, one of the earth, the other of the day sky and the other of the night sky. The dominion of Christ, however, is indicated by a cross that tops the globe. Possibly the change in the figure was in keeping with the Reformation consciousness of the biblical commandment of not worshipping "graven images," which was followed to extremes in the destruction of Church art. Conversely, the Counter Reformation could have found the casual use of an image of Christ as a playing card intolerable.

RENAISSANCE STORIES IN THE TAROT

Research and thoughtful speculation lead to many fascinating connections between the tarot and other symbolic systems and seemingly distant legends. The legend of the Holy Grail glimmers in The Emperor, The Tower and The World. Biblical characters figure largely in the overall symbolism. The festival of Easter can be traced in the carnival figures as outlined in Moakley's *The Tarot Cards Painted by Bembo*. The mystical theme of death and resurrection, which will eventually overwhelm the comedy of the carnival, is possibly illustrated on The Emperor, The Chariot, The Hanged Man, Temperance, Judgment and The World. The story of cosmic destruction and the second coming of Christ occupy a theme in Death, Judgment and The World. Dark currents of witchcraft and evil are present in The Devil and The Moon. Many of the tarot cards, such as The Devil, The Hermit and The World, were probably modeled on allegorical dramas, the costumes and scenery of which, during Renaissance times, reached the height of elaborateness. Pageantry and extravagant stage devices were loved by the people of the times. It is likely that the heroes and the heroines of the spectacles would enjoy a place on the cards beloved by the nobility. Dr. O'Neill aptly believes that one need look no further than medieval and Renaissance times to find much of the rich symbolism embodied in the tarot.

IX

SEQUENCE AND TITLES OF THE MAJOR ARCANA CARDS

THE EARLIEST DOCUMENTATION that lists card numbers and titles for the Major Arcana is the handwritten manuscript *Sermones de Ludo Cum Aliis,* which dates from the late fifteenth century. The trumps or Major Arcana are listed in the margin of the sermon with Arabic numbers. Although the list probably constitutes the sequence in use at the time, only an extant pack of numbered cards would conclusively prove the prevailing card sequence.

The Major Arcana cards from the earliest extant tarocchi decks—the incomplete Visconti and Visconti-Sforza packs of the mid-fifteenth century—are untitled and without numbers. No records survive to reveal the original sequence of the cards. The earliest extant tarot deck with numerals printed on the Major Arcana is a 1557 French tarot pack published at Lyon by Catelin Geofroy. The date and name of the cardmaker appear on the ace of parrots (cups). Of the thirty-eight cards extant in the Geofroy pack, twelve are Major Arcana cards. Thus, the pack provides the numerical sequence of at least half of the Major Arcana cards. The sequence of the twenty-two Major Arcana cards in Tarot of Marseilles packs (which seemed to set the pattern for subsequent tarot packs) follows the Geofroy cards, at least to the extent that one can make a comparison using the extant twelve Major Arcana cards in the Geofroy pack.

During the fifteenth century and the early part of the sixteenth century, rules for taking tricks were undoubtedly established for playing the game of triumphi or tarocchi. It is possible that each Major Arcana card had a pre-established trick-taking value, so that when two or more trumps were played on the same trick, the winner of the trick was the player with the higher trump. However, if all the trumps were of equal value and the last trump played in a trick was considered the winner of the trick, a numerical value would be unnecessary on early trump cards. Nevertheless, it seems likely the trumps were assigned values for the sake of orderly game play.

If there were a definite sequence to the trump cards, as many scholars believe, it would seem that the fifteenth-century tarocchi cards would have been numbered to facilitate play. It is possible, but unlikely, that players of the game of *triumphi* or tarocchi were expected to memorize which trump card was valued above another; for example, The Emperor over The Empress, or The Pope over The Popess. However, the situation might vary depending upon changing political circumstances. In fifteenth-century Italy, The Pope might have taken The Emperor, or The Emperor The Pope, depending upon the alliance of the patron of a deck or the prevailing papal or secular supremacy. The imagery on many of the trumps, however, does not offer any clue as to the cards' relative values. A few early Italian tarocchi decks contain numerals on some, but not all, of the Major Arcana or trump cards, suggesting an attempt to clarify the sequence of trumps whose numerical order was not self-evident.

The card titles and card sequences in decks spanning several hundred years provide interesting comparisons. Although The Emperor usually has a higher number value than The Empress in Italian and French packs, the list in *La Maison Academique contenant les jeux* (1659) and the Adam C. de Hautot pack (late eighteenth century) show The Empress as 4 and The Emperor as 3. In the Grand-prêtre pack, III *La grandeprêtresse* is higher than II *Le grandprêtre.* When Garzoni's list is reversed to begin with *Il Matto* and end with *Il Mondo, La Papessa* is after *L'Imperatrice* and *L'Imperadore,* rather than following The Juggler as more commonly seen. In some packs or lists, The Angel or Judgment is higher on the list than The World; at other times The World card dominates. The position of Justice varies considerably: sometimes it is shown between The Angel (Judgment) and The World; other times it is shown after The Lovers or The Chariot. Variations in card placement seem to stem from local preferences.

The importance of the sequence of the trumps or Major Arcana cards lies not only in the history of *triumphi* or tarocchi games, but also in the preparation of the deck for modern-day readings and meditation. Tarot card readers often prefer to return the cards to their original sequence before starting a new reading in order to wipe away the

influence of previous readings. Many occultists believe that the sequence of cards in the packs and the number assigned to each card correspond to the images on the cards and have symbolic meaning in themselves.

The accompanying compilation, derived from extant decks and literature, provides a comparison of the numbering and card titles for the Major Arcana cards. Unusual variations in title and numbering are highlighted by bold typeface. Where no title appears on the actual card, the title is determined by visual identification and is listed in English in parentheses. An English translation is provided in parentheses for foreign language titles on the cards, if the title is unusual or if translation facilitates comparison between decks.

The listing of Major Arcana cards for each deck is based, where possible, on the numerical designation on the cards. When cards are unnumbered and the numerical sequence is not apparent, the cards have been arbitrarily assigned to the generally accepted sequence found in contemporary decks or literature. When card titles without numbers appear in sources other than cards, such as in the poetry by Bertoni and Pomeran, the sequence of the cards follows their appearance in the literature with one important concession. The listings of trumps in Bertoni, Susio, Garzoni and Pomeran start with The World and run to The Fool or The Magician. For consistency, and to facilitate comparison, the list in this compilation reverses the order to end with The World.

Tarot of Marseilles

In order to provide a basis for comparison, the first list of Major Arcana cards on each page of the accompanying chart is of the Tarot of Marseilles Major Arcana. During the past century, the Roman or Arabic numbers assigned to each card of the Major Arcana in most tarot packs follow the numbering of the Tarot of Marseilles. The principal exception is the Rider-Waite Tarot, first published in 1909, and the packs published thereafter that specifically follow Arthur Edward Waite's modification.

Waite switched the numbering of VIII Justice and XI Strength to VIII Strength and XI Justice. The reason for the change is that Waite believed Justice corresponds to *lamed*, the twelfth letter of the Hebrew alphabet. Since the Fool card, numbered zero, was assigned to *aleph*, the first letter of the Hebrew alphabet, Justice falls into the eleventh position, and the Strength card, as number eight, works out to be assigned to *teth*, the ninth letter of the Hebrew alphabet. Some logic can be seen in the sequence of XI Justice, XII The Hanged Man and XIII Death, although whether this occurred to Waite is unknown.

Although many Tarot of Marseilles packs were produced in Marseilles, the deck probably did not originate there and it by no means represents the first tarot pack. The significance of the Tarot of Marseilles pack lies in the fact that French and Swiss cardmakers and, since the mid-nineteenth century, many Northern Italian cardmakers, have produced packs of the Tarot of Marseilles type.

Several distinctive characteristics in the Major and Minor Arcana of the Tarot of Marseilles are interesting to note. In the Major Arcana, the sequence progresses from the microcosm to the macrocosm. Individual figures, such as the Fool, and the warrior on The Chariot, begin the procession, which continues with allegorical figures like Strength and Justice, until the cosmos is illustrated with The Star, The Moon, The Sun, Judgment and The World. Each card has its own iconography. Almost invariably, it is the right leg of the Fool's pants that is torn by the pursuing dog. The Magician holds a baton aloft in his left hand while looking toward his right. The Emperor wears a helmet instead of a crown. The horses on The Chariot are extremely stylized, with only the foremost halves of their bodies drawn. They appear as if joined at the middle and splitting off in opposite directions.

Justice and Strength *VIII* LA JUSTICE *of the Tarot of Marseilles, XI JUSTICE from the Rider-Waite Tarot, XI* LA FORCE *of the Tarot of Marseilles, and VIII STRENGTH from the Rider-Waite Tarot. Tarot of Marseilles cards from deck made by Nicolas Conver of Marseilles, 1761. (Collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris) Rider-Waite Tarot drawn by Pamela Colman Smith under the direction of Arthur Edward Waite, 1909 (Collection of the author)*

Several figures in the Tarot of Marseilles are linked in expression when placed side by side. The Fool and the Magician face each other, perhaps in sympathy due to their similar occupations of amusing the public. The Empress glances to her left toward the Emperor, who is turned to her. The Popess and the Pope, who flank the pair, look away from each other, creating a symmetry among the four cards. Death and Temperance face each other. The Moon shows a pair of dogs, while The Sun, next to it, shows a pair of boys.

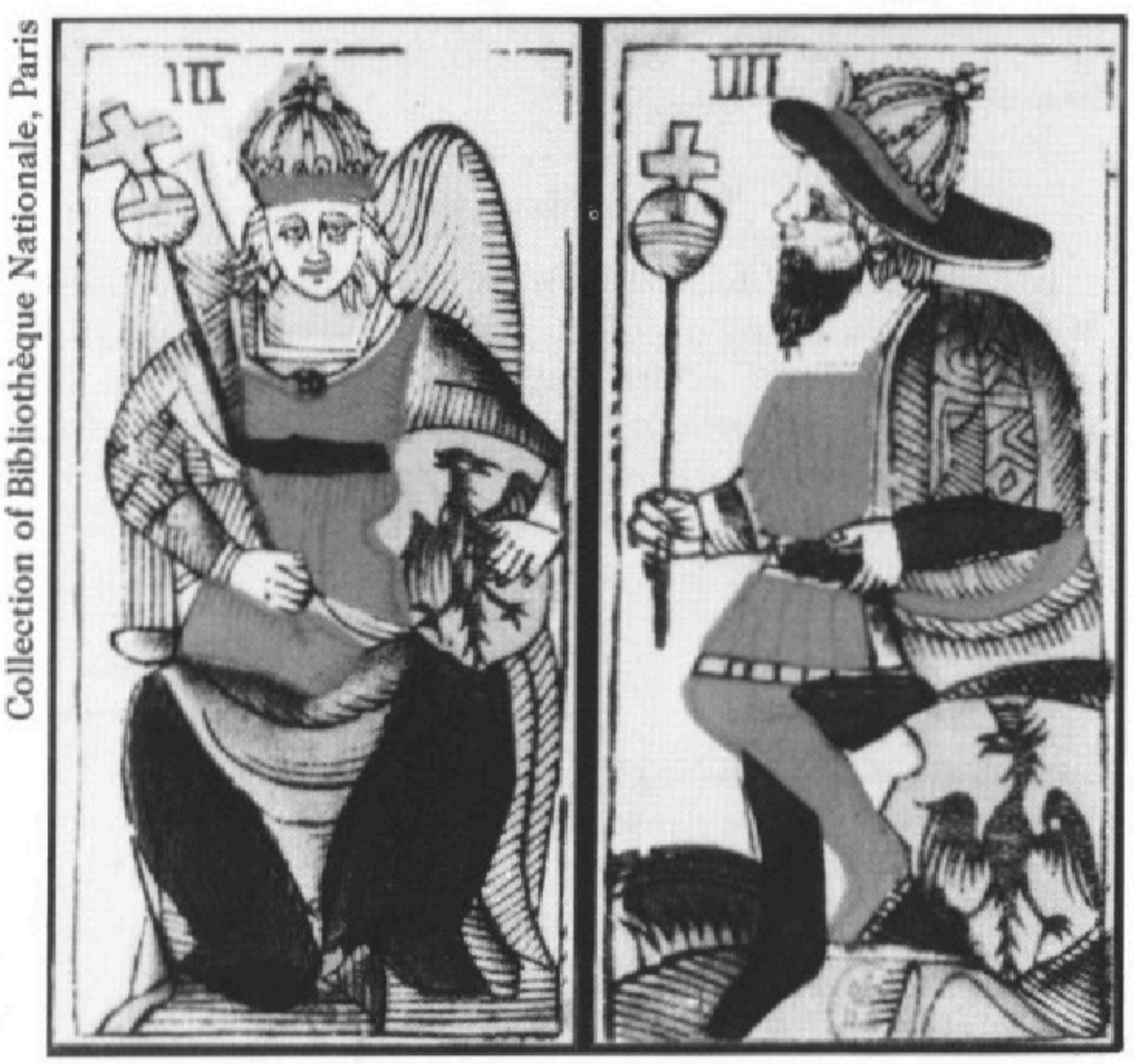
The Tarot of Marseilles also displays distinct characteristics in the Minor Arcana. The kings and queens in the suits of swords, cups and coins face each other when placed in sequence, king to queen, whereas the king and queen of staves face away from each other. The swords are usually curved and the staves or batons are straight. The ten of swords contains four parallel, curved swords on each side of the card that interlace at top and bottom, with the ends flat and widened. Two additional swords, with ornate hilts and pointed tips, cross in the middle. In the suit of staves, the wands interlace at the center, but the ends are also flat and widened out. The two of cups is usually shown with a central flower or thin urn on a pedestal and two fishes' or dragons' heads that face each other, the entire scene sometimes appearing over a panel identifying the cardmaker.

The two of coins has a wide scroll that follows the outer edges of the coins in an S or inverted S shape, and within the scroll the cardmaker's name and city are often given. The aces of swords and staves usually depict a large sword and club, respectively, held upright by an arm. Usually, the pip or numeral cards in the suits of swords, staves and cups contain Roman numbers at each side to facilitate identification of the card rank, while the suit of coins is likely to omit the numbering. However, the general observations provided for Tarot of Marseilles packs are not always faithfully followed and exceptions may appear. For example, the Claude Burdel tarot pack of 1751, illustrated in this volume, shows parallel swords on the ten of swords, but the ends alternate between flat widened tips and ornate hilts with sword guard and pommel. In the suit of staves, the staves or wands are round with ornate finials at each end. Also, the Burdel pack lacks Roman numerals in the suit of cups as well as coins.

While some designs on Tarot of Marseilles packs follow the imagery of the earliest tarocchi decks, other card designs are completely changed. For example, the Fool in the Tarot of Marseilles is a figure in motley, with a sack hanging from a stick over his shoulder and a dog barking at

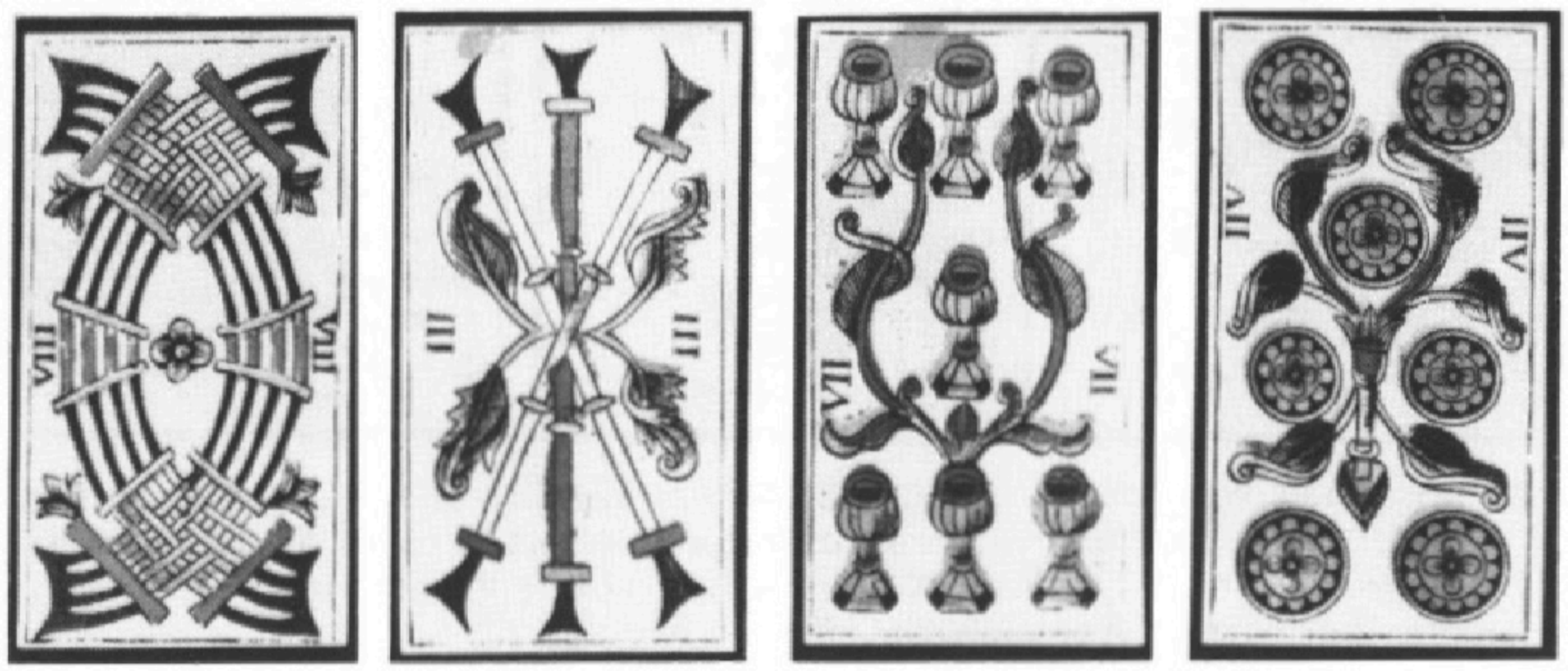
Collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

LE MAT *and I* LE BATELEUR *The Fool and The Juggler from Tarot of Marseilles deck made by Nicolas Conver of Marseilles, 1761*



Collection of Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

III (The Empress) and IIII (The Emperor) *From the tarot by Jacques Vievil, mid-seventeenth century*



Suits of the Tarot of Marseilles *VIII of swords, III of batons, VII of cups and IIV [sic] of coins, from tarot by J. B. Benois, circa 1818 (Photograph collection of author)*

his feet. The ragged figure in the fifteenth-century Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo tarocchi deck is not at all similar, except in the stick over the shoulder. Nevertheless, some roots in the Tarot of Marseilles pack can be traced to scenes and figures in the fifteenth-century Italian tarocchi decks; for instance, the Popess with book in her lap, the Empress holding shield and scepter, and the Hanged Man with one leg crossed and hands behind his back. A more detailed discussion of the images on early tarot packs, including Tarot of Marseilles, is found in the chapter on tarot symbolism.

Sermones de Ludo Cum Aliis, Late Fifteenth Century

The *Sermones de Ludo Cum Aliis* is an Italian manuscript written in Latin, dating from about the year 1500, possibly as early as 1480. It contains the earliest known written list of the Major Arcana or trumps of the triumphi pack. The twenty-two trumps are listed in Italian with Arabic numbers beginning with *Primus dicitur El bagatella (et est omnium inferior)*, meaning "The first is called the Juggler (and it is the lowest of all)" and ending with *22. El matto sine nulla (nisi velint)*, probably meaning "The Fool is without value (unless taken)." A facsimile of the page containing the Major Arcana listing appears in Volume I. The *Sermones* sequence of cards varies notably from the card sequence of Tarot of Marseilles packs.

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, Fifteenth or Sixteenth Century

The three incomplete sheets of fifteenth- or early-sixteenth-century tarocchi cards at the Metropolitan Museum of Art are without titles, but several cards on the sheet have Roman numerals. Two sheets at the Metropolitan Museum of Art are illustrated in Volume I. One sheet, containing eight cards and seven fragments of cards, is reproduced in its entirety; the second sheet was placed underneath the first so that only three cards and the fragment of a fourth card show at the upper row. The rest of the second sheet duplicates the first sheet. Thus both sheets are shown in one photograph with the clearest printing of the woodblock presented. A third sheet from another woodblock appears in Volume II and depicts a total of eighteen cards or parts of cards: eight complete cards, eight identifiable fragments, and two indiscernible fragments. In some instances the fragments can be identified by comparison to more complete cards on other sheets also illustrated in Volume II, printed from the same woodblock and presently housed in the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest. The sheets from both the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, and the Metropolitan have been used for the compilation in this section since the similarities in style and size indicate that the sheets were likely made for one deck. By visual inspection it is possible to assign titles to the cards, and the Roman numerals on the cards allow them to be placed in numerical sequence, except in those instances where numerals are lacking or the remaining card fragments do not provide a sufficient picture to permit complete identification.

Rosenwald Sheet, Early Sixteenth Century

The Rosenwald Collection at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., possesses an uncut sheet of early-sixteenth-century tarocchi cards with twenty-one out of twenty-two Major Arcana or trump cards, lacking only The Fool. On the sheet, illustrated in Volume I, eleven of the Major Arcana cards are Roman numbered, but no titles appear on the cards. The sequence of the cards does not always follow either the *Sermones* or Tarot of Marseilles. The apparently predesignated card sequence runs from the bottom row to the top row and from right to left. The number XI is skipped and does not appear on any card. Because The Wheel of Fortune is heavily damaged, it is not possible to see if any number existed on the card, and quite likely no number is designated since the card preceding it, The Hanged Man, and all the cards following it are unnumbered. Card number XII, shown as The Hermit or Hunchback, immediately follows card X The Chariot. The remaining cards in the middle row, Hanged Man and Wheel of Fortune, might logically represent cards XI and XIII, but this would make Death, positioned at the upper right of the top row, the fourteenth card, and this is fairly unlikely since virtually all tarot packs agree that unlucky number thirteen represents Death.

In the compilation, the numbered Rosenwald cards are listed in their sequence up to card X. XII The Hermit occupies its designated twelfth position, and the unnumbered Death card maintains its traditional position as the thirteenth card. The Hanged Man is arbitrarily placed in position XI, since his regular space, designated as twelve by both the *Sermones* and the Tarot of Marseilles, is already occupied by The Hermit. The tenth position, usually that of The Wheel of Fortune, is already occupied by The Chariot, thus the Wheel is arbitrarily placed at fourteen, following (XIII) Death. The next five cards are placed on the sheet in the traditional Tarot of Marseilles sequence of (XV) Devil, (XVI) Tower, (XVII) Star, (XVIII) Moon, (XIX) Sun and then come (XX) World and (XXI) Judgment or The Angel.

Classical (Rouen) Tarot, Early Sixteenth Century

The ornate designs on the eight Major Arcana cards in the Classical (Rouen) Tarot pack carry Latin inscriptions plus Arabic numbers that were apparently printed from the original woodcuts. Thirty cards remain in the pack, but more than half of the Major Arcana are lacking. Only four of the cards correspond to the numbering in the *Sermones*.

Pomeran *Triomphi*, 1534

In 1534, Troilo Pomeran da Cittadella wrote a series of verses praising the renowned ladies of Venice. The little book is entitled *Triomphi de Troilo Pomeran da Cittadela composti sopra li Terrochi in Laude delle famose Gentil donne di Vinegia*. The verse titles are without numbers and follow a sequence, from *Mondo* to *Bagatella*, that has several unusual variations. As shown in the accompanying compilation, the *Bagatella* is followed by The Empress, then comes The Popess, The Emperor and The Pope. Thus, the position of The Empress matches the *Sermones*. The remaining titles contain further departures. For example, the title after The Pope is Temperance, which matches the *Sermones*, then The Triumphal Chariot is followed by The Lovers. Some of the titles are rather unusual: *Carro Triomphale* (The Triumphal Chariot), *Tempo* (Time), *Traditore* (Traitor) and *Foco* (Fire).

G. Bertoni, *Poesie*, circa 1550

The titles for the Major Arcana cards are listed in a poem written around 1550 by Giulio Bertoni and first published in 1917. The Major Arcana are unnumbered, but most follow the same sequence found in *Sermones*; the excep-

COMPARISON OF NUMBERING AND TITLES FOR MAJOR ARCANA

Tarot of Marseilles, designs popular today	***Sermones de Ludo Cum Aliis*, late 15th century**	**Metropolitan Museum of Art, Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, 15th or early 16th century**	**Rosenwald sheet, early 16th century**
(Roman or Arabic numbers plus card titles in local languages)	(Arabic numbers, titles listed)	(Roman numbers, no titles on cards)	(Roman numbers, no titles on cards)
The Fool	—	(The Fool?)	—
I The Juggler	1 El bagatella (The Juggler)	(The Magician)	I (The Magician)
II The Popess	2 Imperatrix (Empress)	(II The Empress?)	II (The Popess)
III The Empress	3 Imperator (Emperor)	III (The Popess)	III (The Empress)
IV The Emperor	4 La Papessa (The Popess)	IIII (The Emperor?)	IIII (The Emperor)
V The Pope	5 El papa (The Pope)	V (The Pope?)	V (The Pope)
VI The Lovers	6 La temperentia (Temperance)	VI (Temperance)	IV [sic] (The Lovers)
VII The Chariot	7 L'amore (Love)	(The Chariot)	IIV [sic] (Temperance)
VIII Justice	8 Lo caro triumphale (The Chariot)	VIII (The Lovers)	IIIV [sic] (Justice)
IX The Hermit	9 La forteza (Strength)	VIIII (Strength)	IIIV [sic] (Strength)
X The Wheel of Fortune	10 La rotta (The Wheel)	X (The Wheel)	X (The Chariot)
XI Strength	11 El gobbo (The Hunchback)	XI (The Hermit)	(The Hanged Man)
XII The Hanged Man	12 Lo impichato (The Hanged Man)	XII (The Hanged Man)	IIX [sic] (Hermit)
XIII (Death)	13 La morte (Death)	XIII (Death)	(Death)
XIV Temperance	14 El diavolo (The Devil)	XIIII (The Devil)	(The Wheel of Fortune)
XV The Devil	15 La sagitta (Arrow)	XV (The Tower)	(The Devil)
XVI The House of God	16 La stella (The Star)	XVI (The Star)	(The Tower)
XVII The Star	17 La luna (The Moon)	XVII (The Moon)	(The Star)
XVIII The Moon	18 El sole (The Sun)	XVIII (The Sun)	(The Moon)
XIX The Sun	19 Lo angelo (The Angel)	XVIIII (The Angel or Judgment)	(The Sun)
XX Judgment	20 La iusticia (Justice)	XX (Justice)	(The World)
XXI The World	21 El mondo (The World)	(The World)	(Judgment)
—	22 El matto (The Fool)	—	—

COMPARISON OF NUMBERING AND TITLES FOR MAJOR ARCANA

Tarot of Marseilles, designs popular today	**Classical (Rouen) Tarot, early 16th century**	**Pomeran, *Triomphi*, poem, 1534**	**G. Bertoni, *Poesie*, circa 1550**	**Catelin Geofroy, 1557**
(Roman or Arabic numbers plus card titles in local languages)	(Arabic numbers, classical titles)	(no numbers, titles cited, order reversed from that in the book)	(no numbers, titles cited, order reversed from that in the book)	(Roman numbers, no titles on cards)
The Fool	VELIM FVNDAM DARI MIHI (Fool)	Matto	Il Matto (The Fool)	—
I The Juggler	—	Bagattela	Il Bagatino (The Magician)	I (The Magician)
II The Popess	IMPERATOR ASSIRI-ORUM (2?) (Emperor)	**Imperatrice**	**L'Imperatrice** (The Empress)	II (The Popess)
III The Empress	—	**Papessa**	**L'Imperadore** (The Emperor)	III (The Empress)
IV The Emperor	—	Imperatore	**La Papessa** (The Popess)	IIII (The Emperor)
V The Pope	PONTIFEX PONTIFICVM 5 (Pope)	Papa	**Il Papa** (The Pope)	V (The Pope)
VI The Lovers	—	Temperanza	**La Temperanza** (Temperance)	—
VII The Chariot	VICTORIAL PREMIUM 7 (Chariot)	Carro Triomphale	Il Carro (The Chariot)	VII (The Chariot)
VIII Justice	—	Amore	**L'Amore** (Lovers)	—
IX The Hermit	—	Fortezza	La Fortezza (Strength)	IX (The Hermit)
X The Wheel of Fortune	OMNIVM DOMINATRIX 10 (Wheel)	Rota	La Ruota (The Wheel)	—
XI Strength	RERVM EDAX 11 (Hermit)	**Tempo**	**Il Gobbo** (The Hunchback)	—
XII The Hanged Man	—	**Traditore**	Il Traditore (The Traitor)	XII (The Hanged Man)
XIII (Death)	—	Morte	La Morte (Death)	XIII (Death)
XIV Temperance	PERDITORVM RAPTOR 14 (Devil)	Diauolo	Il Diavolo (The Devil)	XIIII (Temperance)
XV The Devil	—	**Foco**	**La Casa del Diavolo** (The Devil's House)	—
XVI The House of God	INCLITVM SYDVS 16 (Star)	Stella	La Stella (The Star)	XVI (The Tower or The Devil?)
XVII The Star	—	Luna	La Luna (The Moon)	—
XVIII The Moon	—	Sole	Il Sole (The Sun)	—
XIX The Sun	—	Angelo	L'Agnolo (The Angel)	—
XX Judgment	—	Giustitia	**La Justicia** (Justice)	XX (Judgment)
XXI The World	—	Mondo	Il Mondo (The World)	—
—	—	—	—	—

Collection of the author

OPERE
DI TOMASO
GARZONI
Da Bagnacauallo.

Cioè { La Piazza Vniuersale di tutte le Professioni del Mondo. / La Sinagoga de gli Ignoranti. / L'Hospidale de' Pazzi incurabili, & / Il Theatro de' varij, & diuersi Ceruelli Mondani.

NVOVAMENTE IN QVESTA NOSTRA Impressione con somma diligenza ristampate, & da molti errori espurgate.

CON LICENZA DE' SVPERIORI, ET PRIVILEGIO.

IN VENETIA, M DC XVII.

Presso Giorgio Valentini, & Antonio Giuliani.

VNIVERSALE. 244

Iamede nella guerra Troiana, ouero à gli Egitij, secondo Iodoco Damanderio. Il Vida illustrò questo giuoco scriuendo il vago Poema Scaccheida intitolato da lui. L'inuentione del giuoco da dadi s'attribuisce pure à Palamede, e di questo giuoco scrissero i precetti in vn libro Diodoro Megalopolitano, ò Theodosseno, insieme con Claudio Imperatore, come narra Suetonio nella vita di quello, il qual narra parimente, che Domitiano Imperatore si dilettò di cotal giuoco estremamente: & il Garimberto narra l'istesso d'Henrico d'Inghilterra. Questo giuoco fu però vietato dalle leggi Romane. Onde Horatio dice.

Il Vida.
Theodosseno.
Claudio. Imperatore.
Il Garimberto.

Seu manis vetita legibus
Alea.

E Cicerone scriue vn certo Lenticolo, che giuocaua con Antonio essere stato per questo giuoco condannato. Et di più leggesi, che vn certo Cobilone Lacedemonio mandato Ambasciatore à Corinto, per far lega, ritrouando i principali, & più vecchi de' Corinthij, che giuocauano à i Dadi, se ne partì senza far altro, dicendo, che non voleua macchiare la gloria de' Spartiani con questa infamia, che fossero detti di hauer fatto lega con giuocatori. Et questo giuoco fu già tenuto in tanto vituperio appresso à huomini grandi, che il Rè de' Parthi mandò al Rè Demetrio dadi di oro, per rinfacciarli la sua leggierezza: con la quale vanità i Proci di Penelope presso Homero sono descritti giuocare innanzi alla porta sua. Et in questo giuoco scriue Phania essere stato inuitato vn certo Leone Mytileneo, si come Hiperide Rhetore è celebrato in tal giuoco da Philetero nel suo Esculapio. I nostri moderni giuochi si diuidono in giuochi fanciulleschi, & i giuochi da huomini. I giuochi da fanciullo sono giocare alla poluere, alle girelle, al castelletto, alla fossetta, al pirlo, al girlo, alla schiba, alla lippa, al pandolo, alla capra, al palo di Roma, à Cicerlanda, à tirabunga, al melone, alla fana, alla semola, alla buschetta, à pisso e passo, alle scondarule, alla gatta cieca, à primo secondo, al tocco, alla corregiuola, al pari e dispari, alla pisa, alle comari, al giuoco della scona, al bal rotondo, à buon compagno sono stà ferito, alle scudelle, alla galea, e simili. Quelli da grandi, c'hanno più del fanciullesco in parte, vsati nelle veglie, sono il giuocare alla ciuetta, alla scarpaccia, al ballo delle botte, al ballo tondo, al becco mal guardato, alla rana, farle proposte, dar luogo al compagno a tre cappon M. Abbate, alla mia passera è nel miglio, à commandella à Rè, alla Tisbina, à tigner chi falla, & altritali. Alcuni altri sono giuochi da tauerne, come la mora, le piastrelle, le chiaui, le carti, ò communi, ò Tarocchi di nuoua inuentione, secondo il Volterranno: oue si vedono danaro, coppe, spade, bastoni, dieci, noue, otto, sette, sei, cinque, quattro, tre, due, l'Asso, il Rè, la Reina, il Cauallo, il Fante, il Mondo, la Giustitia, l'Angelo, il Sole, la Luna, la Stella, il fuoco, il Diauolo, la Morte, l'Impicato, il Vecchio, la Ruota, la Fortezza, l'Amore, il Carro, la Temperanza, il Papa, la Papessa, l'Imperatore, l'Imperatrice, il Bagatella, il Matto, e con le carte fine, i cuori, i fiori, e le picche: doue che si giuoca à tarocchi, à primiera, à gilè col bresciano bruscando vna da quaranta almeno per volta, à trionfetti, à trappola, à flusso, à flussata, alla bassetta, à cricca, al trenta, al quaranta, à minoretto, al trenta vn per forza, ò per amore, à Raus, alla carta del mercante, all'andare à piscare, à cedebonis, all'herbette, à sequentia, à chiemare, à tre, à due, asso, à dare cartaccia, à bancho fallito, & altri simili.

Phania.
Philetero.

Hh 4 Et

Opere di Tomaso Garzoni *The works of Thomaso Garzoni, published in Venice in 1617, included* La Piazza universale di tutte le Professioni del Mondo, e nobili ed ignobili, *first published in 1587. Page 244 shows a list of tarocchi trumps.*

tions, similar to Pomeran, include the reversal in order of The Lovers and The Chariot, and the listing (when reversed for compilation) of The Fool before The Magician instead of after The World as in the *Sermones*. The Bertoni sequence follows the remaining Pomeran sequence except for the reversed order of The Emperor and The Popess. Bertoni uses *Il Gobbo* (The Hunchback) for The Hermit and *La Casa del Diavolo* (The House of the Devil) for the card more commonly known as The Tower or The House of God.

Catelin Geofroy, 1557

The Catelin Geofroy cards comprise twelve Major Arcana from an incomplete pack of thirty-eight extant cards with nonstandard suit signs. The pack was made in Lyon in 1557, as evidenced on the ace of falcons, and it is probably the earliest extant pack made outside Italy. The Major Arcana contain Roman numerals on both the top and bottom panels. The cards, untitled, are readily identified from their imagery. The sequence of the existing twelve Major Arcana cards matches the Tarot of Marseilles sequence, making the Geofroy pack the earliest set with Major Arcana cards numbered in the traditional Tarot of Marseilles sequence. However, the designs on the Major Arcana are not like those of the Tarot of Marseilles.

G. Susio Poem, 1570

Giambattista Susio (1519-1583) wrote a poem around 1570 that associated the ladies of the court of Pavia with the tarocchi trumps. Although the poem was never published in its entirety, excerpts appear in the essay by Ridolfo Renier (1894) entitled "Tarocchi di M. M. Boiardo." Susio's sequence of the Major Arcana matches the Jacques Vievil pack of the mid-seventeenth century, except that in Susio's poem The Empress is the second card and The Popess is the third card.

T. Garzoni, *La Piazza Universale*, 1585

Thomaso Garzoni's *La Piazza universale di tutte le Professioni del Mondo, e nobili ed ignobili*, first published in 1585, describes various personages in association with each of the tarocchi trumps. Garzoni uses *il Vecchio* (The Old Man) for The Hermit, and *il fuoco* (Fire) for The Tower.

Colonna Sheets, Early Seventeenth Century

The two fragmented Colonna sheets from the early seventeenth century, housed at the British Museum in London, depict four complete and two partial trump or

COMPARISON OF NUMBERING AND TITLES FOR MAJOR ARCANA

Tarot of Marseilles, designs popular today	**G. Susio, poem, 1570**	**Garzoni, *La Piassa Universale*, 1587**	**Colonna sheets, early 17th century**	**Jacques Vievil, mid-17th century**
(Roman or Arabic numbers plus card titles in local languages)	(no numbers, titles cited; order reversed from that in book)	(no numbers, titles cited; order reversed from that in book)	(Arabic numbers, no titles on cards)	(Roman numbered, card titles on ace of coins and two of cups)
The Fool	—	Il Matto	—	MA (The Fool)
I The Juggler	Il Bagatella	Il Bagatello	—	I BAGA (Magician)
II The Popess	L'Imperatrice	L'Imperatrice	—	II LA PAPESSE (The Popess)
III The Empress	La Papessa	L'Imperadore	—	III LINPERATRYCE (The Empress)
IV The Emperor	L'Imperatore	La Papessa	—	IIII LANPEREVR (The Emperor)
V The Pope	Il Papa	Il Papa	5 (The Sultan)	V LE PAPE (The Pope)
VI The Lovers	L'Amore	La Temperanza	6 (The Lovers)	VI AMOVREVX (Lovers)
VII The Chariot	La Giustizia	Il Carro	—	VII YVSTICE (Justice)
VIII Justice	Il Carro	L'Amore	—	VIII TRANNAY (Chariot?)
IX The Hermit	La Fortezza	La Fortezza	—	IX FORCE (Strength)
X The Wheel of Fortune	La Ruota	La Ruota	10 (The Chariot)	X (Wheel)
XI Strength	Il Vecchio (The Old Man)	Il Vecchio	11 (Wheel of Fortune)	XI VIELAR (Old Man)
XII The Hanged Man	Il Traditore	**L'Impiccato**	—	IIX [sic] PENDU (Hanged Man)
XIII (Death)	La Morte	La Morte	—	XIII (Death)
XIV Temperance	La Temperanza	Il Diavolo	—	XIIII DAME (Temperance?)
XV The Devil	Il Diavolo	Il Fuoco	—	XV DYABLE (Devil)
XVI House of God	Il Fuoco (Fire)	La Stella	—	XVI L'A FOVDRE (Lightning)
XVII The Star	La Stella	La Luna	—	XVII L'ESETOILLES (The Stars)
XVIII The Moon	La Luna	Il Sole	—	XVIII L'ALUNE (The Moon)
XIX The Sun	Il Sole	L'Angelo	—	XIX LE SOLEIL (The Sun)
XX Judgment	L'Angelo	La Giustitia	—	XX TROMPE (Trumpet? Judgment?)
XXI The World	Il Mondo	Il Mondo	—	XXI LE MONDE (The World)
—	—	—	—	—

Major Arcana cards. The cards are numbered in Arabic and lack titles; card number 5 suggests a sultan, perhaps replacing The Pope or The Emperor.

Jacques Vievil, Mid-Seventeenth Century

The French tarot pack by Jacques Vievil, dating from the mid-seventeenth century, has Roman numbered Major Arcana. Although the cards themselves lack titles, the card names can be deduced from commentary written on the ace of coins and continued on the two of cups. According to D'Allemagne's interpretation of the inscription, twenty of the Major Arcana are cited. The Wheel of Fortune and Death are not mentioned in the inscription, and D'Allemagne's assignment of *TRANNAY* (perhaps *tyrannie*, or tyranny) for card VII, and *DAME* for card XIIII are questionable. D'Allemagne states that Death is implied in the last phrase of the inscription, but does not explain his conclusion. The imagery on many of the cards follows the Major Arcana of the Cartes de Suisse packs made in Belgium. The Minor Arcana in the Vievil pack are like those of the Tarot of Marseilles, although they do not have Roman numerals to designate value.

Collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

Jacques Vievil's List of Major Arcana, Mid-Seventeenth Century *The list begins on the ace of coins and continues on the two of cups.*

La Maison Academique Contenant les Jeux, 1659

The series of rule books for card games, under the name *La Maison Academique contenant les jeux*, provides yet another opportunity to determine the sequence of the trumps or Major Arcana. The first edition of the book, published in 1654, does not describe the tarocchi game. The second edition in 1659, and subsequent editions up to 1702, cite the trumps by title and with Arabic numbers. The successor book, *Academie universelle des jeux*, was first published in 1718 but did not include tarot until the issue of 1814, an omission that suggests that interest in the game of tarot had waned. The trumps or Major Arcana sequence in *La Maison Academique contenant les jeux* follows the traditional Tarot of Marseilles sequence, except for *L'Empereur* and *L'Imperatrice*, which are numbered 3 and 4, respectively. *Le Fou* is unnumbered and appears after the regular list of trumps in the book.

Collection of the author

de Taros. 173

SCAVOIR.

1. Basteleur.
2. La Papesse.
3. L'Empereur.
4. L'Imperatrice.
5. Le Pape.
6. L'Amoureux.
7. Le Chariot.
8. La Justice.
9. L'Hermite.
10. La rouë de fortune.
11. La Force.
12. Le Pendu.
13. La Mort.
14. La Temperance.
15. Le Diable.
16. La Maison de Dieu.
17. L'Estoile.
18. La Lune.
19. Le Soleil.
20. Le Jugement.
21. Le Monde.

Le Fou vaut trois, & sert d'excuse, comme nous avons dit ci-devant.

Fin du divertissant Jeu de Taros.

Le Jeu de Cartes de la Triomphe.

CE Jeu est assez connu & pratiqué dans presque toutes les compagnies, sans qu'il fût besoin de le mettre dans ce livre ; neanmoins comme le jeu ci-devant des Taros, renvoïé à celui-ci, j'ay crû être obligé de l'y joindre, &

H iij

Le Maison Academique contenant les jeux, *1702 Edition* *Page 173 lists the Major Arcana in the tarot, according to the rules of the time.*

Parisian Tarot Cards, Bibliothèque Nationale, Seventeenth Century

The Parisian tarot pack is so called for lack of a better name; the cardmaker's name seems to have been deleted from four cards (three and two of cups and four and two of coins). At the top of each Major Arcana card is a Roman number inscribed on a small scroll between two facing lions. The French card titles, on the bottoms of the Major Arcana, have numerous misspellings. Card XVI is named *La Fouldre* (*Le Foudre*, or Lightning). The Major Arcana cards follow the sequence of the Tarot of Marseilles, but the card designs do not resemble the Tarot of Marseilles imagery. I The Magician card has three figures, suggestive of the Geofroy card; XII The Hanged Man is similar to the Tarot of Marseilles design, and XXI The World card closely resembles The World in the Cartes de Suisse packs.

COMPARISON OF NUMBERING AND TITLES FOR MAJOR ARCANA

Tarot of Marseilles, designs popular today (Roman or Arabic numbers plus card titles in local languages)	***La Maison Academique contenant les jeux*, 1659** (lists Arabic numbers and titles)	**Parisian tarot cards, Bibliothèque Nationale, 17th century** (Roman numbers, French titles)	**Minchiate of Florence, late 17th to early 18th century** (Roman numbers up to XXXV, no titles)	**Tarocco Siciliano, late 17th to early 18th century** (Arabic numbers, no titles)
The Fool	—	LE FOUS	—	(Fool)
I The Juggler	1. **Le Basteleur**	I LE BATELEVR	I (Juggler)	1 (Juggler)
II The Popess	2. **La Papesse**	II LA PAPESSE	II (Grand Duke)	2 (Empress)
III The Empress	3. **L'Empereur**	III LIN PERATRICE	III (Western Emperor)	3 (Emperor)
IV The Emperor	4. **L'Imperatrice**	IIII LANPEREVT	IIII (Eastern Emperor)	4 (Constancy)
V The Pope	5. Le Pape	V LE PAPE	V (Lovers)	5 (Temperance)
VI The Lovers	6. L'Amoureux	VI L'AMOVREVS	VI (Temperance)	6 (Fortitude)
VII The Chariot	7. Le Chariot	VII LE CHARIOT	VII (Fortitude)	7 (Justice)
VIII Justice	8. La Justice	VIII IVSTICE	VIII (Justice)	8 (Lovers)
IX The Hermit	9. L'Hermite	IX L'ERMITE	VIIII (Wheel of Fortune)	9 (Chariot)
X The Wheel of Fortune	10. La roue de fortune	X LA ROVE DE FOVRTVNE	X (Chariot)	10 (Wheel of Fortune)
XI Strength	11. La Force	XI FORCE	XI (Time)	11 (Hanged Man)
XII The Hanged Man	12. Le Pendu	XII LE PANDVT	XII (Hanged Man)	12 (Hermit)
XIII (Death)	13. La Mort	XIII LA MORT	XIII (Death)	13 (Death)
XIV Temperance	14. La Temperance	XIIII ATREMPANCE	XIIII (Devil)	**14 (Ship)**
XV The Devil	15. Le Diable	XV LE DIABLE	XV (Tower)	15 (Tower)
XVI The House of God	16. La maison de Dieu	**XVI LA FOVLDRE**	XVI (Hope)	16 (Star)
XVII The Star	17. L'Estoile	XVII L'ESTOILLE	XVII (Prudence)	17 (Moon)
XVIII The Moon	18. La Lune	XVIII LA LVNE	XVIII (Faith)	18 (Sun)
XIX The Sun	19. Le Soleil	XIX LE SOLEIL	XVIIII (Charity)	19 (World)
XX Judgment	20. Le Jugement	XX LE IVGEMENT	XX (Fire)	20 (Judgment)
XXI The World	21. Le Monde	XXI LE MONDE	XXI (Water)	(Beggar)
—	Le Fou	—	XXII (Earth) XXIII (Air) XXIIII (Libra) XXV (Virgo) XXVI (Scorpio) XXVII (Aries) XXVIII (Capricornus) XXVIIII (Sagittarius) XXX (Cancer) XXXI (Pisces) XXXII (Aquarius) XXXIII (Leo) XXXIIII (Taurus) XXXV (Gemini) (Star) (Moon) (Sun) (World) (Judgment) (Fool)	—

Unusual variations in title and numbering for the Major Arcana cards are highlighted by bold typeface. Where no title appears on the actual card, the title is determined by visual identification and is listed in English in parentheses. An English translation is provided in parentheses for foreign language titles on the cards, if the title is unusual or if translation facilitates comparison between decks. Titles are shown in upper and lower case, following capitalization as found on extant cards and in literature.

Minchiate, Late Seventeenth Century

The Minchiate of Florence deck is similar to early tarocchi packs, except that it is enlarged to ninety-seven cards by the addition of twelve signs of the zodiac, four element cards (Fire, Water, Earth and Air), three theological virtue cards (Faith, Hope and Charity) and one cardinal virtue card (Prudence). In place of The Popess, The Empress, The Emperor and The Pope, the minchiate deck has only three imperial cards, all untitled, which are popularly called the Grand Duke, replacing The Popess, the Western Emperor representing The Empress and the Eastern Emperor, for The Emperor. The complete minchiate pack contains forty-one trumps and fifty-six suit cards. Many times the early rules for the games of minchiate and tarocchi refer to the trumps *plus* The Fool card, implying that The Fool was considered separately from the trumps, and indeed, The Fool of the minchiate deck is unnumbered, as is often the case in regular tarots. The cards are without titles, and the first thirty-five cards are Roman numbered.

Tarocco Siciliano, Late Seventeenth Century

Tarocco Siciliano packs have sixty-four cards comprising twenty-two trumps or Major Arcana and forty-two Minor Arcana or suit cards. The cards in Tarocco Siciliano packs are generally Arabic numbered but untitled, except for the Jester, which is both unnumbered and untitled and the Beggar, which is unnumbered, but in modern decks bears the title *Miseria* in a ribbon at the top of the card. The card sequence of the trumps or Major Arcana differs considerably from standard Tarot of Marseilles decks. Some unusual cards also appear in Tarocco Siciliano, such as 4 Constancy, 14 Ship and the unnumbered *Miseria*, whose chain is suggestive of The Devil card from the Tarot of Marseilles pack, and whose raggedly clad figure resembles the Fool of the Pierpont Morgan-Bergamo deck.

Pierre Madenié, 1709

The French tarot pack made at Dijon by Pierre Madenié in 1709 is one of the earliest complete extant packs with the Tarot of Marseilles sequence. Equally, if not more, important, the Pierre Madenié pack appears to be one of the earliest extant packs whose Major Arcana designs have Tarot of Marseilles imagery. The Major Arcana contain Roman numerals at the top of each card except for The Fool, which is unnumbered. Card XIII is untitled and card XVI is titled *La Maison Dieu.*

François Heri, 1718

The sequence of François Heri's tarot pack, published in 1718 at Solothurn, Switzerland, follows the Tarot of Marseilles, as do most of the images on the cards. The Major Arcana are Roman numbered and all, except card XIII, are titled. The Heri pack of 1718 is an early example of a Swiss pack that follows Tarot of Marseilles numerical sequence.

François Heri, Early Eighteenth Century

The Major Arcana of François Heri's pack, published in Solothurn, Switzerland, are Roman numbered in the sequence of the Tarot of Marseilles. The Popess and The Pope of the 1718 Heri deck appear as Junon and Jupiter in this pack, one of the earliest uses of the classical deities to replace The Popess and The Pope. Card XIII now has a title, *La Mort,* another difference from the 1718 Heri pack. The World card in this deck is similar to that of the mid-seventeenth-century Vievil deck, showing a figure wearing a robe and holding a scepter. Thus, this Heri deck may be dated earlier than the 1718 Heri deck which has a World card more like the standard Tarot of Marseilles World.

Tarocchini of Bologna, Eighteenth Century

The Tarocchini of Bologna pack comprises sixty-two instead of seventy-eight cards. There are twenty-two trumps or Major Arcana cards plus forty suit cards, instead of fifty-six. The sixteen omitted cards are the five, four, three and two in each of the four suits.

Originally the Tarocchini of Bologna pack included The Empress, The Emperor, The Popess and The Pope. The Republic of Bologna had come under papal domination in 1513. In 1725 a conflict arose between the Bolognese cardmaker Montieri and the papal authorities. Montieri had produced a geographical deck of cards that described Bologna ruled by several factions, rather than by the papacy. To placate the pope, the Tarocchini of Bologna was published with four Moors replacing Pope, Popess, Empress and Emperor. The Fool and the first four cards, the Moors, are unnumbered, and are followed by cards 5 Love through 16 The Star, with the remaining four cards again unnumbered. The unnumbered cards are visually identified and placed on the chart according to the Tarot of Marseilles sequence.

Belgian Cartes de Suisses Tarot, Eighteenth Century

In the late sixteenth century many cardmakers from France emigrated to Switzerland in order to avoid the heavy French tax on the manufacture of playing cards. The tarot packs they started to produce in Switzerland were somewhat different from those of their homeland and the packs became known as *Cartes de Suisses.* When cardmakers in the Austrian Netherlands, presently Belgium, also began to produce cards, they continued to call them Cartes de Suisses. They are also known as Flemish Tarots because they were produced in the Flemish part of the Austrian Netherlands. The cards are Roman numbered and titled in French. The card sequence follows the Tarot of Marseilles.

Several characteristics distinguish the Cartes de Suisses packs from the Tarot of Marseilles. The designs on the Cartes de Suisses are more primitive than those of the Tarot of Marseilles. The Cartes de Suisses cards often have a single ribbon border of alternating black and white rectangles or triangles. II *Le 'Spagnol Capitano Eracasse* and V *Bacus* replace The Popess and The Pope respectively. The title for card XII *Lepen-du* (The Hanged Man) has an unusual word division, and XVI *La Foudre* (Lightning) replaces *La Maison Dieu,* "The House of God," of the Tarot of Marseilles. III The Emperor is invariably a stodgy figure with a heavy chest and short legs; VI The Lovers shows a winged angel instead of a cupid hovering overhead; VII The Chariot is drawn by one instead of two horses; XII The Hanged Man is shown upright on one foot instead of upside down; XIIII Temperance includes the words *Fama Sol* and shows a woman holding only one jar and a scepter; XV The Devil is a fire-breathing, winged monster with a tail and many eyes; XVI Lightning strikes a tree instead of a tower; XVII The Star depicts a seated astronomer with compass in hand instead of a kneeling woman; XVIII The Moon depicts a figure holding a distaff and seated near a tree beneath the starry, moonlit sky; XIX The Sun depicts a rider on horseback carrying a flag; and XXI The World shows a nude figure

COMPARISON OF NUMBERING AND TITLES FOR MAJOR ARCANA

Tarot of Marseilles, designs popular today	Pierre Madenié, 1709	François Heri, 1718	François Heri, first quarter 18th century	Tarocchini of Bologna, 18th century
(Roman or Arabic numbers plus card titles in local languages)	(Roman numbers, French titles)	(Roman numbers, French titles)	(Roman numbers, French titles)	(Arabic numbers, no titles)
The Fool	LE MAT	LE MAT	LE FOL	(Fool)
I The Juggler	I LE BATELEVR	I LE BATELEVR	I LE BATELEUR	(Moor)
II The Popess	II LA PAPESSE	II LA PAPESSE	II IVNON	(Moor)
III The Empress	III LIMPERATRISE	III L'IMPERATRISE	III L'IMPERATRICE	(Moor)
IV The Emperor	IIII LEMPEREVR	IIII L'EMPEREVR	IIII L'EMPEREVR	(Moor)
V The Pope	V LE PAPE	V LE PAPE	V IVPITER	5. (Love)
VI The Lovers	VI LAMOVREVX	VI L'AMOVREVX	VI L'AMOVREUX	6. (Chariot)
VII The Chariot	VII LE CHARIOR	VII LE CHARIOR	VII LE CHARIOT	7. (Temperance)
VIII Justice	VIII IVSTICE	VIII IVSTICE	VIII LA IVSTICE	8. (Justice)
IX The Hermit	VIIII L'ERMITE	VIIII L'ERMITE	VIIII L'ERMITE	9. (Force)
X The Wheel of Fortune	X LA ROVE DE FORTUNE	X LA ROVE DE FOR[TVNE]	X LA ROVE DE FORTVNE	10. (Wheel of Fortune)
XI Strength	XI LA FORCE	XI LA FORCE	XI LA FORCE	11. (Hermit)
XII The Hanged Man	IIX [sic] LE PENDV	IIX [sic] LE PENDV	XII LE PENDV	12. (Hanged Man)
XIII (Death)	XIII (Death)	XIII (Death)	XIII LA MORT	13. (Death)
XIV Temperance	XIIII TENPERANCE	XIIII TENPERANCE	XIIII TEMPERANCE	14. (Devil)
XV The Devil	XV LE DIABLE	XV LE DIABLE	XV LE DIABLE	15. (Tower)
XVI The House of God	XVI LA MAISON DIEV	XVI LA MAISON DIEV	XVI LA MAISONDIEU	16. (Star)
XVII The Star	XVII LESTOILLE	XVII LESTOILLE	XVII LE TOILLE	(Moon)
XVIII The Moon	XVIII LA LVNE	XVIII LA LVNE	XVIII LA LVNE	(Sun)
XIX The Sun	XVIIII LE SOLEIL	XVIIII LE SOLEIL	XVIIII LE SOLEIL	(World)
XX Judgment	XX LE IVGEMENT	XX LE IVGEMENT	XX LE IVGEMENT	(Judgment)
XXI The World	XXI LE MONDE	XXI LE MONDE	XXI LE MONDE	(Bologna)
—	—	—	—	—

holding an outstretched cloth and standing on a globe divided into three sections representing the moon and stars in heaven, the sun, and a castle or walled city on the earth, the entire globe topped by an ornate cross. Invariably, The Fool is numbered XXII instead of zero. The Minor Arcana cards also import their own nuances including, for example, a crown on the three of swords and a bird on the two of swords. The S-shaped ribbon on the two of coins of Tarot of Marseilles packs, often a helpful designation as to the cardmaker, is omitted in the Cartes de Suisses. Instead the name of the cardmaker generally appears on the ace of coins and any inscriptions are at the bottom of the two of cups.

Adam C. de Hautot Tarot, Second Quarter of Eighteenth Century

The de Hautot Tarot generally follows the Cartes de Suisses packs. The cards, II *LESPAGNOL CAPITANO ERACASE* and V *BACVS* are found in this pack as in all Cartes de Suisses packs. Card III is designated *LEMPEREVR* and IIII is *LIMPERATRICE,* a switch from the customary sequence.

The title of IX *LERMITTE* is spelled incorrectly and XIIII *ATRENPANCE,* for Temperance, is an archaic spelling. Some of the designs vary considerably from traditional Cartes de Suisses packs. IX *LERMITTE* is shown using a walking stick but does not hold a book; XVII *LETOILE* depicts in profile a mustached and bearded man who holds in his right hand an hourglass. XX *LE JUGEMENT* depicts six people rising from the earth instead of the more frequently seen three persons. The border of the cards is an unusual black and white checkered pattern, similar to that of the Parisian Tarot deck.

III (Emperor) and IIII (Empress) *From the tarot by Adam C. de Hautot, second quarter of eighteenth century (Collection of David Temperley)*

Joannes Pelagius Mayer, circa 1750

The deck by Joannes Pelagius Mayer was previously dated circa 1680 by Hargrave (1930), but recent dating has placed it circa 1750. Cards from the deck are illustrated in Volume I and Volume II. Fifty-five cards of the original seventy-eight-card deck survive, and all twenty-two of the Major Arcana are extant, with numbers and titles. The sequence and titles are the same as that of the Tarot of Marseilles, except that The Popess is replaced with Junon and The Pope with Jupiter.

Grandprêtre Tarot, Late Eighteenth Century

The so-called Grandprêtre pack comprises twenty-one extant cards; there is no Devil card and all fifty-six Minor Arcana are lacking. The name of the cardmaker remains unknown. The Major Arcana contain several unusual deviations from the sequence and the card titles on the Tarot of Marseilles. II The Popess is III *La grandeprêtresse* (The High Priestess), and V The Pope is II *Le grandprêtre* (The High Priest). Furthermore, III The Empress and IV The Emperor are transformed into V *La Royne* and IV *Le Roy* respectively. This pack may be the earliest extant pack with the card titles The High Priest and The High Priestess. *XII La prudence* replaces The Hanged Man, and shows a man upright and balanced on one foot, with the other foot crossed behind. Card XV is untitled but depicts The Fool instead of The Devil. Since only twenty-one Major Arcana remain in this deck and card XV is untitled, it is not known for certain whether The Devil card was originally included in the pack, or if card XV is in fact meant to combine The Fool and The Devil.

F. Teodoro Dotti Tarocchi, circa 1857

The F. Teodoro Dotti Tarocchi pack exemplifies a type of deck popular during the nineteenth century in Northern Italy. Gumppenberg of Milan produced a deck very similar to Dotti's. The Dotti Tarocchi deck by and large follows the Tarot of Marseilles designs although variations are readily apparent. The card titles in the Dotti pack and in other Italian packs from the same period are Italian rather than French and the cards generally have wrap-around edges, similar to the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century minchiate packs. The Magician depicts a cobbler standing behind a workbench on which are the tools of his trade; cards II and V are titled *La Papessa* and *Il Papa.* A ribbon beneath the Empress' feet names the city of the cardmaker and the shields held by The Empress and The Emperor depict provincial insignia or heraldic designs. The Emperor wears a crown instead of a helmet. Justice has wings instead of the highbacked chair. The Wheel of Fortune has one ascending animal, but the descending figure seen in Tarot of Marseilles packs is replaced in the Dotti pack by a burning urn resting on an upright beam that supports the axle of the wheel. The skeleton figure of Death faces to the left of the card instead of to the right and is titled *Uguaglianza,* meaning "equality," although most Lombardy decks use *La Mort.* The lightning bolt seen in The Tower card is replaced with a fiery tongue from the sun. A young couple or two youths, fully clothed and holding hands, replace the naked children seen in The Sun of the Tarot of Marseilles. The swords in the suit of swords are curved and interlaced at the top and bottom, and the ends are flat and widened, similar to the Tarot of Marseilles. The staves or batons are straight and interlace at the center, the ends widening out. The two of cups has the usual center pedestal topped with flowers and two animal heads that face each other. The two of coins has an S-shaped ribbon with text. The name of the cardmaker, and also sometimes the tax stamp, is found on the king of batons and the ace of coins. The name of the city is in a panel at the bottom of the two of cups.

COMPARISON OF NUMBERING AND TITLES FOR MAJOR ARCANA

Tarot of Marseilles, designs popular today	**Belgian Cartes de Suisses Tarot, 18th century**	**Adam C. de Hautot Tarot, second quarter of 18th century**	**Joannes Pelagius Mayer Tarot, circa 1750**
(Roman or Arabic numbers plus card titles in local languages)	(Roman numbers, French titles)	(Roman numbers, French titles)	(Roman numbers, French titles)
The Fool	—	—	LEFOL
I The Juggler	I LE BATELEVX	I LE BATELEVX	I (illegible)
II The Popess	**II LE 'SPAGNOL CAPITANO ERACASSE**	II LESPAGNOL CAPITANO FRACASE	II IVNON
III The Empress	III L'IMPERATRIS	**III LEMPREREVR**	**III LIMPERATBICE**
IV The Emperor	IIII L'EMPEREUR	**IIII LIMPERATRICE**	IIII LEMPEREVR
V The Pope	**V BACUS**	V BACVS	V IVPITER
VI The Lovers	VI L AMOVR	VI LAMOVR	VI LAMOVREUX
VII The Chariot	VII LE CHARIOT	VII LE CHARIOT	VII LECHARIOT
VIII Justice	VIII LA JUSTICE	VIII LA IVSTICE	VIII LATISIDCE
IX The Hermit	IX L'ERMITE	**IX L'ERMITTE**	VIIII LERMITE
X The Wheel of Fortune	X ROUE DE FORTUNE	X LA ROVE DE FORTVNE	X AROVE·DEPORTVNE
XI Strength	XI LA FORCE	XI LA FORCE	XI L(??)ORCE
XII The Hanged Man	**XII LEPEN=DU**	XII LE PENDV	XII LEPENDV
XIII (Death)	**XIII LA MORT**	XIII LA MORT	**XIII (Death)**
XIV Temperance	XIIII LA TEMPERENCE	**XIIII ATRENPANCE**	XIIII LA TEMPERANTE
XV The Devil	XV LE DIABLE	XV LE DIABLE	XV LE DIABLE
XVI The House of God	**XVI LA FOUDRE**	XV LA FOVDRE	XVI LAMAISOIDIEV
XVII The Star	XVII LE'TOILLE	**XVII LETOILE**	XVII LEFOILLE
XVIII The Moon	XVIII LA LUNE	XVIII LA LVNE	XVIII LALVNE
XIX The Sun	XIX LE SOLEIL	XIX LE SOLEIL	XVIIII LE SIOLEIL
XX Judgment	XX LE JVGEMENT	XX LE JVGEMENT	XX LEIVGEIMEN
XXI The World	XXI LE MONDE	XXI LE MONDE	XXI LEMONDE
—	XXII LE FOU	XXII LE FOL	—

COMPARISON OF NUMBERING AND TITLES FOR MAJOR ARCANA

Tarot of Marseilles, designs popular today	***Grandprêtre* Tarot, late 18th century**	**F. Teodoro Dotti Tarocchi, circa 1857**	**Rider-Waite Tarot, 1909**
(Roman or Arabic numbers plus card titles in local languages)	(Roman numbers, French titles)	(Roman numbers, Italian titles)	(Roman numbers, English titles)
The Fool	—	II MATTO	0 The Fool
I The Juggler	I Le Bateleur	I IL BAGATTEL	I The Magician
II The Popess	**II Le grandprêtre** (The High Priest)	II LA PAPESSA	II The High Priestess
III The Empress	**III La grandeprêtresse** (The High Priestess)	III L'IMPERATRICE	III The Empress
IV The Emperor	**IV Le Roy** (The King)	IIII L'IMPERATORE	IV The Emperor
V The Pope	**V La Royne** (The Queen)	V IL PAPA	V The Hierophant
VI The Lovers	VI L'amoureux	VI GLI AMANTI	VI The Lovers
VII The Chariot	VII Le chariot	VII IL CARRO	VII The Chariot
VIII Justice	VIII La justice	VIII LA GUISTIZIA	**VIII Strength**
IX The Hermit	IX L'ermite	VIIII L'EREMITA	IX The Hermit
X The Wheel of Fortune	X La roux de fortune	X ROUT. DELLA FORT.	X Wheel of Fortune
XI Strength	XI La force	XI LA FORZA	**XI Justice**
XII The Hanged Man	**XII La prudence**	XII L'APPESO	XII The Hanged Man
XIII (Death)	XIII (Death)	XIII UGUAGLIANZA	XIII Death
XIV Temperance	XIV La tempérance	XIIII LA TEMPERAN	XIV Temperance
XV The Devil	XV (The Fool?)	XV IL DIAVOLO	XV The Devil
XVI The Tower	XVI La maison Dieu	XVI LA TORRE	XVI The Tower
XVII The Star	XVII L'etoille	XVII LE STELLE	XVII The Star
XVIII The Moon	XVIII La lune	XVIII LA LUNA	XVIII The Moon
XIX The Sun	XIX Le soleil	XIX IL SOLE	XIX The Sun
XX Judgment	XX Le jugement	XX IL GIUDIZIO	XX Judgement
XXI The World	XXI La monde	XXI IL MONDO	XXI The World

X

IDENTIFYING TAROT CARDS

A DEDICATED RESEARCHER OR COLLECTOR uses a variety of methods to date and identify a particular antique tarot pack. Factual details are gathered from as many sources as possible, including each card in the deck, and then all the data are sifted and crosschecked for clues to the cardmaker's identity and the place and date of publication.

Suit signs and indices The presence of suit signs or suit marks characteristic of a particular country can enable the collector to distinguish and identify cards of different countries. The exception would be where one country has adopted the suit signs of another country for the express purpose of exporting decks.

French, Italian and most other tarot packs employ *Italian* suit marks, which have curving swords that intersect at the top and bottom, straight batons that cross in the middle, plus chalices and coins. Italian suit signs are also called *Latin/Italian* suit signs by the International Playing-Card Society under its program to standardize playing card terminology. *Spanish* suit signs feature straight swords, wooden cudgels for batons, and chalices and coins. In Spanish packs, the swords and batons do not intersect or cross. *Portuguese* suit signs feature straight, crossed swords, straight, crossed batons, and cups and coins.

The Italian suit system is by far the most commonly used in tarot packs, while Spanish suits are used occasionally. Some decks have unusual suit signs; for example, the sixteenth-century Geofroy Tarot pack has suits of lions, falcons and peacocks. The hand-painted fifteenth-century Cary-Yale Visconti Tarocchi cards from Northern Italy depict arrows on the pip cards in the suit of batons.

A rare, early use of pictorial suit cards is found in the fifteenth-century Sola-Busca pack, which uses scenes that incorporate the appropriate number of suit objects. For example, the two of swords shows a man and a satyrlike creature holding two swords. Many twentieth-century decks feature pictorial suit cards.

The *indices* on a card are the letters and/or numbers used to indicate the value of each card so the player does not face the cumbersome problem of counting the suit symbols on a card. It was not until the eighteenth century that Roman numbers were added to the pip cards of the Minor Arcana. In modern tarock and playing card decks, the indices usually appear in at least two of the card corners, upper left and lower right, and the numbers are Arabic.

Heraldic devices Heraldic and armorial devices on the cards can provide clues to identification. In such instances, a knowledge of the families and events of the times may prove helpful in dating the decks. This is especially true in the Visconti and Visconti-Sforza tarocchi decks, which contain numerous heraldic devices.

Identifying cards The two of coins in many printed tarot packs of the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries contains a thin ribbon in the shape of the letter S or an inverted S which follows the outline of the two coins depicted on the card. Usually, the name of the cardmaker, and often the city and year of publication, is printed on the ribbon.

Collection of Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

Two of Coins by Jean Noblet, Paris *Maker's name appears on the ribbon embracing the two coins. Seventeenth century*

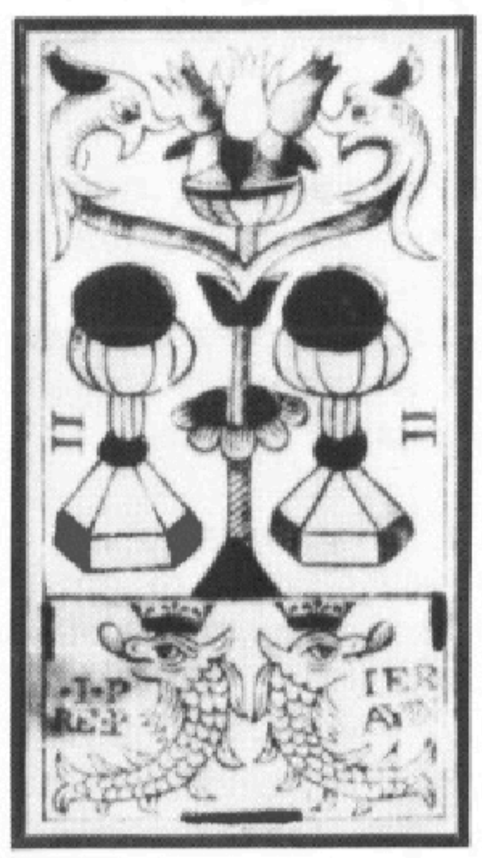
Probably the oldest extant example of a two of coins card carrying the cardmaker's identification in a ribbon is a woodblock-printed card found among some fifty-nine cards and card fragments at the Sforza Castle in Milan. The card bears the inscription PAVLINVS [DA] CASTELETO FECIT 1499. However, since no other cards from this particular deck were found when the cache was uncovered in the castle's cisterns and wells, it is not known whether the card belonged to a tarot pack.

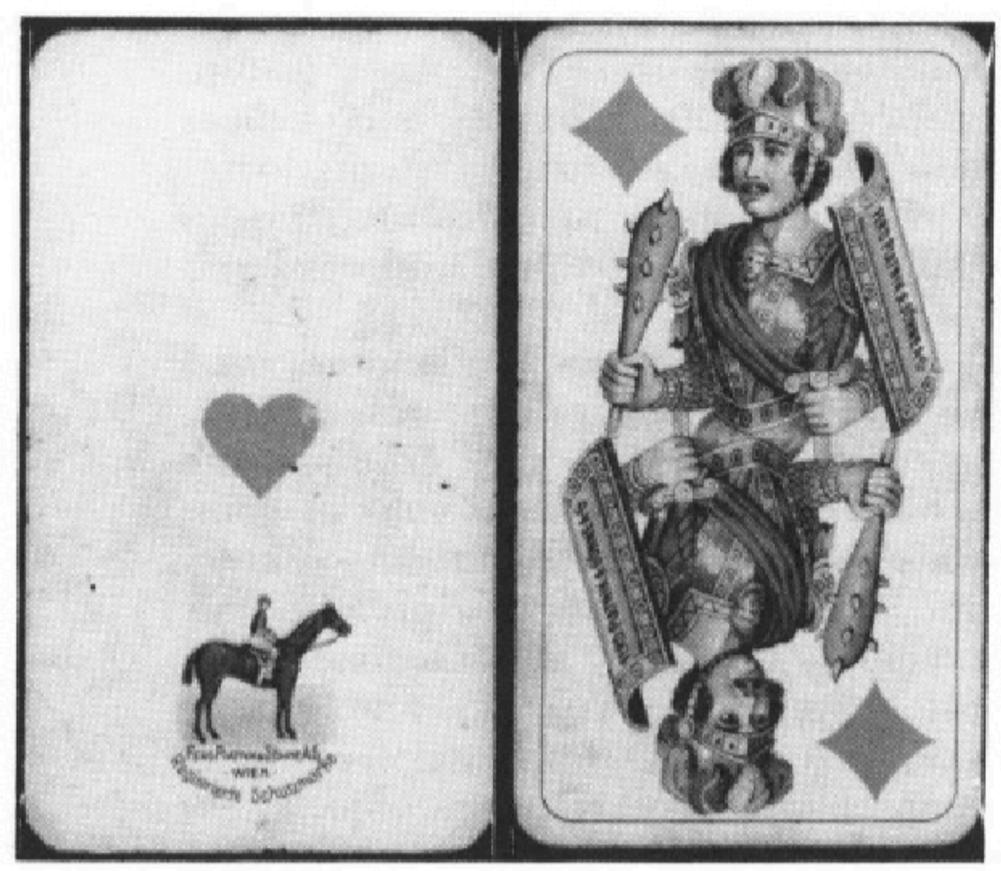
The court cards, the two of cups and the aces, especially the ace of coins, are also possible sources of information. It is not unusual to find the lower one-third of the two of cups devoted to a panel identifying the cardmaker. In Austrian tarock packs, the ace of hearts often bears information. On Italian minchiate cards, the name of the cardmaker may be written across one or more of the Major Arcana cards or court cards; the name of the cardmaker and the city of publication often appear in a panel at the bottom of the back design.

Printing methods The different methods of card manufacture provide a general sequence in the development of tarot and regular playing card decks. The processes employed during the fifteenth century include hand-painting, drawing with pen and ink, metal engraving, and printing from woodblocks. When woodblocks were used, the decks were almost always printed on large sheets which were then cut apart into individual cards and assembled into decks.

Some theories credit early cardmakers with the invention of woodblock printing in the West. The oldest examples of woodblock printing are from China, but there is no evidence that the technique was imported to the West from there.

To make a woodblock print, the artisan carves a flat block of wood to form a raised picture, or relief, which is coated with ink and pressed against paper or cloth to give an impression. The designs must be carved in reverse in order to come out correctly in the print.

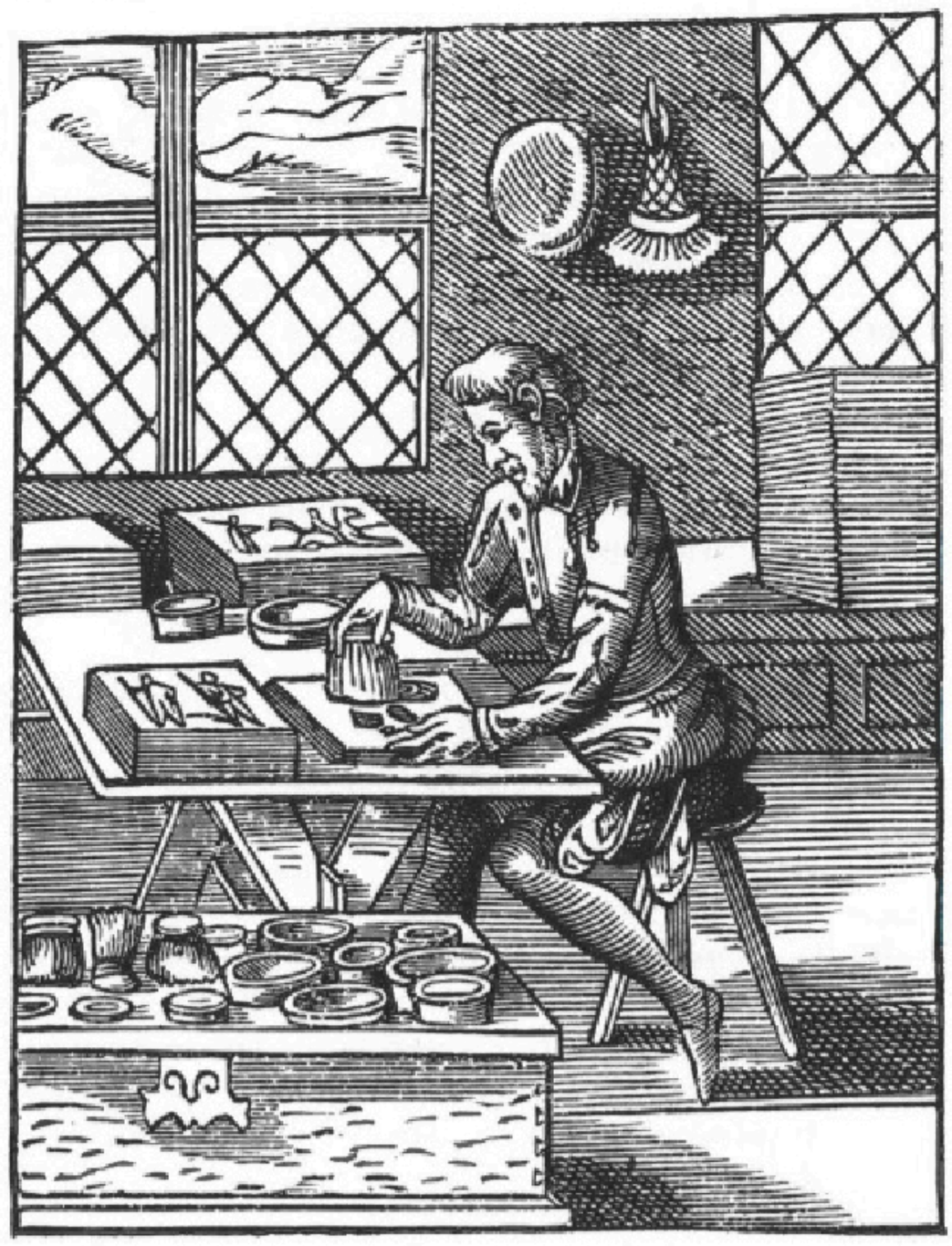




Identifying Cards from Various Tarot Decks *Two of cups, Jean Payen of Avignon, 1713. (Cary Collection of Playing Cards, The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.) VII* LE CHARIOR, *Jacques Burdel of Switzerland, 1813, with initials, possibly of the engraver, on the front of the vehicle. (Historisches Museum, St. Gallen, Switzerland) Ace of swords, by F. Fantini of Novara, circa 1862. (Private collection) Trump card II from Gumppenberg of Milan,* Mestieri e Vedute di Milano *deck (facsimile by Edizioni del Solleone, Milan), original deck circa 1820. The tax stamp appears opposite the end of the card with the maker's name. (Collection of author) Ace of hearts and page of diamonds, genre tarock by Ferd. Piatnik & Söhne, early twentieth century. (Collection of author)*

Reprinted from *Book of Trades*, by Jost. Amman, 1564

A Wood Engraver *The engraver works on a small piece with a burin. Near him, on the table, is a whetstone. He is well-dressed, indicating that wood engraving was a lucrative trade.*



Reprinted from *Book of Trades*, by Jost. Amman, 1564

A Print Colorer *The colorer uses a large brush, rather than a fine paint brush, to cover large areas of the print. On his left, on a low bench, are pots of paints and other brushes.*

Early woodblock prints were carved with knives along the grain, that is, lengthwise along the plank of a block of wood, usually a soft, close-grained wood such as pear, sycamore or apple. Around 1800, woodcutting was superceded by wood engraving, in which the artisan carved a relief design using a special pointed tool known as a burin or graver. The design was carved across the smoothed end or cross section of a block of wood, preferably boxwood, which is very hard. The transition from woodcutting to wood engraving allowed the introduction of smooth, flowing lines and more delicate designs.

Woodblocks had a limited lifespan since the raised portions easily broke away. The individual defects of each woodblock leave telltale marks making it possible to determine if two decks of the same design were made from the same woodblock. Additionally, one can sometimes trace the use of a woodblock from one cardmaker to his successor by noting the presence of the same defects. In such a case, identical decks can be put in a time sequence by examining the deterioration of the line impressions suffered by the more recent deck. The same method can also be used for metal engraved decks. When the name of the cardmaker has obviously been removed from a deck, resulting in a blank space, or the name obviously altered, the deck is probably a reprint of an older deck from the same woodblock or metal plate. Though not originals, such decks remain valuable and important.

Many errors in spelling and numbering occurred in woodblock printing because the woodcarvers were often illiterate. Although the woodcarvers may have had correctly written titles as a guide to copy, they had to carve numbers and titles, not to mention the entire scene, in reverse. Some errors, such as the upside down picture and misspelled title on the *Lepen-du* card of the eighteenth-century Cartes de Suisses packs, were apparently passed along from cardmaker to cardmaker.

Although some tarot decks continued to be printed with woodblocks in the nineteenth century, metal plates superceded wood for the most part. The same procedure of carving a relief design was employed, and the metal produced a stronger printing surface.

Intaglio printing uses incised designs, rather than raised lines. Intaglio metal plates, especially copper, were employed as early as the middle of the fifteenth century. The design was reversed, and the lines to be printed were engraved as a groove into the metal sheet or plate. A skilled engraver could vary the thickness of the grooves to yield a heavier or more delicate impression. The plate was inked and the surface then wiped clean, so that only the grooves held the ink. Paper made pliable by dampening with water was then pressed against the plate so that the fibers sank into the inked grooves and the impression was made.

The drypoint engraving method was the most direct and sensitive of the techniques for intaglio printing with metal plates. A strong, fine needle was used, instead of a burin, to draw directly on the plate, and the resultant ridge or burr line was just deep enough to hold the ink and enrich the line.

Metal *etching* probably originated in Germany in the early sixteenth century. Metal plates were covered with an acid-resistant material. The design was engraved into the material with a sharp burin so that the metal was exposed. Variation in line thickness could be achieved with different burin points. The plate was then bathed in acid and the exposed metal was etched while the rest remained unaffected. When the grooves for the light lines were sufficiently

"bitten out" by the acid, those lines were coated with the acid resistant material and the plate again exposed to the acid to produce thicker lines in the grooves still exposed.

An alternate technique of the metal etching method was to use an acid-resistant powder in place of the waxy material. The acid bath affected only the powderless areas, and varying tones, shading and granular textures became possible.

The relatively soft copper plates gave way to steel plates around 1820. Not only did the steel plates last longer, but they yielded a finer design. It is an easy matter to distinguish between crude, woodblock printed tarot cards and the finer, more detailed, metal engraved and etched cards.

Lithography, or "writing on stone," was discovered around 1796 by the playwright Aloys Senefelder of Munich. A highly porous stone is ground to a flat surface, and on it the design is sketched in reverse with a greasy substance. The oily lines repel water, but have an affinity to ink. The blank areas of the stone are made grease resistant. To stop the drawn areas from spreading, they are treated with a mixture of nitric acids and gum arabic. The entire stone is washed with turpentine and water. Once the stone is inked with rollers, a special press allows the print to be made. In the mid-nineteenth century, zinc plates began to be used instead of stone in lithography.

Modern playing cards are printed through color photolithography, which uses chemical interactions to create defined areas of color.

Uncut sheets of printed cards were frequently hand-colored, sometimes by using a stencil. One stencil was used for each color, the cut out areas on each stencil being placed above the space on the card where the color was to be applied. The stencil coloring method is easy to identify. It is sometimes possible to see the brush strokes where coloring was applied through the stencil. When the colored areas are off-register, they retain their integrity, but do not appear within the proper lines on the card. Stencils were also used to make the suit signs on the pip cards of tarock packs of the nineteenth century.

Some nineteenth-century tarock packs used a combination of hand-painting and stenciling for coloring. The basic areas of color were stenciled, and then finer areas, such as the cheeks and hair, were painted by hand.

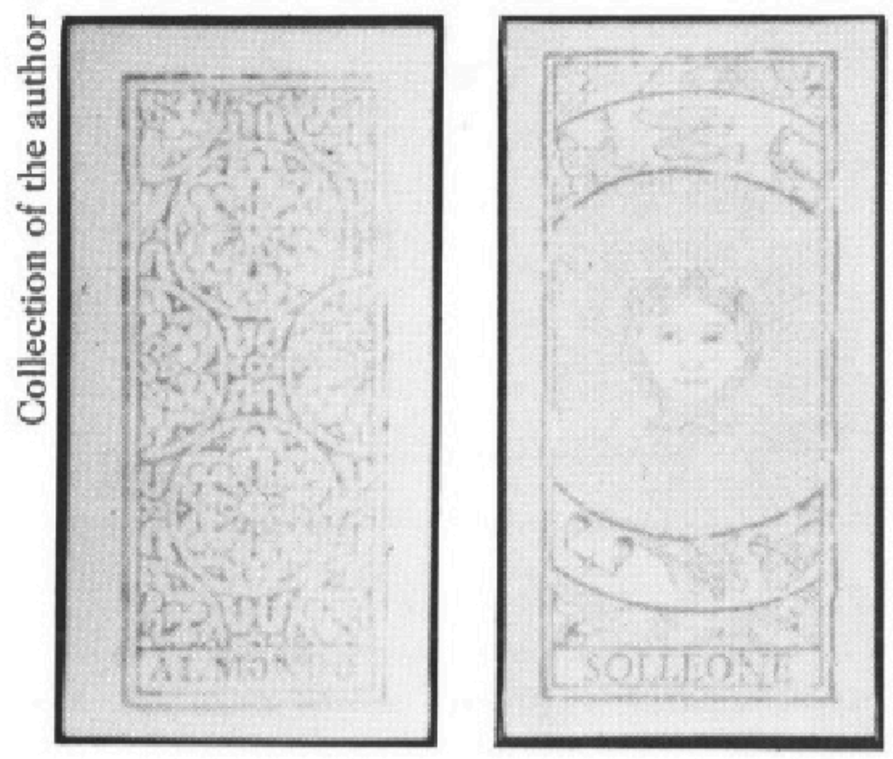
Woodblock prints were also sometimes colored with other woodblock prints. A block was carved for each color, with the section to be colored forming a raised area. Each color required a separate block, and each block had to be on register with the others, so it is unlikely that this time-consuming method was used for ordinary playing cards.

Square and round corners Round-cornered cards did not come into vogue until the late nineteenth century. The heavy use of a pack of cards may wear down corners, and many older decks consequently seem as if they were originally round cornered.

Card wrappers Should a collector have the good fortune to purchase an antique tarot deck with its original wrapper, the name of the cardmaker and city may be present. Unfortunately, the paper wrappers used for many tarot and regular playing card packs quickly soiled or tore and were generally discarded.

Cardmaker sample books Some cardmakers, especially well-established individuals and firms who offered a large range of cards, issued sample books for use by their salesmen. The pages of the books generally contained several cards from each deck—a court card, one or two pip cards, plus one sample card showing the back design. Each group of cards displayed was labeled with the name of the deck and style number for ordering.

Back design The back design can prove very helpful in dating a tarot deck. This is especially true when the back design of an undated deck is the same as that of a pack whose date of publication is known. Italian tarots are more likely to have scenic back designs, often with the name and/or city of the cardmaker in a panel at the bottom. The backs of French tarots are usually blank, mottled, or have geometric patterns, and the names of cardmakers are virtually never on the backs.



Back Designs *Pietro Milesi's tarot, circa 1823 to 1840, is inscribed* AL MONDO *at the bottom. Back design of Edizioni del Solleone's reprint of Gumppenberg's* Mestieri e Vedute *tarock has the name of the publisher at the bottom.*

Early Italian minchiate decks and some Italian tarots had wraparound backs. The back design was printed on thin paper which was glued to the back of the card with the margins wrapped over the edges of the card and then glued over the front margins. Tarots from outside of Italy are not known to have wraparound backs.

Cards with Wraparound Backs *L. Lamperti's tarot deck, made in Milan circa 1848 to 1861, had back designs printed in orange on a fine sheet of paper, with the edges wrapped over to the fronts of the cards.*

Provenance The history of ownership of a tarot deck may enable one to trace the original owner of a deck, and then the publisher and date of publication, especially if the deck has not passed through too many hands. Unfortunately, playing cards are not an art form for which owners tend to maintain records, as compared, for example, to paintings and art objects which are obviously intended to pass from one collector to another.

Watermarks on playing card stock Further methods for dating packs include examination of watermarks on the cardboard used to manufacture playing cards. Watermark paper was used for French playing cards as early as the fifteenth century. Importantly, beginning in the year 1751, the French government controlled playing card manufacture by requiring cardmakers to purchase special watermark paper which served as a source of revenue for the government. The watermark paper in use from 1751 to 1889 provides a method of dating packs of cards. Watermark paper for French playing cards was possibly used until World War I. To locate the watermark, the cards should be held up to the light. The watermark creates a translucent design in the paper.

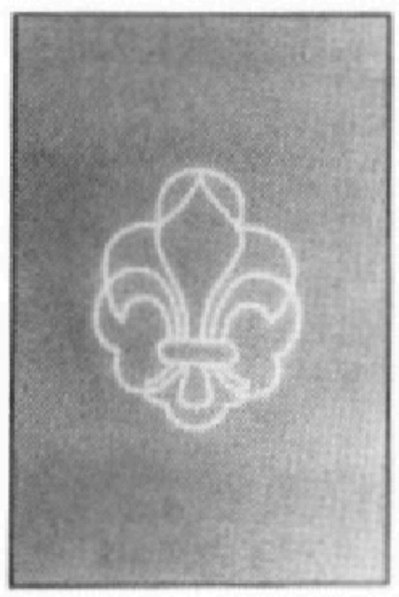
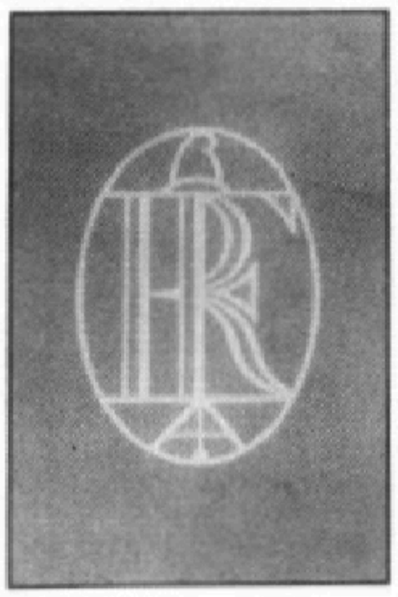
However, a problem exists with respect to watermarks on tarot decks. French playing cards are generally small and are printed on regular cardboard; tarot cards are oversized and printed on thick cardboard. Thus, some decrees, such as the French Ministry's Circular 29, issued May 21, 1806, exclude tarot cards from the watermark requirements.

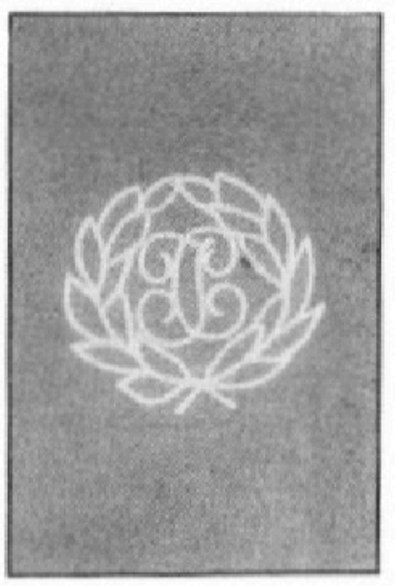
Early research on French watermarks was undertaken by D'Allemagne. Subsequently, Albert Field prepared an expanded chronological synopsis of French watermarks used for taxation on playing cards, based on French decks in his collection.

WATERMARKS ON FRENCH PLAYING CARDS

Design	Years Valid	Location of Watermark
Fleur-de-lis (stylized iris flower)	1751–1789	Originally appeared on only one card in a deck, later appeared on all cards
Interlaced letters R. F. (for Republique Française) with the Phrygian cap of liberty at the top and, at the bottom, the triangle of equality	1789–1805	Earlier, on ace of diamonds, then on the ace and two of diamonds; subsequently on all cards
Eagle (for Napoleon) facing to its left, with tail extended beneath horizontal perch	1805–1815	Every card
Fleur-de-lis divided vertically in the middle*	1816-1830	Every card
French cock	1830–1845	Every card
C. I. (initials for Contributions Indirectes—referring to the form of taxation) in horizontal panel*	1845–1848	Every card
Second eagle (for Napoleon III) looking to its right; tail does not extend beneath horizontal perch	1853–1875	Every card
C. I. (initials for Contributions Indirectes) within wreath of leaves	1875–1889	Every card

*Not shown



Watermarks on French Playing Cards *Reprinted from* Les Cartes à jouer du XIV au XX siècle *by Henry R. D'Allemagne. The illustration shown second from the left was reversed in D'Allemagne's book, and it is corrected here.*

Neutron activation analysis and autoradiography Recently developed techniques of neutron activation analysis and neutron autoradiography are useful in determining the chemical elements present in manuscript illumination. While this technique has been used previously with respect to paintings, it was first applied to an illuminated manuscript in 1978 by Herbert R. Muether and Nandor L. Balazs, Department of Physics, State University of New York at Stony Brook, and Maurice J. Cotter, Department of Physics, Queens College of the City University of New York. Results of the research are described in William Voelkle's book, *The Spanish Forger,* published in 1978 by The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

The autoradiographs were prepared by irradiating the manuscript leaf in a beam of slow neutrons and then exposing, at set intervals, sheets of x-ray film in contact with the leaf. The radioactivity induced by the neutrons made an image on the film which gave a picture of the distribution of the radioactivity present in the manuscript during the time the film was exposed. This picture is called an autoradiograph because the object examined makes its own picture from the radiation it emits. Such an irradiation has no permanent effect on the work of art.

The autoradiographs give a visual record of the radioactive decay over a period of time of different atoms present in chemicals in the pigment. Radioactive atoms belonging to different chemical elements have different rates of decay. Since these rates are all well-known, they provide a means of identifying the elements present. For example, in the Spanish Forger's work, the radioactive atoms of the green pigment decayed more quickly than the radioactive atoms from other pigments. Thus, in the series of radiographs, the radiographs taken later show almost no image where the green pigment is present in the manuscript leaf.

Measurements of the energies of radiation from the manuscript were also made and used to identify specific chemical elements present in the pigments in the manuscript leaf. High concentrations of gold, mercury, and arsenic were detected. The decay rates observed in the series of autoradiographs identified mercury with the red pigments and arsenic with the green. The evidence of rapid radioactive decay after the irradiation of the green pigment, and the presence of arsenic revealed by neutron activity analysis, shows that the green pigment contains a copper arsenite. Since copper arsenite was not used in pigment until 1814, its presence in the Spanish Forger's work proves that the manuscripts were not authentic medieval works of art, but rather very skilled forgeries.

Radiocarbon dating Radiocarbon dating is another technique used to date objects that can be carbonized, but this method has two distinct disadvantages. A piece of the object, no matter how small, is used and destroyed in the carbonization process. Additionally, the method of radiocarbon dating can be used for general dating, within a century, but it is not helpful in determining, for example, whether a tarot pack dates from 1730 or 1750 or 1820.

Engravers Occasionally the initials of the engraver of a tarot pack appear on one or more cards, usually The Chariot. However, the full name of an engraver is rarely known unless he was also the cardmaker whose name appears on the deck. On rare occasions, the engraver's full name is on one or more of the cards in the pack.

Tax stamps on playing cards Over the centuries, different European countries have exacted laws requiring cardmakers to pay taxes on their decks. To certify that no duty was owing on a deck, a tax stamp was placed on one or more of the cards. While the cardmakers may have disliked this, it has provided modern collectors with an important method of dating decks and determining their place of origin. Another chapter in this volume details tax stamps and their application in identifying decks.

Cardmakers The name of the cardmaker sometimes appears on one or more of the cards in a tarot deck. The efforts of researchers in several countries have made it possible to compile a master list of cardmakers with their dates and cities, and this list appears in another chapter of this volume.

Images on the cards The general iconography of the cards can sometimes help date a deck, as can the costumes of the figures and the style of the art itself. Tarot cards have retained the same basic imagery, but different periods have yielded distinctive cards. The earliest tarot cards did not show, for example, The World card as a woman surrounded by a wreath. Before the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century, The World usually showed a city within a wreath or circle, often surmounted by an angelic figure holding a sword or scepter, and an orb. The Cartes de Suisses packs date from the eighteenth century and their distinct features are readily identified. Decks from the Revolutionary period in France can be identified by the lack of crowns on the court figures or, for example, by replacement of The Empress and The Emperor by *La Grandemere* and *Le Grandpere* in the 1791 L. Carey pack (see Volume I).

In a few decks, the costumes of the figures can reveal the approximate date that the cards were made. However, for tarot decks, cardmakers seemed to favor clothing undistinguished by the style of any one period. An imaginative mingling of classical and medieval costume was most common.

The artistic style of different decks is influenced not only by the time during which the deck was made, but also by the skill of the artisans and by the materials and techniques used. Early woodcut decks were crude since the technique of carving with a knife along the grain of the wood prevented smoothly curving lines which would splinter the block. As engraving techniques grew more refined, so did the designs on tarot cards. The naive figures of the woodcut cards, with their round, staring eyes and awkward physiques were replaced with more subtle, individualistic figures. A gain was made in realism and sometimes beauty, but at the loss of the simple and direct expressiveness of the old cards.

XI

FIVE CENTURIES OF TAROT CARDMAKERS

SEVERAL THOUSAND ARTISANS made tarot and tarock decks over the past five hundred years. Based on the inscriptions found on certain cards in extant tarot and tarock decks, a listing of tarot and tarock cardmakers has been compiled. The countries included in the compilation are Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, Italy, Luxembourg, Poland, Switzerland, the United States and Yugoslavia.

Some thirty secondary sources, such as auction catalogs and books that describe antique tarot decks or cite the names of known cardmakers, have also been used in preparing the listing. Books by Hargrave, Hoffmann, Keller and O'Donoghue contain numerous descriptions of antique tarot packs and, when possible, provide the cardmakers' names and the cities and dates of publication. Research papers by Jensen, Tummers and Zsoldos have played an important part in identifying cardmakers of Denmark, Belgium and Hungary, respectively. To enable the reader to identify the sources used for the compilation, each entry includes a code of one or two letters and sometimes a number. The explanatory key to the code is given in full bibliographic form.

Each cardmaker is listed in the compilation under the country to which his or her city presently belongs. This differs from the William Keller catalog of the Cary Collection of Playing Cards. While Keller's method of matching city and country according to the national boundaries contemporary to each deck cannot be faulted, it requires a working knowledge of the history of European territories. Collectors may find it easier to identify a cardmaker's city under the heading of its present country rather than working with the historical vicissitudes of national boundaries.

Where dates of activity for a cardmaker do not coincide among sources, the range of dates has been expanded to include all possibilities. If no dates of activity are known for a cardmaker, but the birth and death dates of the cardmaker are available, the years of his life are given. In a few instances where the tax stamp is the only evidence for dating a cardmaker's work, the valid years of the tax stamp have been assigned to the cardmaker although all such years may not necessarily be applicable to the cardmaker. For example, the lifespan of the Lombardy tax stamp valid from 1862 to 1874 has been assigned to P. Negri and Oletto. Dates given for the cardmakers are approximate, except where indicated.

Cardmakers known to have printed tarot decks, in contrast to regular playing cards, are included in the compilation, and in some cases it seems worthwhile to also include the name of a cardmaker whose exact production is unknown. For example, the list includes several cardmakers whose names are similar to the name of a known tarot cardmaker in the same city, since perhaps they belonged to the same family and also published tarot. On the death of a cardmaker, his occupation often passed to his relatives and it is not unusual to find several generations of a family in the cardmaking business. In France, when a cardmaker died, his widow inherited and often continued the business. Sometimes her next marriage would be to a man also engaged in cardmaking and their efforts would be combined. The passage of woodblocks from one generation or family to the next may account for the "longevity" of some cardmakers and of certain decks.

It is not unusual to find variations among sources as to the spelling of the names of cardmakers, since the cardmakers themselves did not always spell their names consistently. In some of the older decks, the letters U and V, and I and J, are identical; the compilation in this chapter uses the spelling that seems most appropriate.

Some cardmakers well-known today trace their origins to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. For example, in Austria, Ferd. Piatnik & Söhne is the ultimate successor to Anton Moser, who started the business in 1824. In France, the firm of J. M. Simon is the successor to B. P. Grimaud, begun in 1748. The Swiss company AGMüller & Cie was originally founded by Johannes Muller in 1835.

A compilation of cardmakers can be extremely useful to collectors and researchers. To approximate the date of a deck for which the name of the maker is known, one can look up the name of the cardmaker to find the relevant information.

If the name of the cardmaker is unknown, but the approximate date or country of origin can be surmised (see chapter on identifying tarot cards), one can obtain the names of likely cardmakers with corresponding origins and dates. Designs similar to or even identical with those of the cards under research may be described or illustrated in the sources. General observations can be made as to the popularity of tarot cards in different countries, and one can

surmise periods of low and high production.

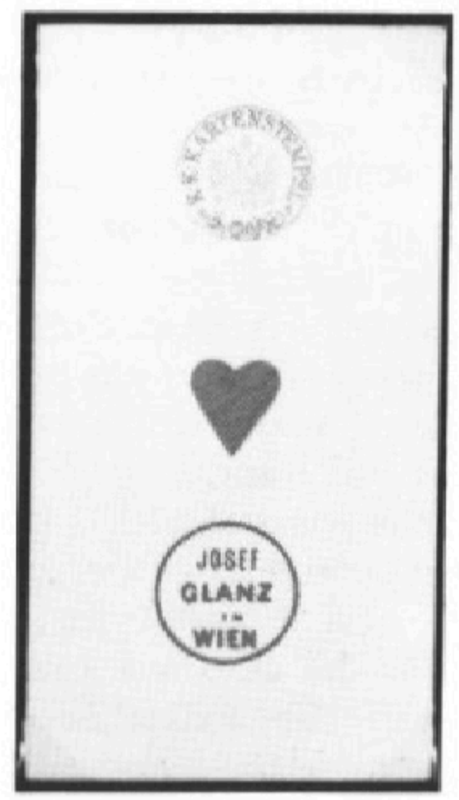
The list of engravers that follows the list of cardmakers for each country is also taken from literature and from signed cards. Engravers' signatures on playing cards are relatively rare, and the artists who created most antique tarot decks remain in obscurity.

The compilation in this chapter should not be viewed as complete. Much more research remains to be done. The list of tarot and tarock cardmakers will approach greater accuracy and completeness through the cooperation of collectors who own decks evidencing the names and dates of cardmakers that do not appear in the compilation.

AUSTRIA

Cardmaker	Location	Year	Source
Franz Adametz	Vienna	1930–1940s	G78, G80, MGA, MGS, W14, W20
Johann Allbrecht	Innsbruck	1750–1800	CK, HK2, OD
T. Allbrecht	Innsbruck	1750	CA, HA, MA1
Leonhard Arnold	Vienna	1830	KH
Albert Berger	Vienna	1906	BE, KA1, MA2
Albert Berger & J. Glanz	Vienna	1906	AL, B3, HK2, MGA, W14, W20
Aug. Denk & Co., GmBH	Vienna	1885–1930	FO, G77, G78, G79, KA2, MA2, S1, S2, W20
Joseph Dimler	Wels	1834	KA2, PE
J. Dobler	Vienna	1890–1895	CK
Johann Edelman	Linz	1810	HD, HK2
Joseph Estel	Vienna	1820–1823	FO, KA1, MA1, MA2, OD
Friedrich Eurich	Linz	1817–1850	CK, HD, KH, MGA, NE, W14
Georg Geiselreiter	Wiener Neustadt	1860	CK
Ludwig Gigerl	Vienna	1870	HA, MGA
Joseph (Josef) Glanz	Vienna[2]	ca 1848–1912[1]	AL, B3, CA, CK, FO, G77, G78, G79, HA, HD, HK2, KA1, KA2, KH, KO, MA1, MA2, MGA, MGS, NE, OD, PE, P1, P2, PN, S1, S2, W11, W14, W20, WO

Tarock Cards by Joseph Glanz TOP LEFT: *Waverly Tarock, 1863. The maker's name is stamped on the ace of hearts and printed on the ace of diamonds.* TOP RIGHT: *Gigerl Tarock, late nineteenth century (Collection of Agnes and Allan Ryan).* BOTTOM: *Military Tarock, early twentieth century (Collection of the author)*



1. Dates confirmed by Dr. Ernst Ragg, director of Ferd. Piatnik & Söhne
2. Addresses of Joseph Glanz (courtesy of Dr. Ragg)
   Kohlmarkt 279 (from 1853-1865)
   Kohlmarkt 20 (1865-ca 1900)
   Kohlmarkt 1 (ca 1900-1912)

AUSTRIA (Continued)

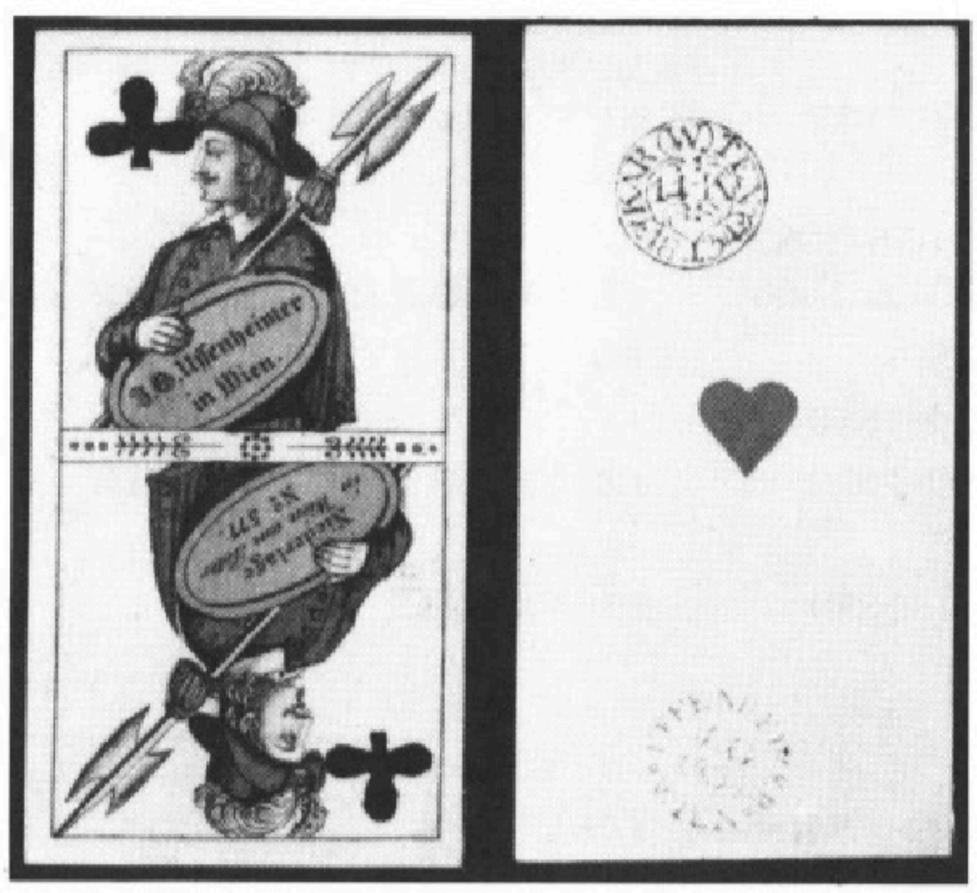
Cardmaker	Location	Year	Source
Joseph Glanz & Geiselreiter	Vienna	1860	CK, HD, HK2, MGA
Alexander Grosheim	Vienna/Graz	1845–1846	P2
Franz Hajek	Vienna	1840–1855	CK
Anton Herrl	Graz	1839–1855	CK
Hienlein-Teplitz	?	1850	MGA
Emil Hirschfeld	Graz	1842–1844	CK, FO
Joh. Norbert Hofman (see also Steiger)	Vienna	early 19th C.	MA1, OD
Carl Holdhaus	Vienna	1824–1865	B3, CK, G78, HA, HD, HK2, KA2, MA2, NE, W14, W20
Ludwig Jos. Jaeger	Vienna	1875–1895	CK, FO, HK2, W14, W20
L. Jaeger & Dobler	Vienna	1870	CK, HA, KA2
E. Knepper & Co.	Vienna	1858–1877	G78, HA, KA1, MA2, MGA, NE, W14, W20, WO
Mathias Koller	Vienna	1820–1840	CK, HA, KA2, MA1, W14
Anton Moser	Vienna[2]	1824–1843[1]	CK, HD
H. F. Müller	Vienna	1809–1826	B1, HA, HK2, KA1
J. G. Müller	Vienna	19th C.	FO, MA1
Johann Nejedly	Vienna	1866–1900	BER, B1, HA, KA1, MA2, MGA, W20
Öesterreichische Spielkarten-Fabriks Gesellschaft	Vienna	ca 1881–1904[1]	G79, MGS
Pausinger	Vienna	1850	HA
Ferd. [inand] Piatnik & Söhne	Vienna[3]	1882–present[1]	BE, B3, CA, CK, FO, G77, G78, G79, G80, HA, HD, HK2, KA1, KA2, KH, MA1, MA2, MGA, MGS, OD, P2
Erste Österreichische Spielkartenfabrik AG		1917–1939	S1, S2, W11, W14, W20, WO
Ferd. Piatnik		ca 1856–1882	
Ferd. Piatnik (vorm. Ant. Moser)	Vienna[4]	1843–ca 1860[1]	CK, KA1, KA2, MA2, MGA, MGS, OD, PN
Pichler	Graz	1865	FO
Carl Pichler	Vienna	1839–1850	CK
Ferd. Pittner	Graz	1860–1890	CK, G78, G79, KA2, MA2, W11
Hans Pokrikowsky	Vienna	1876	HK2
Ignatz Preisinger	Salzburg	1831–1850	HD, HK2, KA2

Ignatz Preisinger, Salzburg, Circa 1850 *Valet of clubs, from facsimile published by Druckhaus Nonntal of Salzburg (Collection of the author)*

1. Dates confirmed by Dr. Ernst Ragg, director of Ferd. Piatnik & Söhne
2. Addresses of Anton Moser (courtesy of Dr. Ragg)
   Schottenfeld 407 (street later renamed Herrengasse)
3. Addresses of Ferd. Piatnik & Söhne (courtesy of Dr. Ragg)
   Hütteldorferstrasse 227, Vienna, & Csengerygasse 11, Budapest (early 1900s)
   Rottenbillergasse 17, Budapest (1903-ca 1945)
   Hütteldorferstrasse 1 (from 1891)
   Hütteldorferstrasse 227 (same location, number changed)
4. Addresses of Ferd. Piatnik vorm. Anton Moser (courtesy of Dr. Ragg)
   Schottenfeld/Herrengasse 407 (1843-1862)
   Schottenfeld/Herrengasse 153 (1862-ca 1871)
   Kaiserstrasse 56 (from ca 1871)

AUSTRIA (Continued)

Cardmaker	Location	Year	Source
Johann And. Sageder	Vienna	1859–1880	CK, HA
Samun (Arthur Schirmann & Co.)	Vienna	1936	MGA
Peter Schachner	Wels	1813–1816	HA, NE
Josef Schoepf	Innsbruck	1850	CK
Mathias Simon	Vienna	mid-19th C.	P2
Johann Georg Steiger, vorm. Joh. Norbert Hofmann	Vienna	1827–1852	AL, CK, HA, NE, OD, P2
W. Tatzelt	?	1876	G77
Carl Titze	Vienna	1850	HA, HD
Carl Titze & Josef Glanz	Vienna	1851	HA
C. Titze & Schinkay	Vienna[2]	1847–1897[1]	AL, CK, FO, G78, G79, G80, HD, HK2, KA1, KA2, MA1, MA2, MGA, NE, W20, WO
Joseph Traunwiser	Salzburg	1780	KH
J. G. Uffenheimer	Vienna	1825–1839	CK, FO, HD, KA2, MA1, MA2, S1
Max Uffenheimer	Vienna	1820–1853[1]	BER, B3, CK, G79, HA, HD, HK2, KA2, KH, MA1, MA2, NE, PN, W14
Union	Vienna	20th C.	W11, W14, W20
Union Ried	Innkreis	1920	MGA
Vollnhals	Linz	1841	CK



J. G. Uffenheimer, Vienna, 1834
Maker's name and address are on the valet, and an ink stamp with the maker's name and the date of publication is on the ace of hearts. (Collection of Agnes and Allan Ryan)

1. Dates confirmed by Dr. Ernst Ragg, director of Ferd. Piatnik & Söhne
2. Address of Titze & Schinkay (courtesy of Dr. Ragg)
   Myrthengasse 11, Neubau (1847-1897)

AUSTRIA (Continued)

Engraver	Location	Year	Source
J. Benedict	Vienna	1880	MGA, MGS, NE
J. Berndl	Vienna	1860	MGA, MGS
Cajetan (Dr. Anton Elfinger)	Vienna	1848	AL, B3, HA, MGA, MGS, P1
Gigerl	Vienna	19th C.	HA
Ditha Moser	Vienna	1906	AL, BE, HA, HD, MA2, P2, W20, WO
Rita Moser	Vienna	1910	PN
J. Neumeyer	Vienna	1882–1890	HD, W20
Pausinger	Vienna	19th C.	HA
Hans Schliessman	Vienna	b. 1852, d. 1920	AL, HD
Joseph Sürch	Vienna	b. 1811, d. 1877	AL, HD, KH, KO, MGA, MGS, NE, P2, W20

BELGIUM

Cardmaker	Location	Year	Source
Louis Biot	Brussels	1800/late 19th C.	G78, JE2, OD
Nicolas Bodet	Brussels	1743–1751	B3
Daveluy	Bruges	1835–ca 1880[1]	BER, B3, FO, MA1, MA2, OD, S1, S2, TU
Jean Daywalle	Liège	1770	CK
J. de Porre	Ghent	1770	MA2, TU
Jacques-Pierre Deporre	Ghent	b. 1773, d. 1848[1]	TU
J. B. Dubois	Liège	18th C.	OD, TU
J. J. Dubois	Liège	to 1857[1]	TU
J. J. Dubois	Liège	1790–1810	CK, PH, TU, W20
J. T. Dubois	Liège	ca 1811–1815[1]	OD, TU
J. A. Dupont[2]	Brussels	1755–1775	
Martin Dupont	Brussels	1766[1]	B3, CK, KA2, OD, PH, TU
Jean-Baptiste Galler	Brussels	ca 1738–1780[1]	B3, CK, G79, JE2, KA1, MA2, OD, TU, W14
G. Geûens-Seaux	Bruges	1890	CK, TU
G. Geûens-Willaert	Bruges	1880–1930s	CK, KA2, MGA, S2, TU

1. Dates confirmed by Louis Tummers.
2. Source is article "Cardmakers in Brussels," by E. van Autenboer, in *Journal of the International Playing-Card Society* (vol. 12, no. 4).

Martin Dupont, Brussels, 1766 *Four of coins, with initials of engraver, and ace of coins (Collection of Agnes and Allan Ryan)*

Geûens-Willaert, Bruges, Circa 1910 *Valet of hearts (Collection of the author)*

BELGIUM (Continued)

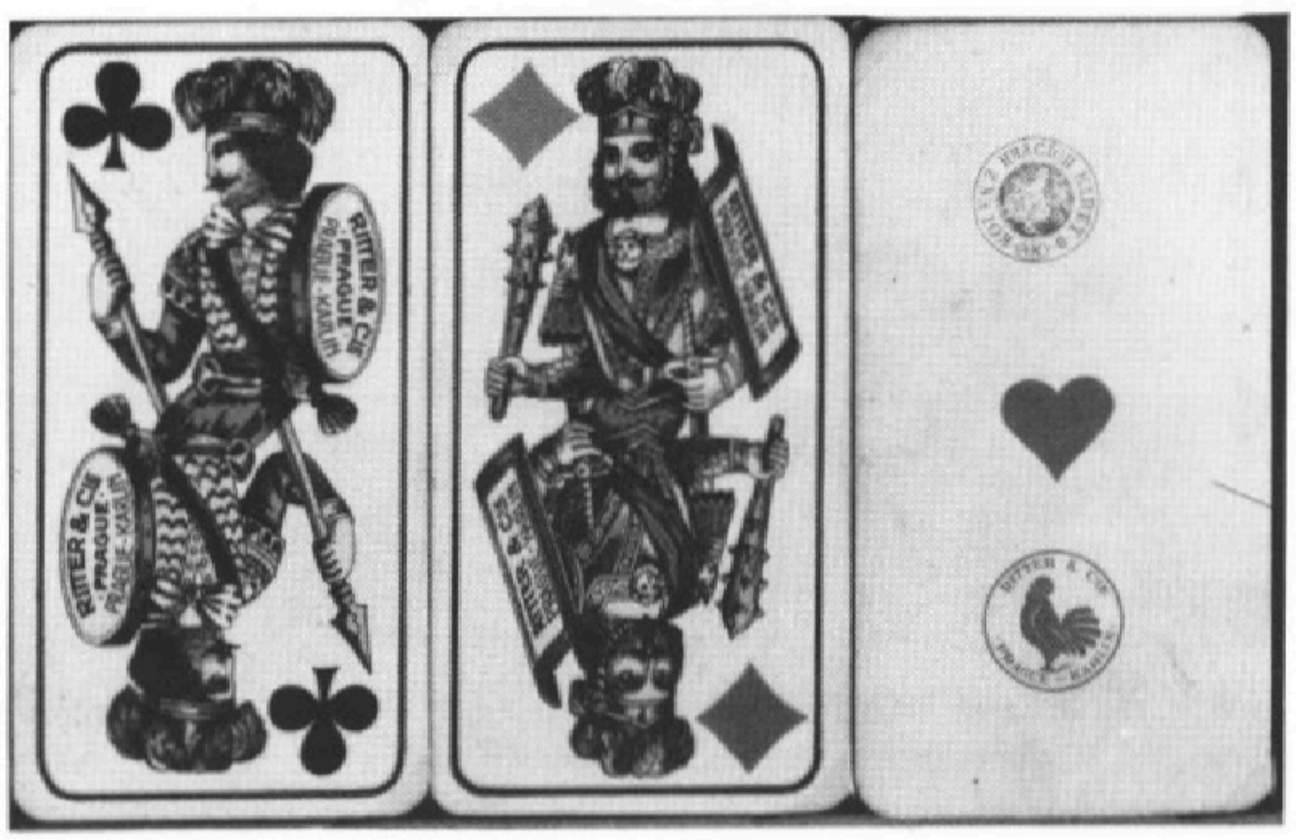
Cardmaker	Location	Year	Source
Jean Gisaine	Dinant	18th C.	B3, OD, TU
Antoine Jar	Bouvigne-sur-Meuse	18th C.	KA2
Mark-Antoine Jar	Dinant	1750–1754	DA, TU
Pierre-Antoine Keusters	Brussels	1768–1789[1]	CK, DA, KA2, MA2, TU
G. Larmoyer	Liège	1753	OD, TU
Pierre Mainet (Mannet, Meniet, Mainnet, Minet)	Tournai	17th C./1468/ 1508–1509	HA, TU
Sarton	Brussels	1756–1767	B3
T. Servaes	Brussels	1770	B3, G79, TU
F. I. (François-Jean) Vandenborre	Brussels	1762–1803[1]	BER, B3, CK, FO, KA1, KA2, MA2, PH, TU, WI
T. S. Vandenborre	Brussels	18th C.	WI
L. Van den Brande	Brussels	1800–1815	S2, TU

1. Dates confirmed by Louis Tummers.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Cardmaker	Location	Year	Source
Ceska Graficke Uniá	Prague	1890–1925	FO, MGS, S1
Gottfried Fischer	Prostejov (Prossnitz)	early 19th C.	CK, P2
Jacob Groeschl	Bratislava (Pressburg)	1815	CK
Ludwig Joseph Jaeger	Bratislava (Pressburg)	1820	W14
Ant. Kratochvil	Prague	1890	G79
R. Lasius Miller	Trnava	1830	CK
Obchodni Tiskárny, NP	Kolin, Prague	1935–1969	HD, MGS
Ferd. Piatnika, Synove, Ritter A. Spol	Prague	1928–1945[1]	MGA
Vinc. Proksch	Prostejov (Prossnitz)	1856	CK
Ritter & Cie	Prague	mid-19th C.–1899[1]	KA2
Wenzel Sewera	Prague	1849–1858	KA1, MA2
Franz Tinver	Bratislava (Pressburg)	1855	HA
Jacob Wokaun	Prague	1825	KA2

1. Dates confirmed by Dr. Ernst Ragg, director of Ferd. Piatnik & Söhne



Ritter & Cie, Prague, Second Half of Nineteenth Century *Valets of clubs and diamonds, printed with maker's name and address. Ace of hearts, stamped with maker's name (Collection of Agnes and Allan Ryan)*

DENMARK

Cardmaker	Location	Year	Source
Jacob Holmblad	Copenhagen	1820-1837[1]	HD, HK2, JE1, JE2, JE3, KA2
Laurits Peter Holmblad(s)	Copenhagen	1837-1890[1]	B3, HD, HK2, JE1, JE2, JE3, KA2, MA2
Holmblad, S. Salomon	Copenhagen	1837-1900	G80
Emil Jensen/Warburgs Spillekort (EJKA)	Copenhagen	1935-1957	G78, JE2, KA2
Jean Fridrich Mayer	Copenhagen	1752-1783[1]	FO, JE1, JE2, JE3, KA2

Jean Fridrich Mayer, Copenhagen, Circa 1752 to 1783
The valet of clubs bears the maker's name, and the valet of hearts carries a banner with the initials of the maker. From a facsimile printed by Hagen & Sørenson A/S, Odense, Denmark, 1978 (Collection of the author)

S. Salomon & Co.	Copenhagen	1890-1982[1]	FO, G78, JE2, JE3, MGA
Christoffer Ernst Süsz	Copenhagen	1783-1790	JE1, JE2
C. E. Süsz & Kuntze	Copenhagen	1790-1798[1]	JE1, JE2, JE3
Adolph Wulff	Copenhagen	1910	JE3

1. Dates confirmed by K. Frank Jensen.

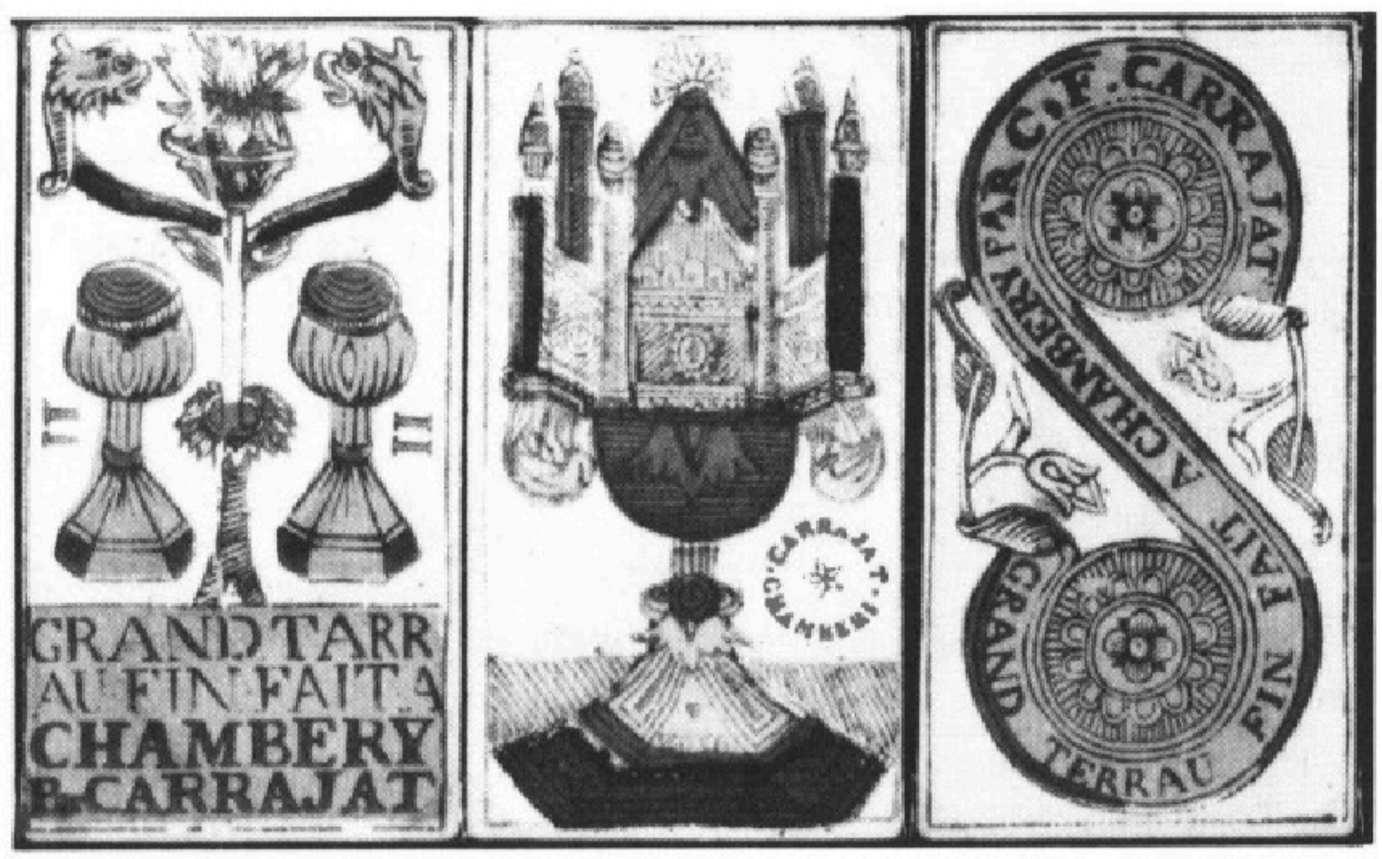
FRANCE

Cardmaker	Location	Year	Source
Arnoult	Paris	1750[1]	B1, FO, PE
Andre Arnoux	Marseilles	1790	CK
Etienne Arnoux	Marseilles	1825-1829	DA
Arnoux & Amphoux	Marseilles	1793-1806	CK, DA
H. B.	?	1752	OD
Benoit	Strasbourg	1751-1775	DA
Benoit (widow)	Strasbourg	1782	DA
Benoit (son)	Strasbourg	1782	DA
J. B. (Jean-Baptiste) Benoit (Benois)	Strasbourg	1780-1803	CK, DA, KA1, KA2, OD
A. Beranger	Nice	1830	MA2
Bezu	?	late 18th C.	FO
J. Blanche (successor to Renault)	Besançon	1835	B1, CK
J. H. Blanck & Tschann	Colmar	1780-early 19th C.	B1, B3
Bourlion, elder	Marseilles	1781	DA
Antoine Bourlion	Marseilles	1753-1793	DA
François Bourlion	Marseilles	1753-1770	B1, B3, CK, DA

1. Dates confirmed by Martine Baudin of Ets. J.M. Simon.

FRANCE (Continued)

Cardmaker	Location	Year	Source
Jean Bourlion	Marseilles	1734-1741	DA
Claude-Sigismond Bouvard	Chambéry	1752-1790	DA
François Bouvard	?	18th C.	KA1, OD
François Burdel	Lyon	1747	DA
François Cardajat	Chambéry	late 19th C.	KA1, OD
Claude Carey	Strasbourg	1812	DA
Joseph Carey	Strasbourg	1812	DA
Louis Carey	Strasbourg	1782-1807	B1, B3, CK, DA, G77, KA1, OD
C. François Carrajat	Chambéry	1780-1794	B1, B3, CK, DA, KA2



C. François Carrajat, Chambéry, Circa 1780 Two of cups, ace of cups and two of coins (Collection of the author)

Catel & Farcy	?	1960s	KA2
François Chosson	?	1672	KA2
Mathieu Conver	Marseilles	1801-1829	DA
N. Conver	Marseilles	1840-1890	G78, KA1, PN
Nicolas Conver	Marseilles	1760-1803	B1, B3, CK, DA, FO, G78, KA1, MA2, PH, PN
Conver (widow of Nicolas)	Marseilles	1807	DA
Adam C. de Hautot	Rouen	1723-1748	B3, DA, KA2

Adam C. de Hautot, Rouen, Circa 1723 to 1748 Two of coins and ace of coins (Collection of David Temperley)

FRANCE (Continued)

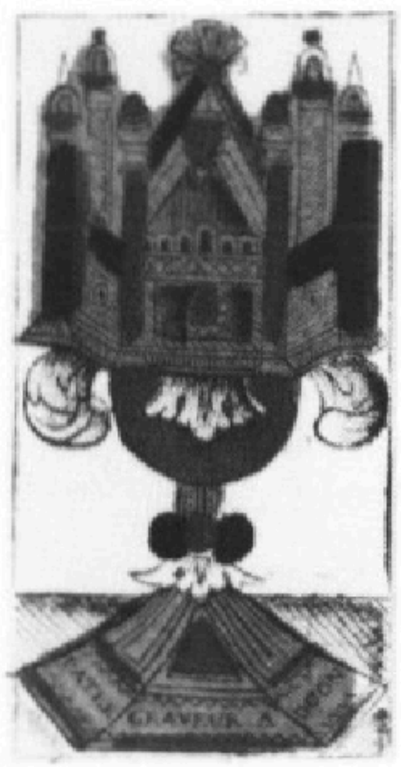
Cardmaker	Location	Year	Source
Louis de Laboisse	Strasbourg	18th C.	OD
Delarue (De La Rue)	Paris	1895	B1, B3, CK, G79, KA2
Jean Dodali (Dodal)	Lyon	1701–1715	B3, DA, OD
Jean Dodat	Lyon	1701–1724	B1, DA
Guilaumhe Dubesset	Lyon	18th C.	KA1, OD
Jean Fautrier	Marseilles	1762	B1
Joseph Fautrier	Marseilles	1753–1793	DA
Fautrier & Rostand	Marseilles	1795–1809	DA
Joseph Feautrier	Marseilles	1762	B1, CK
Fossorier, Amar & Cie	Paris	1902	B3, CK
J. Gaudais	Paris	1820–1890	B3, FO, KA1, S2
Cathelin Geoffroy (son?)	Lyon	1582–1603	DA
Catelin Geofroy	Lyon	1557	AL, B3, KA1, KA2
Gilletta Frères	Nice	19th C.	KA2
B. P. (Baptiste-Paul) Grimaud	Paris	1748–1950[1]	BE, B1, B2, B3, CK, FO, G77, G78, G79, GL, HD, KA1, KA2, MA2, MGA, MGS, S2
Grimaud & Cie (see also J. M. Simon)	Paris	1858–present	DA, GL, KA2, S2
Mme Gueffier (widow)	Paris	1806–1807	B3, OD
Hayard et Cie	Paris	1897	B3
H. B.	?	1752	OD
Héron-Boéchat	Bordeaux	1957–present	B3, MA2
I.I.I.V.	?	1800	MA2
Jean Jerger	Besançon	early 19th C.	B1, B2, B3, CK, DA, G78, G79, G80, HA, KA1, KA2, OD, PH

1. Dates confirmed by Martine Baudin of Ets. J.M. Simon.

(LEFT) ***B. P. Grimaud, Paris, Circa 1910, and*** (RIGHT) ***J. Jerger, Besançon, Circa 1800*** FOU, *trump card and two court cards from the Chambéry Flowers Tarot* (Tarot a fleurs de Chambéry) *published by B. P. Grimaud.* FOU *and court cards bear the name, city and country of the maker. (Cary Collection of Playing Cards, The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.) I* LE BATELEUR, *VI* LAMOVREX *and two of cups from a tarot deck by J. Jerger. The maker's country and name appear on the trump and court cards, and a panel identifying the maker is on the two of cups. (Collection of the author)*

FRANCE (Continued)

Cardmaker	Location	Year	Source
J.M.S. (See Ets. J. M. Simon)			
A. Kirchner	Besançon	19th C.	B1
François Koechler	Koehl	1782	DA
Michel Laborne	Paris	1702/18th C.	DA, KA2
Pierre Lachapelle	Strasbourg	1785	CK
La Ducale	Nancy	1946[1]	HD, MA2
Nicholas François Laudier	Strasbourg	1746	B3, CK, KA1, OD
Jean Pierre Laurent	Belfort	late 18th C.	KA1, OD
Le(c)Quart (see also B. P. Grimaud, Arnoult)	Paris	1890–1895	B1, B3, CK, KA2, PE, S2
A. Lefer	Paris	1790–1808	B3
A. Lismon	Paris (?)	1880	S2
Z. Lismon	Paris	1880–1900	G79, KA2, S2
Charles Madenie	Dijon	1741–1745	DA
Joseph Madenie	Dijon	1765	DA
Pierre Madenie	Dijon	1709–1740	DA, KA2, OD



Pierre Madenie, Dijon, 1709 *Ace of cups with maker's advertisement at base of chalice,* PATER GRAVEUR A DIJON *(master engraver of Dijon), two of coins with ribbon identifying name of maker and dating the deck, and wrapper with maker's advertisement (Collection of Schweizerisches Landesmuseum, Zurich)*

Madenie (widow of Pierre)	Dijon	1742–1745	DA
Madenie (widow)	Dijon	1790–1795	DA
Charles Madigne (see Switzerland)	Besançon	1749–1771	KA2, KG
Guillaume Mann	Colmar	1795–1800	CK, MA2
L. Mavric	?	?	BER
Jean Noblet	Paris	1659–1664	B2, B3, DA, KA2
Jean Payen	Avignon	1694–1743	CK, DA, FO, KA1, KA2
Jean-Pierre Payen	Avignon	1710–1757	B3, CK, DA, KA2
Nicolas Pellerin	Epinal	1769–1778/1860	B1, DA
Pellerin & Cie	Epinal	1875–1880	B3, CK, G78, KA1
L. F. B. de Pierret	Epinal	1790	CK
François (?) de Poilly	Paris	early 18th C.	B3
E. Poirel	Paris (?)	1889	KA2
Renault	Besançon	early 19th C.	B1, KA1, KA2
Robert	Paris	1810	B3

1. Dates confirmed by Martine Baudin of Ets. J.M. Simon.

FRANCE (Continued)

Cardmaker	Location	Year	Source
St. Sauveur	Paris	19th C.	OD
Ets. J. M. Simon/France-Cartes (successor to B. P. Grimaud)	Paris & St. Max	1961-present[1]	KA1, KA2, MA2
Bernardin Suzanne	Marseilles	early 19th C./ 1839	B1, FO, WI
François Tourcaty	Marseilles	1701-1736	DA
François Tourcaty	Marseilles	1801-1809	DA
Jean-François Tourcaty	Marseilles	1734-1753	B1, DA
Jean-François Tourcaty (son)	Marseilles	1770/18th C.	B3, CK
Tourcaty & Coudier (widow)	Marseilles	1807	DA
Jacques Vievil (Vieville)	Paris	1643-1664	B2, B3, DA, KA2
Willeb	Paris	20th C.	B3, FO, G77, KA1, MA2
"Zlismon" (see Z. Lismon)	?	mid-19th C.	G80, S2, WI

Engraver	Location	Year	Source
Arnoult	Paris	1748	FO
G. M.	Marseilles	1840	MA2
E. Hellé	Paris	1902	B3, KA2
Pierre Isnard	Strasbourg	1746	B3, OD
J. N.	Strasbourg	18th C.	OD
Pierre Madenie	Dijon	1709	OD
P. Voisin	Belfort	late 18th C.	KA1, OD

1. Dates confirmed by Martine Baudin of Ets. J.M. Simon.

GERMANY

Cardmaker	Location	Year	Source
ASS (see Vereinigte Altenburger und Stralsunder Spielkarten Fabriken)			
Karl Albrecht	Bozen	early 19th C.	HD, MGA
Joseph Arnold	Neuburg a.d. Donau	1770s	HD, HK2
B.	?	early 19th C.	KA2
Joh. Backofen	Nuremberg	18th C.	KA2, OD
Joh. Friedrich Backofen	Nuremberg	18th C.	KA2, OD
Johann Gottfried Backofen	Nuremberg	18th C.	KA2, OD
Johann Matheus (I. M.) Backofen	Nuremberg	1805-1830	CK, HA, HD, HK2, KA2, OD, PH, WI
Baumgärtner	Leipzig	1819-1838	HD, HK2, KA2, KH
Otto Baumgärtner	Berlin	1769-1824	HD, HK2
Bechstein Bros.	Altenburg	1830	KA2
F. A. Böhme	Dresden	late 19th C.	OD
B. [Bernhard J.] Dondorf (B. Dondorf GmbH after 1905)	Frankfurt	1833-1933	B3, CK, FO, G77, G78, G79, G80, HA, HD, HK2, KA1, MA2, MGA, NE, OD, S1, W20
E. F. Dorff & C. C. Lemmels Witwe (widow)	?	1790	B3, CK, HD, HK2
Fr. Aug. Dreissig	Tondorf bei Erfurt	1800-1830	BE, MA2
Fried. Jac. Eberhardt	Nuremberg	late 19th C.	OD
J. G. Eberhardt	Frankfurt	late 19th C.	HK2, OD
Johann Eberhardt	Nuremberg	18th C.	OD

GERMANY (Continued)

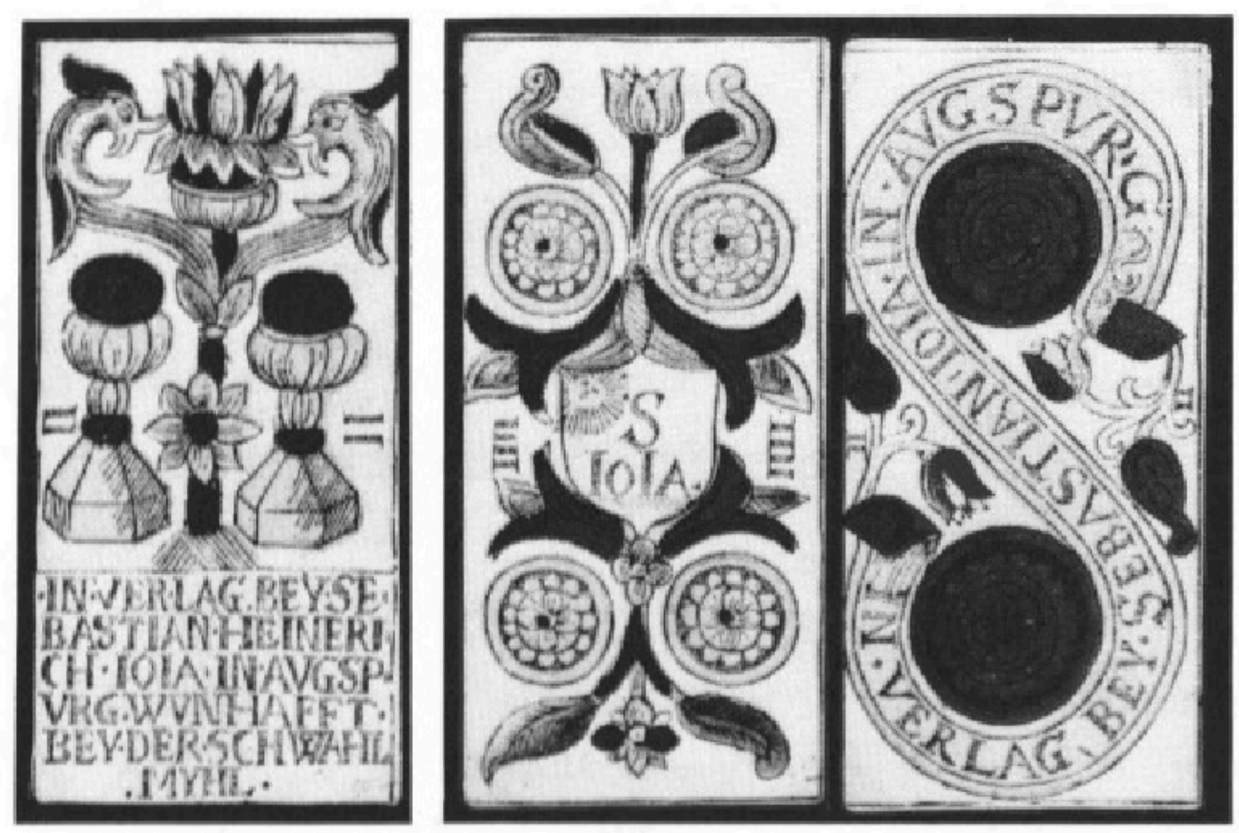
Cardmaker	Location	Year	Source
Franz Fasolt	Brunn	1830	HA
Joseph Fetscher	Munich	1815/late 18th C./early 19th C.	B3, CK, HA, HD, HK2, MA2, OD
Peter Paul Fetscher	Munich	early 19th C.	OD
Johann Jobst Forster	Nuremberg	18th C.	OD, PH
Fromann & Bünte	Darmstadt	1871-1926	HD
Fromann & Morian	Darmstadt	1880-1930	CK, HD
Xa. Gailer	Offenburg	1760	MGS
Andreas Benedictus Göbl	Munich	1750-1792	AL, BER, B3, CK, HA, HD, HK2, KA1, KA2, KH, MA1, MA2, NE, PH, P1, P2, PN, OD, WI
Cajetan Göbl	Munich	1840	CK

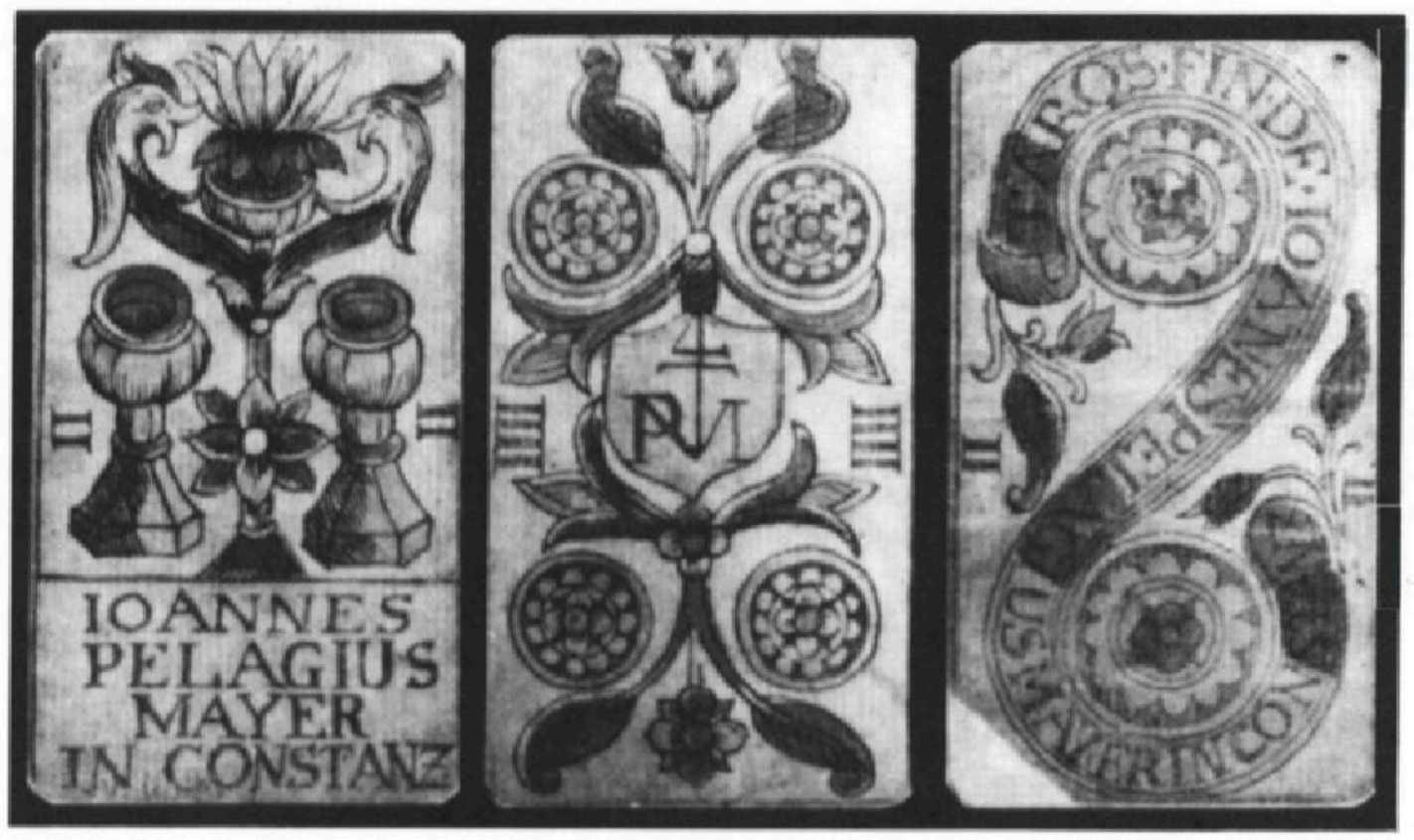
Andreas Benedictus Göbl, Munich, Circa 1765 to 1792 *From the Animal Tarock, the valet of clubs and the king of diamonds (Collection of Gene Hochman)*

Andreas Haupold	Nuremberg	1810 b. 1753, d.1854	B3, CK, HD
Joseph Heck	Offenburg	1790	CK
J. G. Hegewalt	Dresden (?)	1729/early 19th C.	NE
Johann Hemmerich	Dresden	1775	CK
Hemrig	Dresden	1810	HD, HK2, PN
Joseph Henseler	Rauns, Kempten	1780	CK
Industrie-Comptoir	Leipzig	1809-1838	AL, B3, CK, HO, HD, HK2, MA2, NE, OD, PH, PN, W11
Sebastian Heinerich loia	Augsburg	1720-1785	KA2
L. Jassoy	Hanau	1780	AL, CK, HO
Johann Conrad Jegel	Nuremberg	1852	B3, HD, HK2, KH
Melchior F. Key	Neuburg	18th C.	OD
H. A. Köchly	Leipzig	1819	HD
C. E. Köppen	Leipzig	late 19th C.	OD
Franz Krapf	Botzen	1820-1841	G77, OD
Ignaz Krebs	Freiburg im Breisgau	18th C.	W20
Hans Ladenspelder	Essen	b. 1511, d. 1564	B1, WI
Bernhard Niclaus Lang	Baden	1721-1799	KG
Leipert	Kempten	?	BER
L. K.	Leipzig	late 19th C.	OD

GERMANY (Continued)

Cardmaker	Location	Year	Source
L. K. F.	Leipzig	1770	G77
J. F. Ludwig	Cassel	late 19th C.	OD
Mannheimer Weisenhaus	Mannheim	1770	HD
Joannes Pelagius Mayer	Constance	1750/b. 1690	B3, HA, KA1, KA2





(TOP) ***Sebastian Heinrich Ioia, Augsburg, Circa 1720 to 1785, and*** (BOTTOM) ***Joannes Pelagius Mayer, Constance, Circa 1750*** *The twos of cups, fours of coins and twos of coins in the two decks are nearly identical. Twos of cups give name and location of cardmakers, fours of coins show makers' initials, and twos of coins have identifying ribbons. (Collection of Gene Hochman; Collection of The United States Playing Card Company Museum, Cincinnati, Ohio)*

Johan Traugott Meyer	Hanover	1820	G79
Franz Dominicus Mihler	Ratisbon (Regensburg)	1771/18th C.	G78, OD, PH
C. A. Müller	Berlin	1810-1820	KA2
Conrad Josue Perrin	Berlin	1760-1778	CK, HD
Jean Pierre Perrin	Berlin	1728-1780	CK, HD, HK2
G. Pommer	Nuremberg	1857	CK
P. W.	Mannheim	late 19th C.	OD
Rudolf Rausch & Co.	?	1948	HD
Christ. Heinr. Reuter	Nuremberg	18th C./1813	OD, PH
Tobias Riedle	Ravensburg	early 19th C.	HD, OD, PH
Philipp Roeder	Neuwied	18th C.	OD
Johann Gottlieb Rollwagen	Augsburg	1830	CK
Heinrich Roth	Freiburg im Breisgau	1850	CK

GERMANY (Continued)

Cardmaker	Location	Year	Source
R. R.	Ingolstadt	1785	CK
"S"	(Germany or Austria)	1780	NE
Sax-Weimarn	Weimar	early 19th C.	B3
Michael Schatzberger	Passau	18th C./1825/ early 19th C.	CK, OD, PH
Wolfgang Scheidl	Ratisbon (Regensburg)	18th/19th C.	PH, WI
Christian Friedrich Schenck	Ratisbon (Regensburg)	1770	CK, PH
Johann Schenck	Nuremberg	1780	CK
F. X. Schmid (Vereinigte Münchener Spielkartenfabrik)	Munich	1937–1960	B3, CK, HD, MGS
Erhard Schoen[1]	Nuremberg	ca 1500-1550	
Hans Schubert	Reinfeld	1924	HK1
Johann Anton Steinberger	Frankfurt	1835	AL, BER, CK, HO
Carl Gottlieb Süss	Stuttgart	1800	B3
C. T. Sutor	Naumburg	1885	CK
Theodor Otto Sutor	Naumburg	late 19th C.	KA2
Tarut-Spiele	Daityanus	1915	MGS
Peter Friedrich Ulrich	Leipzig	1780	HA, HD, HK2, KA2

Peter Friedrich Ulrich, Leipzig, Late Eighteenth Century *La Fontaine Tarock features an advertisement for the maker that extends through the valets of all four suits. From a facsimile edition published in 1980 by Edition Leipzig, Leipzig (Collection of the author)*

Vereinigte Altenburger und Stralsunder Spielkarten Fabriken (ASS)	Altenburg	20th C.	B3, G77, HD, HK1, HK2, MGA, MGS, S2, W14, W20
Vereinigte Münchener Spielkartenfabrik (see F. X. Schmidt)			
Vereinigte Stralsunder Spielkarten Fabriken A.G.	Stralsund	1872–1932	CK, HD, HK2, KA1, MA2, MGA, MGS, W14
Waisenhaus Mannheim	Mannheim	1770	AL
Johann Wolfgang Weber	Ulm	1780	CK
Andre Wespin	Mannheim	late 18th C.	CK
C. Wespin	Düsseldorf	late 18th C.	HD, HK2
Phillipp Wespin	Munich	late 18th/ early 19th C.	CK, HD, KA2
Konrad Witz	Basel	1440–1445	KA1

1. Source is article, "Unknown Woodcuts for the Playing Card Pack of Erhard Schoen," by Fritz Koreny, *Journal of the International Playing-Card Society* (vol. 11, no. 2).

GERMANY (Continued)

Cardmaker	Location	Year	Source
Conrad Ludwig Wüst	Frankfurt	1850–1910	B3, CK, FO, G78, HA, HD, HK2, KH, MA2, MGS, OD, PH, S2
Hermann Berend Zimmerman	Lübeck	early 19th C.	B3, HD, HK2, KA2
Carl Heinrich Zoelcke	Leipzig	1820	CK

Engraver	Location	Year	Source
Prof. Julius Diez	Munich	1897	AL
Heinrich Müller	Leipzig	1788–1819	B3
G. Pommer	Nuremberg	1852	HD

GREAT BRITAIN

Cardmaker	Location	Year	Source
Insight Institute	London	1950	MA2
Rider & Co.	London	1910	KA1, KA2
Thomson-Leng Publications	Dundee	1935	G77, MA2

HUNGARY

Cardmaker	Location	Year	Source
Ödön (Edmund) Chwalowsky (formerly M. Nitsch)	Pest	1830–1840	KO, NE, ZS
Debredeni Kártyagyár	Debrecen	early 19th C.	ZS
Elsö Magyar Kártyagyár Részvénytársulat (Erste Ungarischen Spielkarten Fabriks Actien Gesellschaft)	Pest	1869–1896[1]	B1, B3, G78, G79, HD, KA2, MGA, P2, W20, ZS
Janos (Johann) Fellner	Pest	1840	ZS
Sipos Ferencz	Szeged	1856	G79
Istvan (Stephen) Giergl	Pest	1865–1868	HD, KA2, KO, ZS
Janos (John) Giergl	Pest	1850–1900	ZS
Károly (Charles) Giergl	Pest	mid-19th C.	KA2, ZS
Játékkártyagyár & Nyomda	Budapest	1948–present	ZS
Kassa	?	1840	KO
Janos Koller	Sopron (Oedenburg)	1800/mid-19th C.	KO, ZS
Jozsef Emanuel Koller	Sopron (Oedenburg)	1830	ZS
Imre (Emmerich) Kutasi	Debrecen	1860	ZS
György (Georg) Mayer	Pest	mid-19th C.	HD, HK2, ZS
Mayer & Wilner	Pest	1834	MA1, ZS
Paul Mayr	Nagyszombat (Thürnau)	18th C.	KO, ZS
József Merlein	Sopron (Oedenburg)	b. 1799[1]	ZS
Kristóf Merlein	Sopron (Oedenburg)	late 18th C.	KO, ZS
Mihály (Michael) Nitsch	Pest	late 19th C./ 1800–1820	NE, ZS
Piatnik Nandor és Fiai (Piatnik & Söhne)	Budapest	1896–1948[2]	FO, MGA, MGS, S1, W20, ZS (G78, G79, W14)
Ferenc (Franz) Schell	Nyitra (Nentra)	1820	CK, ZS

1. Dates confirmed by Ben Zsoldos
2. Dates confirmed by Dr. Ernst Ragg of Piatnik & Söhne.

HUNGARY (Continued)

Cardmaker	Location	Year	Source
József (Joseph) Schneider	Pest	1800–1845	KA2, KO, ZS
Anna Scrusina	Vágujhely (Neustadtel an der Waag)	mid-18th C.	KO, ZS
Antal (Anton) Sonnschein	Pest	1800	KO, ZS
Terts E. & Társa Kartyagyar	Budapest	1880	ZS
Ferenc Timár	Pozsony (Pressburg)	1850	ZS
Jakab (Jacob) Tsányi	Pest	late 18th C./1895	CK, HD, ZS
Ungarischen Speilkarten Actien Gesellschaft	Pest	late 19th C.	NU, OD, W20, ZS
Matyas (Matthew) Unger	Györ (Raab)	1800	KO, ZS
Unio Játékkártyagyár	Budapest	1895	ZS
J. Wilner, Boland Miska	Pest	1865–1890	G78
Jozsef (Joseph) Wilner	Pest	1850–1864[1]	HD, HK2, KA2, MGA, ZS
István (Stephan) Zsiros	Pest	1864–1868[1]	ZS

1. Dates confirmed by Ben Zsoldos

Hungarian Tarocks of the Nineteenth Century TOP ROW: *Ace of hearts, Elsö Magyar Kártyagyár Részvénytársulat, Pest. Ace of hearts, Istvan (Stephen) Giergl, Pest. Ace of hearts, Stefan (Stephen or Istvan) Giergl, Pest.* SECOND ROW: *Trump II and valet of clubs, Jos. (Jozsef or Joseph) Schneider, Pest. Valet of hearts, Josef (Jozsef or Joseph) Wilner, Pest (Collection of Ben Zsoldos; Schneider deck collection of the author)*

ITALY

Cardmaker	Location	Year	Source
"al Cervo" (see Berti)			
"al Cigno" (see Natali)			
Domenico Aldini[1]	Tuscany	1752-1780	FO
"alla Colomba (or Columba)" (see A. Marisi)			
"alla Colomba"	Florence	1760	CK, MA3
"alla Colonna"	Rome (?)	early 17th C.	B3, KA1, MA3
"alla Fama"	Lucca	18th C.	B3, MA3
"alla Fortuna" (see R. M.; Provasi)			
"all'Aquila" (see Gaetano; Dallacasa)			
"alla Rosa" (see Il Bianchi)			
"alla Tore"	Bologna	17th C.	B3
"al Leone" (see Berti)			
"al Leone"	Bologna or Milan	18th C.	KA2
"all'Imperador" (see Provasi)			
"all Poverino" (see Francia)			
"all Sorte" (see Baragioli)			
"all'Tore" (see "alla Tore")			
"al Mondo' (see David e fratelli: Ghirardi; Maria; Milesi)			
"al Mondo"	Bologna	18th/19th C.	CK, G78, G79, KA2, W11
"al Poverone"	Bologna	18th C.	MA3
"al Soldato"	Bologna	18th C.	CK, KA2, MA3, OD
"al Solleone" (see Edizioni del Solleone)			
Armanino Bros.	Genoa	1885-1933	B1, B3, CK, KA2, OD
Avondo Bros.	Serravalle-Sesia	1860-1880	FO, KA1, OD, S1, S2
Baccio Baldini	?	1485	PN
Francia Baragioli "all Sorte"	Florence	1790	CK, PH
Bazagigli	Florence	1865	G78
Gius. Beghi	Piacenza	1885	G78
Giuseppe Beghi	Milan	1939	KA2

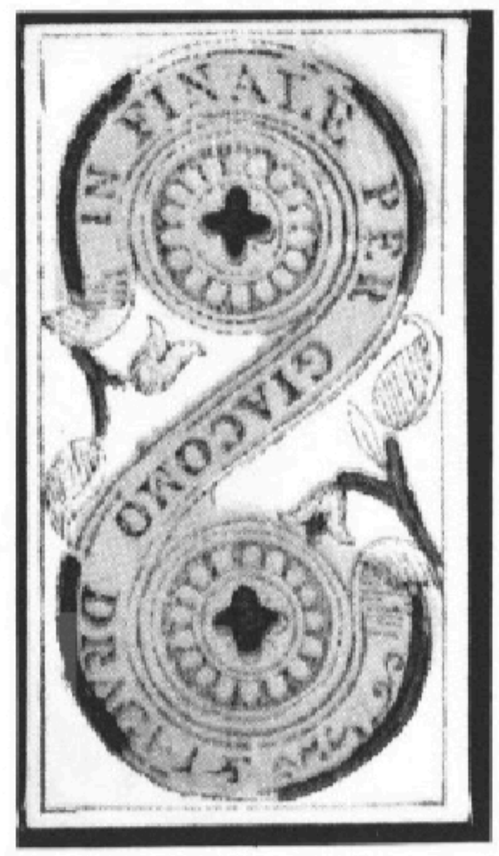
Giuseppe Beghi, Milan, 1939 *Ace of coins (Collection of the author)*

1. Domenico Aldini was likely not actually a cardmaker, but rather a collector of taxes on playing cards. See chapter on tax stamps, section on Tuscany.

ITALY (Continued)

Cardmaker	Location	Year	Source
S. A. Beghi	Milan	1948	G78
Carolina Beltramo	Turin	1870–1882	B1, B3, FO, OD
Bendinelli (Bendelli?)	Trento	1820	MGA
Francesco Berti "al Cervo," "al Leone"	Bologna	1770–1780	CK, MA3, WI
Il Bianchi "alla Rosa"	Bologna	1725	MA3
Bordoni & C.	Milan	1887–1900	CK, KA2, MA2
Cambissa & Cia	Trieste	1956	G80
Amedeo Candiani	Novara	late 19th C.	KA2
P. Cassini	Ferrara	18th C.	OD
Paulino da Castelletto	Milan (?)	1499–1513	KA2
F. L. Ceccon	Trieste	1850	G78
Giachomo Chastelano	Serravalle	1744	OD
Pierre Cheminade	Serravalle	1742	OD
Chiari (?)	Florence	1850	GL
Concetta Campione	Catania	1950–1965	B3
Angelo Dallacasa "all'Aquila"	Bologna	1790	CK, MA3
David e fratelli "al Mondo"	Bologna	18th C.	MA3
M. l'Abbé Desprotte	Parma	1780	HA, KA2
F. Di Giuseppe Romano	Estefanosachi	1770	G77
Edoardo Dotti	Milan	b. 1836, d. ca 1865[1]	CK, G78, G79, G80, KA1, KA2, MA2, OD
F. Teodoro Dotti	Milan	b. 1805, d. 1855[1]	CK, KA2
Giacomo Draghi (Drago, Jacques Dragau)	Finale	early 19th C.	KA2

1. Dates confirmed courtesy of Dr. Alberto Milano from *Ruoli della Popolazione di Milano 1835* (ongoing work), Trivulziano Library, Sforza Castle, Milan.



Giacomo Draghi, Finale, Early Nineteenth Century *Front of wrapper, with the name and city of the maker in French, and the two of coins, with maker's name and city in Italian (Collection of the author)*

Tarots by Teodoro and Edoardo Dotti, Milan (TOP TWO ROWS) *The two decks by Teodoro Dotti are dated second half of nineteenth century, and they are identical except for the back designs. The city of the maker appears on III* L'IMPERATRICE, *the two of cups and the back, and the maker's name is on* RE DI BASTONI. (BOTTOM ROW) *The deck by Edoardo Dotti is dated circa 1862. The maker's city is on III* L'IMPERATRICE, *and the maker's name and city is on the ace of coins and the back. (Collection of the author)*

ITALY (Continued)

Cardmaker	Location	Year	Source
Edizioni del Solleone	Milan	20th C.	KA2
Antonio Comastris Erben	Bologna	late 18th C.	W14
"Etruria"	Florence	1801–1807[1]	PH
Francesco Fantini	Novara	1862	KA2
Battista Farinone	Varallo	19th C.	FO, S1
"Fortuna"	Palermo	1820	B3
Agostino Francia "al Poverino"	Del Piave	1806	MA3
F. S. C.	?	18th C.	PH
Gaetano "'all'Aquila"	Bologna	1763	B1, B3
Bertola Gaetano	Piacenza	1875	S2
Gentilini e Zoya	Milan	late 18th C.	B3, KA2
Francesco Gaetano Ghirardi "al Mondo"	Bologna	early 18th C.	HA
Gardino Giovanni	Turin	1862	CK
G. M.	Bologna	19th C.	OD
Alessandro Grandi	Bologna	1870	G79
Grandi & C.	Turin	1885	W14
Ferdinando Gumppenberg	Milan	late 18th–mid-19th C.	B1, B3, CK, FO, G77, G78, G79, G80, HD, KA1, KA2, MA2, OD, WO

Gumppenberg Tarot, Milan, Circa 1807 to 1815 Il Re di Coppe *and ace of coins (Collection of the author)*

G. Z. E. P. G.	Milan	19th C.	OD
M. Agnolo Hebreo	Bologna (?)	16th C.	B3, KA2
Illyria	Gorizia	18th C.	OD
Cesare Jona	Turin	1900	S2
Lattanzio Lamperti	Milan	mid-19th C.	KA2
Giuseppe Lando	Turin	1760	B3, KA1, W11
Maggio & C.	Turin	1904	S2
Manbrini	Modena	19th C.	OD
Ant. de Maria "al Mondo"	Bologna	1810/18th C.	OD
Angelo Marisi "alla Colomba"	Bologna	1750	MA3, NE, OD
[Pietro] Masenghini	Bergamo	1876–present	CK, KA1, KA2
Meschino	Tuscany	late 18th C.	KA2

1. The Kingdom of Etruria existed from 1801 to 1807.

Pietro Milesi, Bergamo, Circa 1823 to 1840 *III* L'IMPERATRICE, RE DI BASTONI *and two of cups (Collection of the author)*

ITALY (Continued)

Cardmaker	Location	Year	Source
Pietro Milesi "al Mondo"	Bergamo	1823–1843	KA2
Giuseppe Maria Mitelli	Bologna	b. 1634, d. 1718[1]	BER, B1, CK, FO, G80, HA, KA1, MA2, OD, PH, PN, WI
Saul D. Modiano	Trieste	1880–1955	BE, B3, CK, FO, G77, G79, KA1, MA1, MA2, MGA, W14
Modiano Industrie Cartotechniche Societa per Azioni	Trieste	?–present	KA2
Giro[baldi?] Montalenti	Turin	19th C.	KA2

Giro. Montalenti, Turin, Circa 1840 to 1860 *Two of cups and ace of coins (Collection of the author)*

Luigi Montieri	Bologna	1725	G80
Guglielmo Murari	Bari	1900–1912	CK, GL, KA2
Germano Natali "al Cigno"	Bologna	early 19th C.	MA3, OD
P. Negri	Milan	1862–1874	KA2
Nicola Novaro	Oneglia	19th C.	OD
Oletto	Turin	1862–1874	KA2, PH

1. Dates confirmed courtesy of Dr. Alberto Milano from *Ruoli della Popolazione di Milano 1835* (ongoing work), Trivulziano Library, Sforza Castle, Milan.

ITALY (Continued)

Cardmaker	Location	Year	Source
"Orfeo"	Lucca (?)	17th/18th C.	B3, CK, OD
Giusep. Ottone	Serravalle	1736	FO
"Paragone"	Florence	early 18th C.	MA2
Edoardo Pignalosa	Naples	1898	CK, G78
Carlo Provasi "alla Fortuna," "all' Imperador"	Bologna	late 18th–early 19th C.	KA2, MA3, OD, W11
Gaetano Provasi	Bologna	late 18th C.	KA2
Giacomo Recchi	Oneglia	1820	KA2

Giacomo Recchi, Oneglia, Circa 1820 ROY DEPEE *and ace of coins (Collection of the author)*

A. Riboldi	Milan	early 19th C.	HO
Cesare Riva	Vercelli	1830	G78
R. M. "alla Fortuna"	Trieste	1790	B3, CK
Rossi	Turin	18th C.	OD
Antonio Rossi	Alessandria	1875	G80, KA2
G. Sironi	Milan	1882	KA1
F. F. Solesio	Genoa	18th C.	KA2, OD
Faustino Solesio	Genoa	1896–1960	CK, G77, G78, GL
Faustino Solveno (?)	Genoa	1896	G77
F. Strambo	Varallo	late 19th C.	KA1
Cosmo Antonio Toso	Genoa	1770–late 18th C.	KA2
Tuzzolino	Palermo (?)	1730–1740	B3
Giovanni Vacchetta	Turin	1893	FO, G80, KA1
Antonio Vacheri	?	1780	CK
Valenti & C.	Valsesia	1885	G77
Angelo Valla	Trieste	1790	PN
Stefano Vergnano	Turin	early 19th C.	B3, KA2, OD, W11
Giuseppe Versino	Turin	1862	KA1
A. Viassone & C.	Turin	1888–1924	CK, KA2, OD, PH
Alessandro Viassone	Turin	1820–1953	B3, CK, G77, G78, G79, G80, HA, KA2, MA2, MGS, OD, S2
S. A. Vindobona	Fucecchio	1950	G79
Gio. Batt. Zenone	Borgosesia	1800	G78

ITALY (Continued)

Engravers	Location	Year	Source
A.M. R	Florence	1725	B3
C. Dellarocca	Milan	1830	B3, G79, HA, OD
Marco Di Pietro	Rome	1790	OD
C. Migelli	?	18th C.	KA2
Mitelli	Bologna	17th C.	B1, B3, HA, MA1, PH, PN, WI
V. R.	Oneglia	19th C.	OD

LUXEMBOURG

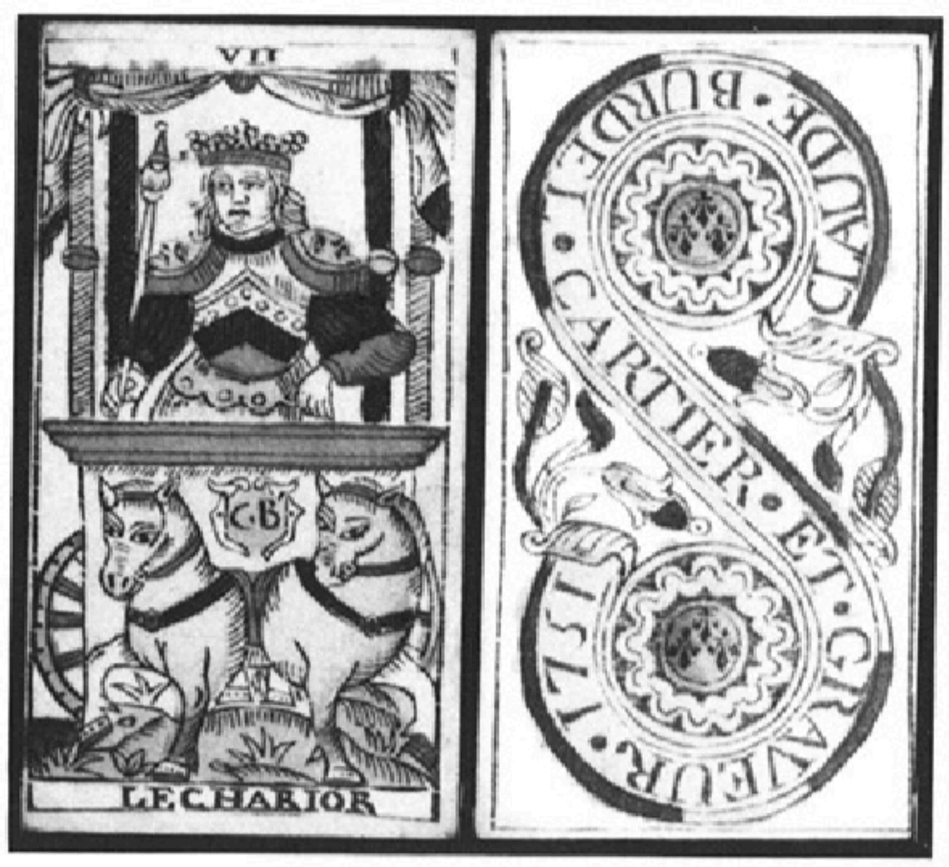
Cardmaker	Location	Year	Source
P. Bruck & V. Quarante	Luxembourg	1780/late 19th C.	G77, HD, HK2, OD

POLAND

Cardmaker	Location	Year	Source
J. C. DuPort	Warsaw	1780-1820s?	KA1, KA2
Jedrzej Rafalowicz	Warsaw (?)	late 18th-early 19th C.	KA2
Jan Abraham Willing (Willink?)	Warsaw	late 18th-early 19th C.	KA2

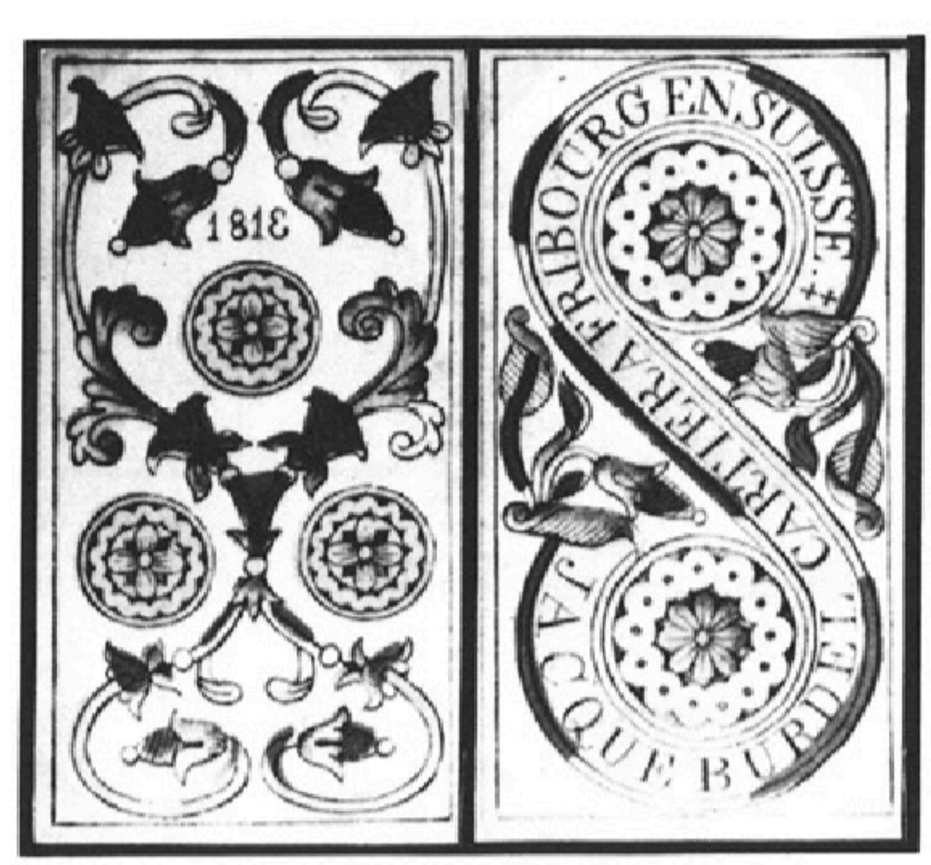
SWITZERLAND

Cardmaker	Location	Year	Source
F. Bouchard	Switzerland or Belgium (?)	late 18th C.	B3
Frantz Antony (Anton, Antoni) Buolman	Unterwalden	1760/18th C.	OD
Claude Burdel	Fribourg	b. 1727, d. 1799[1] 1751-1780[2]	B3, KA1, KA2, KG, OD, PH
Jacques (Jean-Jacques Phillippe) Burdel	Fribourg	b. 1784, d. after 1850[1] active ca 1813-1844[2]	KA2, KG



(LEFT) ***Claude Burdel, Fribourg, Switzerland, 1751*** *VII* LE CHARIOR *and two of coins. The initials of the maker are on the front of the chariot on card VII. (Collection of the author)*

(RIGHT) ***Jacques Burdel, Fribourg, Switzerland, 1813*** *Three of coins and two of coins (Collection of Historisches Museum, St. Gallen, Switzerland)*



1. Dates confirmed in *Schweizer Spielkarten*, by Peter F. Kopp
2. Dates confirmed by Schweizerisches Landes Museum, courtesy Dr. Lucas Wüthrich

SWITZERLAND (Continued)

Cardmaker	Location	Year	Source
I. Butz	Fribourg	1790	CK
Jacquot Coly	Fribourg	1750	CK, OD
Ignace Crellier	Porrentruy	1781-1803	DA
Alphonse Faure	Fribourg	1813	CK
Gassmann	Geneva	1870-1873	B1, CK, KA1, WO
François Gassmann	Geneva	b. 1792, d. ca 1870[1]	KG
"JR" J. Gassmann	Geneva	b. 1776, d. ca 1825[1]	KG, NE
François Heri	Solothurn	b. 1680, d. 1746[1,2]	KA2, KG

François Heri, Solothurn, First Third of Eighteenth Century *VII* LE CHARIOR, *two of cups and two of coins. Possibly the initials of the engraver are on the front of the chariot of card VII. (Collection of Schweizerisches Landesmuseum, Zurich)*

Conrad Iseli	Solothurn	1778-1823[1]	KA2, KG
Joseph Jagi (Jaggi) II	Mümliswil	b. 1782, d. 1845[1]	HA, KG, OD
J. G. R.	Diessenhofen	18th C.	OD
Charles Madigne (see France)	Estavayer-le-Lac	b. ca 1720, d. 1785[1] 1771-1785 in Switz.	KA2, KG

Charles Madigne, Estavayer-le-Lac, 1777 *Two of coins and ace of coins (Collection of Agnes and Allan Ryan)*

Mühlemann & Walther	Hasle bei Burgdorf	1885-1887[1]	KA2, KG
AGMüller & Cie	Schaffhausen	1960-present[1]	B3, HD, KA1, KA2, KG
Heinrich Julius Albert Müller	Schaffhausen	1901-1948[2,3]	KA2
J. Müller & Cie	Schaffhausen	1889-1960[1]	BE, GL, G77, G78, G79, HD, KA2, KG, MA1, PE

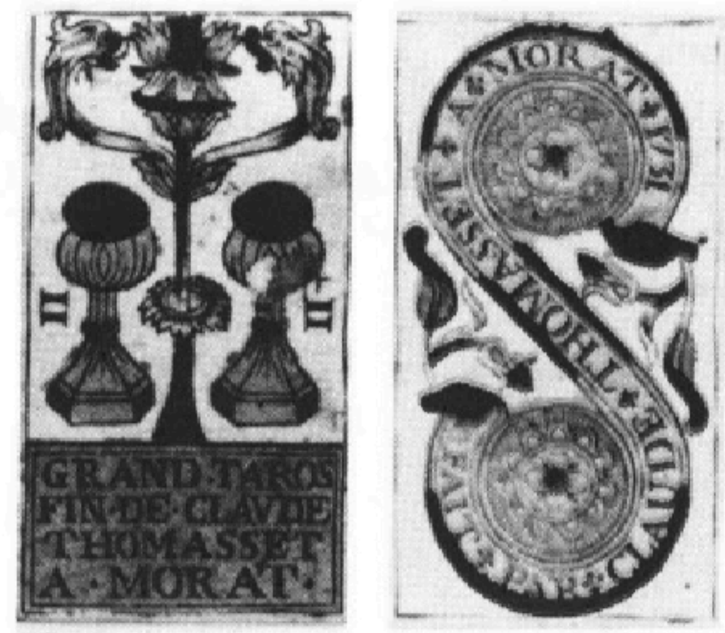
1. Dates confirmed in *Schweizer Spielkarten*, by Peter F. Kopp
2. Dates confirmed by Schweizerisches Landes Museum, courtesy Dr. Lucas Wüthrich
3. Dates of production courtesy of Kurt Lehner and Sigrun Wyss

SWITZERLAND (Continued)

Cardmaker	Location	Year	Source
Jean Müller	Schaffhausen	1885–1910	CK, KA2, MGA, OD, S2
Johannes Müller I	Diessenhofen	b. 1813, d. 1873[1] 1835–1873[1,3]	KA2, KG
Johannes Müller II	Schaffhausen	b. 1837, d. 1901[1] 1873–1901[2,3]	KA2, KG
A. Paiche	Bern	1780	KA2, KG
Johann Georg Rauch	Diessenhofen	1831–1838[1,2,3]	KA2, KG
Rivero	Geneva	19th C.	KA2
P. Roche	Geneva	1755	G77
Claude Rochias	Neuchâtel/ Saint Sulpice	1754–1760	FO, KA2, KG, S1
(Jacques) Claude Rochias	Neuchâtel	b. 1753, d. 1823[1,2]	KG
Jacques Rochias (son)	Neuchâtel	late 18th C.	KA1, OD
Joseph Henri Rochias	Neuchâtel	b. 1814, d. after 1851[1]	CK, DA, KA2, KG, OD
Bernhard Schaer (Schär) III	Mümliswil	1826–1896[1]	HA, KG, OD
(Franz) Bernard Schaer I	Mümliswil	b. 1743, d. 1800[1,2]	HA, KA2, KG, OD, PN
(Franz) Leonzi Schaer	Mümliswil	b. 1734/43, d. 1824[1,2]	KA2, KG

(Franz) Leonzi Schaer, Mümliswil *Valet of clubs with maker's name at bottom, wrapper of the deck, and king of diamonds with maker's city at bottom (Collection of Schweizerisches Landesmuseum, Zurich)*

Rochus Schaer I	Mümliswil	b. 1696, d. 1773[1,2]	KA2, KG
Rochus Schaer II	Baden	1744–1813[1,2]	KG
Claude Thomasset	Murten	1731	KA2, KG



Claude Thomasset, Murten, 1731 *Two of cups and two of coins (Collection of Zentralbibliothek, Lucerne)*

1. Dates confirmed in *Schweizer Spielkarten*, by Peter F. Kopp
2. Dates confirmed by Schweizerisches Landes Museum, courtesy Dr. Lucas Wüthrich
3. Dates of production courtesy of Kurt Lehner and Sigrun Wyss

SWITZERLAND (Continued)

Cardmaker	Location	Year	Source
Jacques David Vachet (the younger)	Nyon	b. 1773, d. (?)[1]	KG
Walther & Gränicher	Hasle bei Burgdorf	1887–1889[1]	KG
Johann Bernhard Zündel	Schaffhausen	1828–1831[1,2,3]	KA2, KG

Engraver	Location	Year	Source
Claude Burdel	Fribourg	1751	OD
Charles Jacquard	Fribourg	1750	OD
"J. H."	Mumlisweil	1783	OD
"J. P. Pe." (Jean Petit Pierre?)	Neuchâtel	late 18th C.	OD

1. Dates confirmed in *Schweizer Spielkarten*, by Peter Kopp
2. Dates confirmed by Schweizerisches Landes Museum, courtesy Dr. Lucas Wüthrich
3. Dates of production courtesy of Kurt Lehner and Sigrun Wyss

UNITED STATES

Cardmaker	Location	Year	Source
Builders of the Adytum (BOTA)	Los Angeles	1930s–present	KA1
Church of Light	Los Angeles	1935–present	CK, FO, KA1
deLaurence Co.	Chicago	1918	KA1, S2, W20
John H. Dequer	Los Angeles (?)	1949	KA1
J. A. Knapp	Los Angeles	1929	CK, KA1
Llewellyn Publications	St. Paul, Minn.	1969–present	KA1
Philosophical Research Society[1]	Los Angeles, Cal.	1978–present	
Morgan Press, Inc.	Dobbs Ferry, N.Y.	1970–present	KA2
Publicity Art Studios/ August Petrtyl & Son	Chicago	1922–1937	CK, KA2
Sangraal Foundation[2]	Dallas, Tex.	1960–1966	
U. S. Games Systems, Inc.	New York	1968–present	KA1, KA2
Western Playing Card Co.	Racine, Wis./ Poughkeepsie, N.Y.	1940	CK, KA2

1. Source is Edith Waldron, Philosophical Research Society, Los Angeles, California
2. Source is Carr P. Collins, Jr., Dallas, Texas

YUGOSLAVIA

Cardmaker	Location	Year	Source
Joh. Apt.	Zagreb	mid-19th C.	AL
Prava Slovanska Torvarna Igralnih Kart D.Z.O.Z.	Ljubljana	1900	CK

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AL (Albertina Collection) Hoffmann, Detlef, Peter F. Kopp and Fritz Koreny. *Spielkarten: Ihre Kunst und Geschichte in Mitteleuropa.* Vienna: Graphische Sammlung Albertina, 1974.

BE Beal, George. *Playing Cards and Their Story.* New York: Arco Publishing Company, 1975.

BER Berry, John. "Some Notes on the Collection in the Germanisches Museum, Nuremberg." *The Journal of the Playing-Card Society,* Vol. IV, No. 3, February 1976.

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B2 Bibliothèque Nationale. *Cinq Siècle de Cartes a Jouer en France.* Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, September 1963.

B3 Bibliothèque Nationale. *Tarot, Jeu et Magie.* Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1984.

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CK Keller, William B. *A Catalog of The Cary Collection of Playing Cards in the Yale University Library,* 4 vols. New Haven: Yale University Library, 1981.

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G79 Stanley Gibbons Auctions. *Playing Cards for Sale by Auction.* London: March 2, 1979; June 8, 1979. (2 auction catalogs.)

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KO Kolb, Eugene. *Old Playing-Cards from the Fifteenth Century to the Nineteenth Century.* Hungary: Hungaria Books, 1940.

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NE Nebehaybooks. *Eine Interessante Sammlung Alter Spielkarten: Liste 85.* Vienna. (Auction catalog.)

OD O'Donoghue, Freeman M. *Catalogue of the Collection of Playing Cards Bequeathed to the Trustees of the British Museum by the Late Lady Charlotte Schreiber.* London. Longmans & Co., 1901.

PE Peabody Institute of Baltimore. *The Cardboard Court: Playing Cards Through History.* Baltimore: Peabody Institute, 1960.

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P1 Piatnik. *150 Jahre Piatnik 1824–1974.* Ferd. Piatnik & Söhne, 1974.

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PN Pinder, Eberhard. *Spielkarten aus Fünf Jahrhunderten.* Bielefeld: Bielefelder Spielkarten GMBH, 1957 (?).

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XII

TAX STAMPS ON PLAYING CARDS

ONE OF THE MOST RELIABLE METHODS of dating a tarot deck is to locate and identify the tax stamps, which may appear on one or more cards in the pack. Since the sixteenth century, governments of certain European countries, notably Austria, France, Germany and Italy, have imposed taxes on playing cards, including tarot. Such taxation differed from the import duties placed on foreign-made playing cards.

England's system of taxation and regulation on playing cards dates back to the late seventeenth century, but since production of tarot packs was virtually nil prior to the introduction of the Rider-Waite tarot by William Rider and Son, in 1910, the details of British taxation fall beyond the scope of this work.

AUSTRIA

The earliest Austrian tax stamp on playing cards is believed to have been valid between 1692 and 1713, and it was followed during the next three centuries by many more stamps in a variety of designs and forms. The Austrian tax stamps described in this section are the ink impressions that appeared on the ace of hearts of tarot or tarock decks. Omitted are gummed tax stamps which were like postage stamps, and the gummed paper tax strips, called *verschlussmarken*, which sealed the paper wrapper around a deck of cards. The different duties stated for each tax stamp indicate, unless otherwise stated, increases in the tax over the time in which the specific stamp was used. The dates given for tax stamps after 1850 are the dates on which the stamps went into use, which are not necessarily the same dates as the legislation for the tax laws.

The early research on Austrian tax stamps on playing cards was prepared by Carl Tributsch of Austria. However, it remained for Fred G. Taylor, an American who spent many years in Europe with the United States Foreign Service, to prepare a comprehensive and workable summary of Austrian tax stamps on playing cards, which was first published in the *Journal of the Playing-Card Society* (vol. 10, no. 4). Klaus Reisinger of Austria has also contributed the valuable results of his research with antique decks and the governmental archives of Austria. Illustrations for tax stamps prior to November 1, 1850, are by Fred Taylor, and tax stamps from November 1, 1850, to September 30, 1939, are illustrated by Klaus Reisinger.

The earliest Austrian playing card stamp is believed to have been issued by Emperor Leopold I and is said to have been valid from February 29 or July 26, 1692, to September 19, 1713. Valid initially only for lower Austria, the stamp is believed to have come in use for the rest of the Austrian empire on May 2, 1701.

A new tax stamp, introduced by Charles VI and valid from September 19, 1713, to February 2, 1762, was apparently used only in lower Austria. Depending on the type and quality of the cards, the black stamp carried values of 6, 9, 12, 18, 24 or 36 kreuzer. Charles VI also issued a tax stamp, valid from 1716 to February 2, 1762, which was used in Styria, Carinthia, Carniola (Krain) and the Littoral. Its value was 3 kreuzer.

In 1725, Viennese prisoners were reportedly granted permission by Charles VI to make and sell playing card tax stamps. The money earned probably helped pay for the prisoners' food. The prisoners' stamps are said to have been valid from December 12, 1725, until February 2, 1762. The black stamps carried taxes of 9, 18 or 36 kreuzer for imported packs, and 6, 12 or 24 kreuzer for packs manufactured in the empire.

Empress Maria Theresa issued a black stamp that was effective from December 5, 1748, to February 2, 1762. It applied to Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, and carried taxes of 6, 12 or 24 kreuzer for domestic packs, and 9, 18 or 36 kreuzer for imported packs.

No actual examples of tax stamps issued previous to 1762 have yet been found. Written records are the only known source of information about the earliest Austrian tax stamps.

From February 2, 1762, until October 4, 1802, relatively uniform stamps were used for all of the empire, with renewals in 1763, 1784 and 1788. Issued in black, the stamps appeared in at least five variations: with the letter G for Galicia (now part of Poland); with the letter T for Tyrol; with the letter L for Littoral (Trieste); with the Silesian eagle for Troppau; and with the Bohemian lion, possibly for Bohemia and Moravia.

After October 5, 1802, when a new stamp was issued by Franz II, Austrian tax stamps were round, except during the years 1807, 1808, 1810, 1813, 1814, 1816, 1818, 1819, 1820, 1822, 1824, and 1839. Since examples of tax stamps from 1802, 1804, 1805, 1809, 1811, 1817 and 1821 are "missing," it is not known whether they were round. Tax stamps issued between 1802 and 1840 probably had duties of 4, 10 and 14 kreuzer.

AUSTRIAN PLAYING CARD TAX STAMPS

Feb. 2, 1762–Oct. 4, 1802

Ca 1783

1803

1803

1806

1807

1808

1808

1810

1810

1812

1813

1813

1814

1815

1816

1816

1816

1818 (red)

1819

1820 (red)

1822

1822

1823

1823

AUSTRIAN PLAYING CARD TAX STAMPS

1824

1825

1825

1825

1826

1827

1828

1829

1829

1829

1830

1830

1831

1832

1833

1833

1834

1835

1836

1837

1838

1839

1839

1839

1839

AUSTRIAN PLAYING CARD TAX STAMPS

1840

1840

1841

1842

1843

1843

1844

1844

1845

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1846

1846

1847

1847

1848

1849

1849

1849

1850

1850

Nov. 1, 1850–Oct. 31, 1857

Nov. 1, 1857–1859 (?)
Austria kopf ***stamp***

AUSTRIAN PLAYING CARD TAX STAMPS

Vienna
1859 (?)–Sep. 30, 1877
Prague
1859 (?)–Apr. 30, 1880
Austro-Hungarian Empire
1859 (?)–Dec. 31, 1881

Ca 1879

Vienna
Oct. 1, 1877–
Dec. 31, 1881
(red eagle, blue script)
Prague
May 1, 1880–
Dec. 31, 1881
(red eagle, blue script)

Jan. 1, 1882–
Dec. 31, 1899
(red eagle, blue script)
Jan. 1, 1900–
Apr. 22, 1900
(red eagle, blue script)
Apr. 23, 1900–
Aug. 16, 1920
(blue eagle, red script)

Aug. 17, 1920–
Aug. 31, 1926
(blue eagle, red script)

Sep. 1, 1926–
Oct. 6(?), 1934
(blue eagle, red script)

Oct. 7(?), 1934–
Sep. 30, 1939
Nimbuskronen *stamp*
(blue eagle, red script)

On August 3, 1807, a decree required that all old packs of playing cards be turned in for restamping. Thus, some packs made before the decree bear two tax stamps.

Tax stamps were affected when the Congress of Vienna returned to Austrian control the regions of Salzburg, the Innviertel and the Hausruckviertel (in 1816), upper Austria (in 1817) and Dalmatia, Ragusa and Albania (in 1818). Tax stamps used for these areas between August 27, 1816, and 1823 were stamped in red to indicate that the tax had to be paid in hard currency.

Ferdinand I initiated a tax stamp, valid from January 27, 1840, to September 5, 1850, which was black and had values of 6, 14, 15 and 20 kreuzer.

On November 1, 1850, a tax stamp was introduced, and it was valid until October 31, 1857. Its values were 5 and 10 kreuzer, and it was made with at least two designs. Possibly different designs were introduced annually for the years from 1852 through 1856. The letter seen on the lower part of the tax stamp denotes the stamping office. In the Hungarian region, the identifying characters U-I through U-V were used. There were at least nineteen stamp offices in the empire at this time. A stamp with the same design, but with the value of 10 and 25 centesimi, was used for the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom of the empire.

Effective November 1, 1857, the lovely *Austria kopf* (Austria head) tax stamp was introduced, and it remained valid until sometime in 1859. The amount of the tax began with 8 kreuzer. The *Austria kopf* stamp was used throughout the empire.

In 1859, an official decree changed the tax stamp to the imperial double-headed eagle in black. The amount of tax (probably 15 kreuzer) was not shown but the number of the stamping office was included. This stamp remained valid until September 30, 1877, for Vienna. A similar stamp, all in black and augmented by the text *K. K. Kartenstempel* (Royal and Imperial Card Stamp), was apparently used by Viennese cardmakers around 1879, but although the stamp itself has been seen, no legal documentation pertaining to it has been found to date.

Two more stamps were introduced in 1859: one, for Prague and Bohemia, expired on April 30, 1880, and the other, for the rest of the empire, expired on December 31, 1881.

October 1, 1877, saw the introduction of the first two-color Austrian playing card tax stamp. It was used only for Vienna and remained valid until December 31, 1881. The stamp showed the text *K. K. Kartenstempel* in blue and the imperial double-headed eagle in red. The amount of the

tax, not shown, was 15 kreuzer. An identical stamp was issued for Prague on May 1, 1880, and was valid until December 31, 1881. Numbers at the bottoms of the Prague and Vienna two-color stamps indicated the stamping office.

A tax stamp of very similar design was valid from January 1, 1882, to December 31, 1899. The eagle was red and the writing blue, with the tax duty—15, 30 or 60 kreuzer—replacing the stamping office number at the bottom.

On January 1, 1900, the colors of the stamp show the text in blue and the eagle in red, and the duty was 30, 60 or 120 heller. This stamp expired on April 22, 1900. On April 23, 1900, the colors were reversed to show the eagle in blue and the text in red. Despite the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918, this tax stamp remained valid—at least in the books of the Austrian Ministry of Finance—until August 16, 1920, with values of 30, 60 or 120 heller.

On August 17, 1920, the first post-World War I playing card tax stamp was issued. It showed a single-headed eagle in blue and the text *Österr. Kartenstempel* (Austrian playing card tax stamp) in red. Instead of the imperial orb and scepter, the eagle holds in its talons the socialist symbols of hammer and sickle. Since its validity (until August 31, 1926) spanned the terrible inflation period following World War I, naturally, the amount of the tax reflected an era of financial disaster. The duty was increased on ten occasions, rising from 2 kronen to 8,000 kronen.

Following the currency reform of 1925, a new playing card stamp was issued, with the text in red and the eagle in blue. This stamp was valid from September 1, 1926, to October 6(?), 1934, and its value was 50 groschen, 1 schilling or 2 schilling.

This stamp was replaced in October 1934 with a stamp that reintroduced the two-headed eagle, with the eagle in blue and the text in red. The eagle's heads are enclosed in small circles, making the so-called *Nimbuskronen*. The eagle does not hold the hammer and sickle. The *Nimbuskronen* stamp remained valid until September 30, 1939.

From August 25, 1939, until the end of World War II in 1945, a stamp of the German eagle with swastika was shown on Austrian packs of cards, since Austria, through annexation, was considered to have become part of the German Reich. This stamp has been mistaken for a tax stamp, but after 1939 neither Austria, according to Dr. Ernst Ragg of Piatnik, nor Germany, according to Margot Dietrich, had tax stamps on playing cards. Dr. Ragg feels that the eagle was put on the ace of hearts to follow the tradition of stamping that card.

DENMARK

Tax stamps were used on playing cards in Denmark from at least 1752 until 1963. Ink stamps on selected cards were used, as were paper stamps or strips on wrappers. Research on Danish playing card tax stamps has been undertaken by K. Frank Jensen, whose article on the subject was printed in *Luren: Scandinavian Collectors Club Newsletter* (vol. 13, no. 1, January 1981).

In 1752, J. F. Mayer started manufacturing the first playing cards to be made in Denmark. His cards also carried the first known Danish playing card tax stamp, placed on the ace of diamonds. (Possibly there was a tax on imported decks before 1752.) The stamped decks were to be contained in a wrapper which had a circular cutout displaying the ace of diamonds. If the decks were not properly wrapped, the manufacturer or importer had to personally open the packs and select the ace of diamonds for stamping.

From 1752 to 1847, decks could not be imported into Denmark. A royal privilege existed for the cardmakers of Denmark. To indicate that the manufacturer had the legal right to print cards, an inscription was stamped in ink on the ace of hearts. The stamp was usually a crown within a circle and the text *Priv. Spillekort-Fabrik for Danmark*, or some similar phrase.

From 1772 until the early nineteenth century, the tax stamp was in the form of a large crown above a coat of arms with straight sides, all contained in an oval and stamped in red ink.

From about 1820 to 1822 the straight-sided coat of arms with a less ornate crown was used, without the enclosing oval.

Around 1825 the oval was deleted and the stamp was usually in red, but sometimes in black. Between 1830 and 1913 the design was changed to a pointed shield with curved sides, in red ink, within a circle. From 1890 to 1918 a similar shield within a circle was used, in mauve. From 1918 to 1949 the stamp was a more crudely drawn pointed shield with curved sides within a circle and in green.

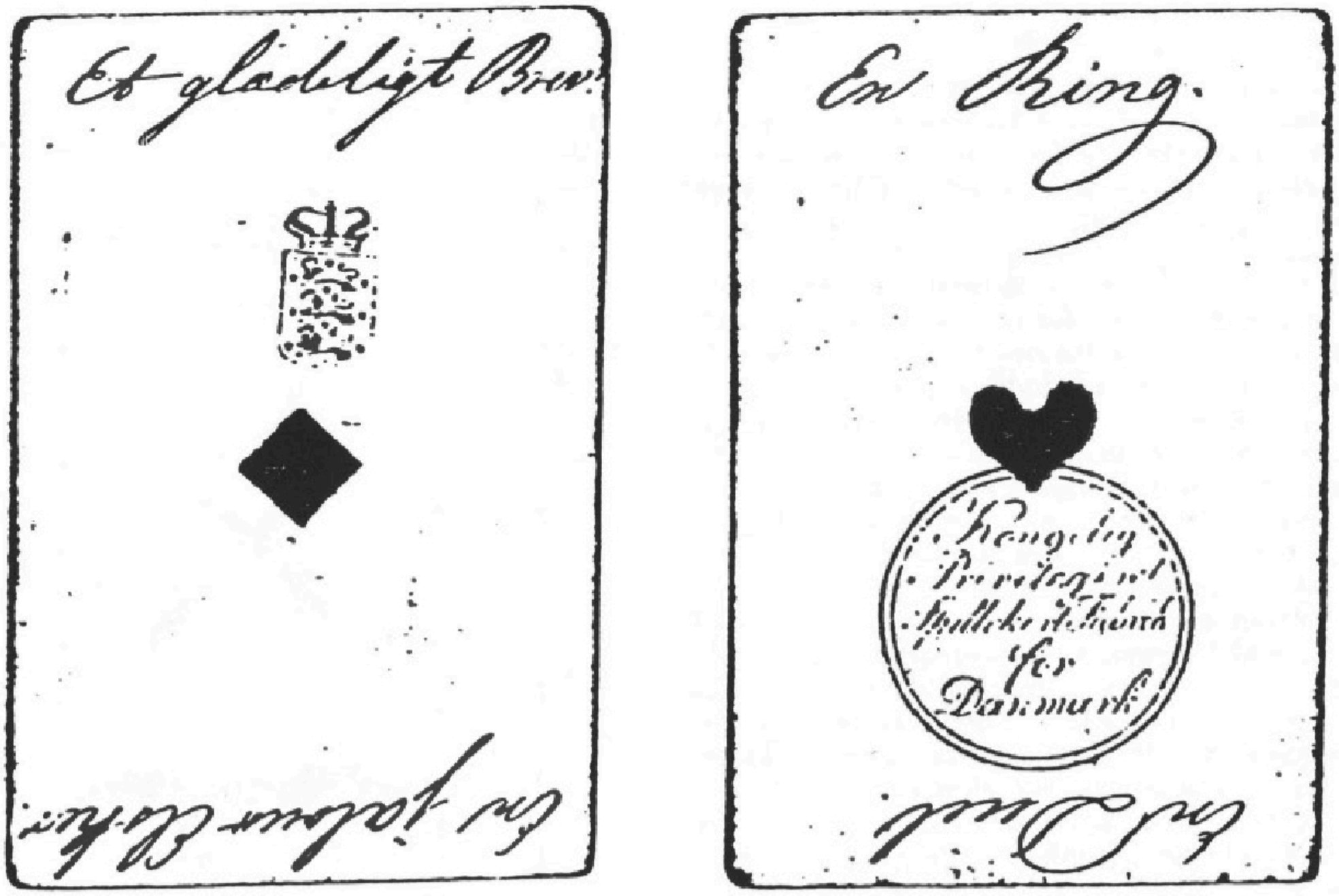
Starting in 1847, a paper label *(vignetband)* glued around the wrapper was required in addition to the tax stamp on the ace of diamonds. The label stated the location of the stamp office by code, and also included a date code and the customs officer's attestation. (Taxes on both imported and domestic decks were always collected through the customs office.) Imported packs had red labels and domestic packs, blue. No known examples of these labels exist, but they are described in Danish legal documents.

In 1900, the narrow labels were replaced by illustrated, rectangular labels resembling postage stamps. The Danish coat of arms appeared in the center, surrounded by an oval, then arabesques. In the corners were suit signs of spade, club, heart and diamond.

Tax in 1908 was 25 øre per deck; in 1918 it became 1 Danish kroner per deck. A further increase took place in 1933, when the tax was raised to 2 Danish kroner. At this time, the red paper stamps, which were not denominated, were stamped over in ink, "2 kr." In 1949, all three types of paper stamps were replaced by a longer paper stamp that had a suit sign in each corner. Also, the ace of diamonds was no longer stamped.

In 1963, the stamps were abolished, and tax was collected on the basis of monthly reports from the manufacturers or importers. There are presently no markers concerning taxes on Danish playing card wrappers or cards.

Denmark, ca 1825–1830 *Tax stamp on ace of diamonds; privilege stamp of the manufacturer, on ace of hearts*



Denmark, ca 1820–1822 *Tax stamp on ace of diamonds; privilege stamp on ace of hearts. From deck made by Jacob Holmblad*

Denmark, ca 1830–1847 *Tax stamp on ace of diamonds; privilege stamp on ace of hearts*

Denmark, 1900–ca 1949 *Label which was to be glued on the wrapper of a deck of cards, in addition to the tax stamp on the ace of diamonds. The Holstein coat of arms is in the center and in the corners are the four French suit signs.*

Denmark, 1949–1963 *Label affixed to the cellophane wrapper of a deck of cards made by Dondorf of Germany*

FRANCE

French taxation on playing cards began by an ordinance dated February 21, 1581, when the first tax imposed on playing cards required payment of *un ecu sou* for each bale of cards weighing two hundred pounds and intended for export to neighboring countries.

On May 22, 1583, King Henry III of France imposed a tax on all playing cards, tarots and dice; the tax ran *un sou parisis* (one sou of Paris) for a deck of playing cards intended for home use and two sous of Paris for a tarot pack. Local cardmakers at Rouen and Lyon, rival centers of French playing card manufacture, protested the taxation.

During the sixteenth century, taxes continued to be levied on playing cards and tarots, with the tax amount on tarots always running higher, for example, fifteen deniers for a regular pack and two sous and six deniers (twelve deniers to one sou) for a tarot pack.

By an ordinance dated January 14, 1605, the export of cards was prohibited and, as compensation to the cardmakers, the duty on cards for domestic consumption was reduced. In order to control the collection of taxes on cards, rendered difficult because cardmakers resided in so many different places, the manufacture of cards was restricted to Paris, Rouen, Lyon, Toulouse, Troyes, Limoges and Thiers in Auvergne. Shortly after the 1605 ordinance, the same privilege was accorded to Orléans, Angers, Romans-sur-Isère and Marseilles. The identification of cardmaker and city on the two of coins in many French decks may have been required as proof that the deck had been made by legal privilege.

By the eighteenth century, additional methods of taxation were imposed on French playing cards. A regulation of February 1745 required watermarked cardboard to be used in the manufacture of playing cards in Rouen. King Louis XV, having established the Ecole Militaire (Military Academy) in 1751, ordered that the monies raised by taxes on cards be applied to its support.

The decree of November 9, 1751, required that cardmakers use only official, watermarked paper controlled by the French government. Originally only one card was watermarked, but eventually all cards in a regular-sized deck bore the distinctive watermark. A decree issued in 1798 specified that tarot cards be made with watermarked cardboard. The number of authorized cardmakers and the cities where card manufacture was permitted were also subject to governmental regulation.

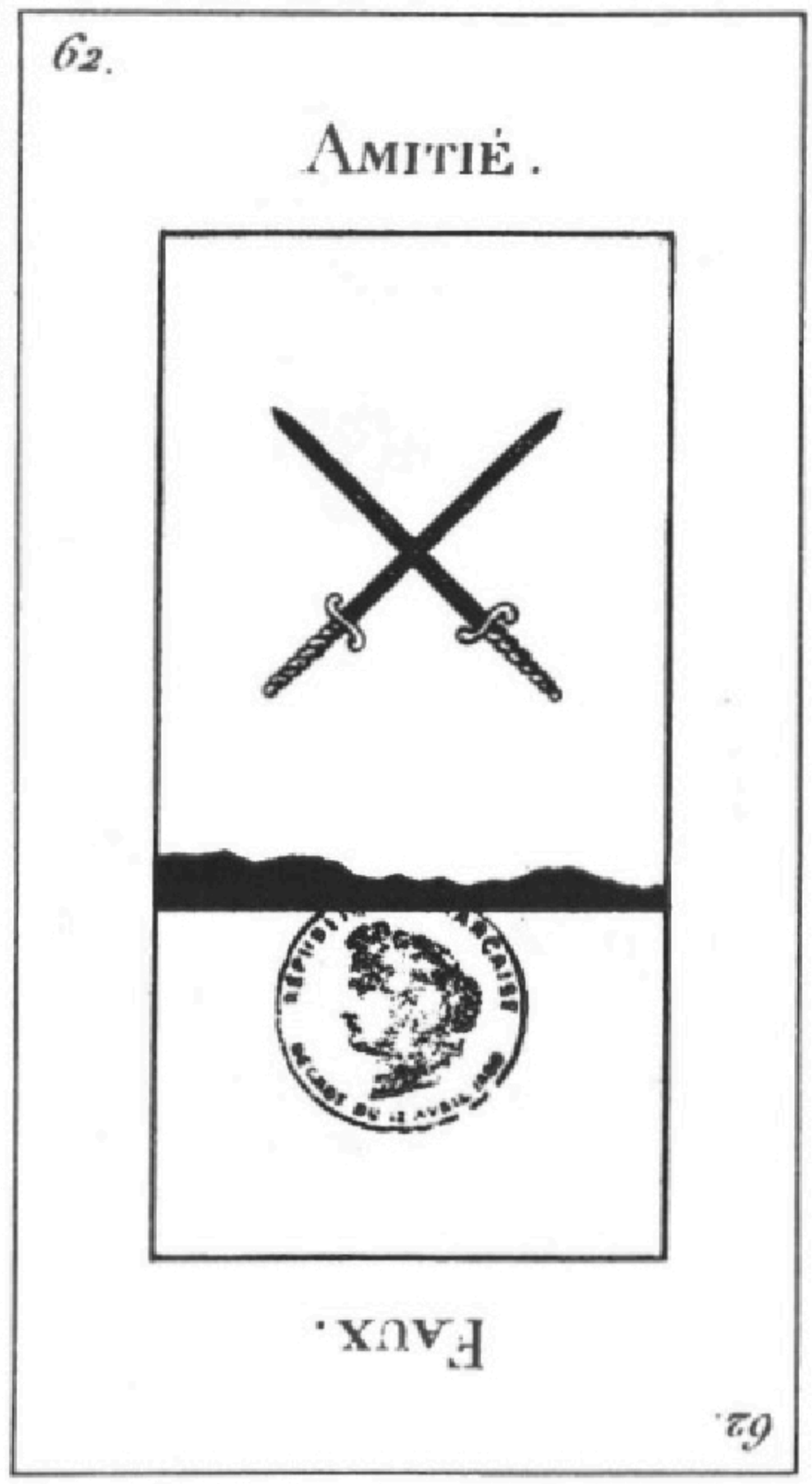
Another method for collecting taxes on playing cards was the use of paper bands, rectangular in shape, with a blank circle in the middle. The center of the band had an embossed, pictorial seal.

Many seals on the bands had ornate designs with heraldic devices and figures. Unfortunately, the identification of bands by city and date proves of little value to the collector, since the bands, made of extremely flimsy paper, were torn off and discarded with the result that very few exist today.

It was not until 1890 that ink tax stamps appeared on French cards. Thus, French tarot packs from the eighteenth century and most of the nineteenth century do not carry tax stamp impressions. During the period of 1890 to 1945, only four different tax stamps were imprinted on cards.

The tax stamp of April 12, 1890, was valid until 1917. The text on the stamp reads, *Republique Française, Decret du 12 Avril 1890* and the picture shows a head in profile facing to the left.

The second French tax stamp, issued in 1917, reads, *Republique Française, Decision Ministerielle du 3 Fevrier 1917*. The profile shown also faces to the left. This stamp was valid until 1920.



Collection of Albert Field

France
Apr. 12, 1890–Feb. 2, 1917
Tax stamp on two of swords,
Etteilla Tarot deck

In 1920, the tax stamp was changed to read, *Republique Française, Decision Ministerielle du 30 Septembre 1920* and the profile remained facing to the left. This tax stamp remained in force for approximately one year.

During the next nineteen years there were no tax stamps on French playing cards. In 1940, the Vichy government established a new taxation and the inscription, surrounded by a wreath, reads, *Etat Français, Contributions Indirectes, France.* The tax stamp remained valid until 1945.

France
Feb. 3, 1917–Sep. 29, 1920

France
Sep. 30, 1920–1921

GERMANY

Little information has been published about German tax stamps on playing cards, and the subject is complicated by the fact that Germany comprised many separate states before 1870 and 1871. Margot Dietrich has kindly supplied the following article, which is an important contribution to the history of tax stamps on playing cards in Germany. The following authorities were used: Otto von Blanquet (1926), Kohlmann et al. (1982), Detlef Hoffmann and Margot Dietrich (1981), Theodor Kohlmann (1984), Sylvia Mann (1966, 1978), Wolfgang Suma (1978), Werner Stuckmann (1922) and W. Teske (1954). The cards illustrated are reproduced courtesy of the Deutsches Spielkarten Museum, Leinfelden-Echterdingen.

Tax stamps on playing cards provide a reasonable but not foolproof guide to the place of origin and the manufacturing date of a deck. Cards had to be stamped prior to sale but not necessarily at the time of manufacture. Therefore, due to the numerous takeovers among German cardmakers, cards from one maker could bear the stamp of the town of their successors who had bought their old stock. For instance, a nineteenth-century trappola pack made by Ludwig und Schmidt of Halle has a 1920s Altenburg tax stamp, the company having been taken over at the end of the nineteenth century by the Vereinigte Stralsunder-Spielkarten-Fabriken A.G. who amalgamated its Halle and Altenburg sections in 1924.

Before the unification of Germany in 1870 and 1871, there were at least thirty-five independent German states, each with its own government and its own laws and regulations. Each state had a distinct coat of arms and currency. Generally, in western, northern and central Germany, the taler and groschen were the common currency, while in southern Germany the gulden and kreuzer were used. After unification the currency was mark and pfennig.

Each state imposed a unique tax stamp for playing cards as well as for other items. For cards the rate of taxation depended on the kind of card pack. Tarot decks with seventy-eight or fifty-four cards had higher taxes than decks of fifty-two cards, and a deck with thirty-two cards had the lowest tax. In certain cases, the quality of cards was also considered, with better cards more heavily taxed. The tax stamp was usually placed on the ace of hearts. The following listing demonstrates the diversity of tax rates in the different German states from about 1839 to 1878. To facilitate comparison of rates among different German states, the rates are converted into marks and pfennings, the official currency of Germany after its unification. The value shown on tax stamps in Prussia during the period from circa 1800 to 1838 includes the selling price as well as the tax rate. As explained by von Blanquet (1929), this is because during that period the selling price of a deck, as well as the tax rate, was prescribed by law. The source of the tax rates in German states before unification are Stuckmann (1922), who delineated the basic system while not quoting tax rates, and von Blanquet (1926), who gave the tax rates.

TAXES ON PLAYING CARDS IN GERMANY BEFORE UNIFICATION

Prussia
Tarot decks, French-suited decks of over 32 cards ... .80
French-suited decks with 32 or less cards (piquet decks), German-suited decks and trappola decks ..... .30
Bavaria
German-suited decks with 36 or less cards ..... .30
Other decks ..... .60
Saxony
Tarot decks 1.50
French-suited decks 1.00
German-suited decks or traditional German decks ... .50
Other decks 1.00
Württemberg
Tarot decks ..... .40
Other decks ..... .20
Baden (No tax)
Hessen (Hessian)
Decks with more than 52 cards ..... .80
Decks with 32 to 52 cards ..... .50
Decks with less than 32 cards ..... .15
Mecklenburg-Schwerin
All decks ..... .25
Sachsen-Weimar
Decks with more than 36 cards ..... .50
Decks with 36 or less cards ..... .30
Macklenburg-Strelitz (No tax)
Oldenburg
Same rates as Prussia, except in the principality Birkenfeld, which had no taxes on playing cards.
Braunschweig
Tarot decks ..... .70
Whist and l'hombre decks ..... .50
Piquet and German-suited decks ..... .30
Sachsen-Meinigen
Decks with more than 36 cards ..... .60
Decks with 36 or less cards ..... .40
Sachsen-Altenburg
Tarot decks ..... .90
French-suited decks ..... .50
German-suited decks and traditional German decks .. .25
Sachsen-Koburg
Decks with more than 36 cards ..... .60
Decks with 36 or less cards ..... .40
Sachsen-Gotha
Tarot decks and French-suited decks ..... .80
Piquet decks, German-suited decks, etc. ..... .30
Anhalt
Same taxation as Prussia
Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt
Tarot decks 1.40
French-suited decks ..... .85
German-suited decks ..... .20
Schwarzburg-Sonderhausen
Tarot decks 1.00
German-suited decks ..... .50
French-suited decks ..... .25
Waldeck
Tarot decks, French-suited decks of over 32 cards ... .60
Piquet and German-suited decks ..... .30
Reuss ältere Linie
Tarot decks 1.50
L'hombre and whist decks 1.00
German-, French-suited decks of less than 32 cards... .50
Reuss jüngere Linie
Same taxation system as Reuss ältere Linie
Schaumburg-Lippe
Same taxation system as Prussia
Lippe
All decks ..... .50
Lübeck
Same taxation system as Prussia in the Holsteinischen enclaves, otherwise no tax
Bremen
All decks ..... .50
Hamburg
All decks ..... .10
Elsass-Lothringen (No tax)

As a result of the unification of Germany in 1870 and 1871, a uniform tax stamp for playing cards was introduced, and it went into effect on January 1, 1879. The law lasted through the Kaiserreich, until November 1919. The tax was 30 pfennigs for decks of up to thirty-six cards, and 50 pfennigs for decks of over thirty-six cards. A tax stamp was placed on the ace of hearts in decks with French suits, and on the two of hearts in decks with German suits. The stamp showed the imperial eagle, the inscription *Deutsches Reich*, the tax stamp office number and the rate of tax. Some slight alterations in design took place over the life of the stamp.

Some of the thirty-pfennig stamps are inscribed with the spelling, *dreiszig*, and others, *dreissig*. Before 1903 the German character *ß* was spelled "ss." After 1903 an alternate, "sz," began to be used. The spelling used on a particular tax stamp can help date the deck more precisely.

The number of the tax stamp office indicated the city or town where the cards were sold or, occasionally, as in the case of Dondorf, even the maker who sold them.

The chart shows the tax office numbers and the cities to which they correspond. The list is compiled from the numbers given by Sylvia Mann and Wolfgang Suma in their respective articles in *The Journal of the Playing-Card Society*.

NUMBERS AND CITIES OF TAX STAMP OFFICES IN GERMANY

1 Berlin (?)
2 Frankfurt
3 Hanover (?)
4 Stralsund
5 Stettin
6 Posen
7 Breslau
8 Hannover
9 Halle a/Saale
10 Naumburg up to 1902, since 1904, Trier
11 Kiel
12 Lüneburg
13 Münden
14 Münster
15 Frankfurt a/M
16 Aachen
17 Köln
18 Berlin
19 Goslar
30 Skalmierzyce since 1906
32 Ottensen up to 1889, afterward, Altona
43 Herbesthal up to 1910
49 Augsburg
50 Ludwigshafen
51 Munich, Schmid
52 Nuremberg
53 Regensburg up to 1890, afterward, Passau
54 Würzburg
55 Landshut
56 Dresden
57 Chemnitz
58 Zwickau up to 1890, since 1891, Primmitschau
59 Leipzig
60 Grimma
61 Plauen
62 Zittau
63 Göppingen
64 Ravensburg
65 Stuttgart
67 Mannheim
71 Mannheim
73 Darmstadt
74 Hamburg
78 Wiesbaden (?)
79 Mainz (?)
80 Schwerin
81 Rostock
82 Weimar
83 Oldenburg
84 Damme
87 Brunswick (Braunschweig)
90 Altenburg
91 Gotha
92 Coburg
93 Dessau
94 Gera
96 Lübeck
97 Bremen
98 Bremen
99 Bremerhaven
100 Hamburg
101 Hamburg
104 Strassburg
109 Vienna (in 1939)
136 Glogau
137 Zwickau up to 1890, since 1891, Primmitschau
141 Dortmund
144 Munich
145 Altenburg
155 Tetschen from 1909
156 Glogau
159 Rossbach from 1906
162 Myslovitz from 1900
165 Mittelsteine from 1889
167 Kaufbeuren
171 Nordenham from 1891
175 Gronau from 1905
183 Hamburg up to 1897, afterward, Cuxhaven
184 Sassnitz from 1897
186 Hassum from 1908
187 Hamburg
199 Bentheim from 1902
200 St. Ludwig from 1902
202 Malmedy from 1914
231 Detmold
265 Jena (?) Leipzig (?)

A pack made by the Spielkartenfabrik Halle an der Saale has a unique stamp. Above the imperial eagle is the inscription *Stempelfrei* (duty free), and below is the number 20. The number 20 probably refers to a special office, created during the early months of World War I, because a second stamp on the wrapper declares the deck to be for soldiers' gifts collected at a special office in Halle for this purpose.

Tax stamp office numbers associated with certain cardmakers are as follows.

2 B. Dondorf
4 Vereinigte Altenburger, Stralsund
15 Dondorf / C. L. Wüst
17 J. P. Bürgers
19 F. A. Lattmann
51 F. X. Schmid
73 Frommann & Morian
90 Vereinigte Altenburger, Altenburg
92 Hausser
141 E. F. Wegener
144 Scharff
156 Flemming-Wiskott
167 Buronia

After World War I, Germany became a republic. A new tax stamp and new rates were imposed while the location numbers remained the same. From November 1, 1919, to 1936, the imperial eagle on the stamp was replaced by the republican eagle (which did not have a crown). Until October 1923 the rates were 1 mark for decks up to 24 cards, 2 marks for decks with 25 to 47 cards, and 3 marks for decks with over forty-seven cards.

The rates were not shown on the stamps after October 1923, because of inflation and the instability of the currency in Germany. The design of the stamp changed slightly over time.

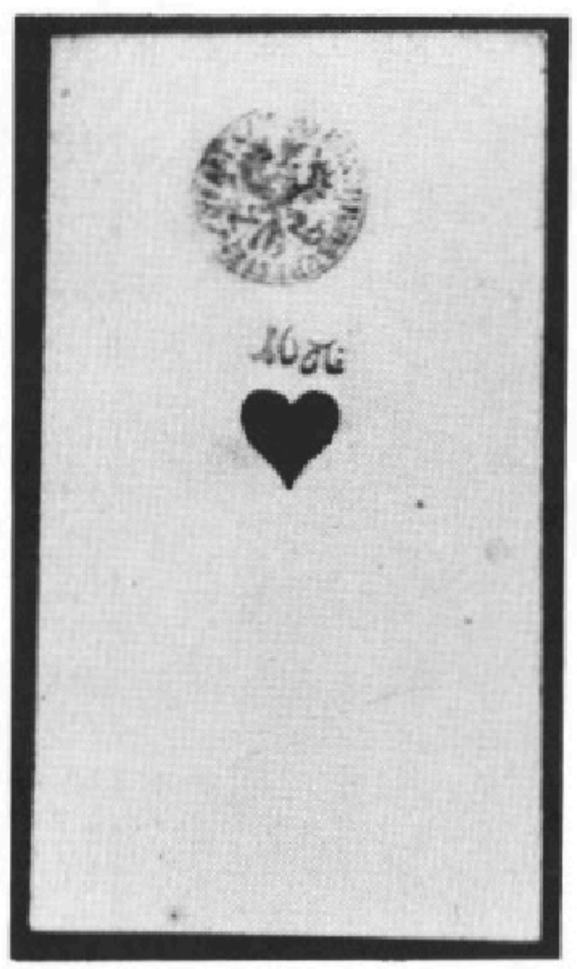
From 1936 to September 1939, the tax stamp showed an eagle, the Nazi swastika, and the number for location but no rates.

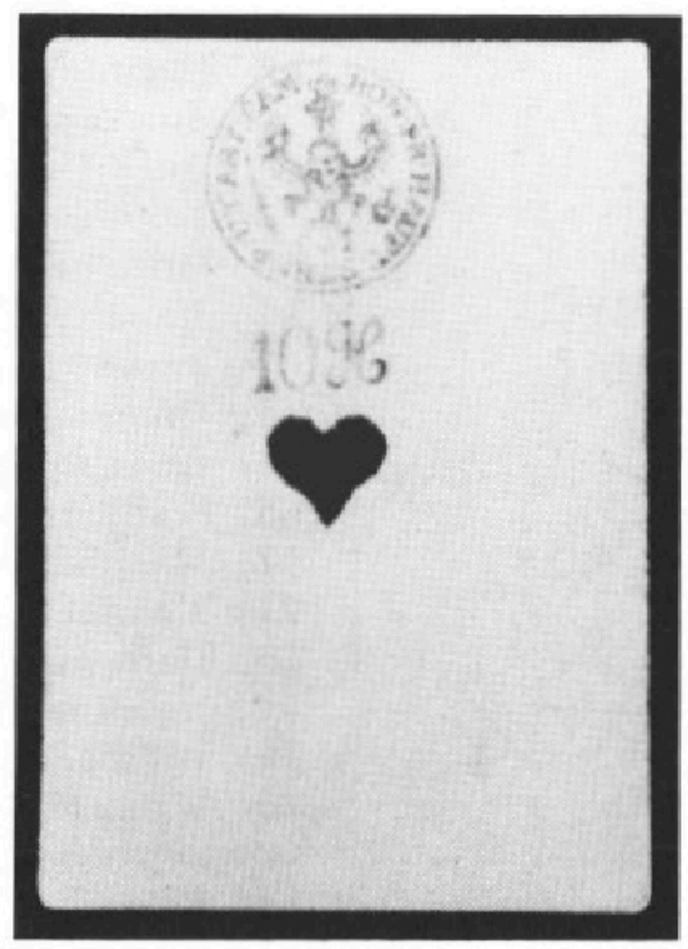
From the end of 1939, tax stamps were no longer used on cards, but each deck had to bear a trademark, which appeared as an ink stamp on an ace. Cardmakers were still taxed, however.

On January 1, 1981, playing card taxation was abolished in the Federal Republic of Germany.

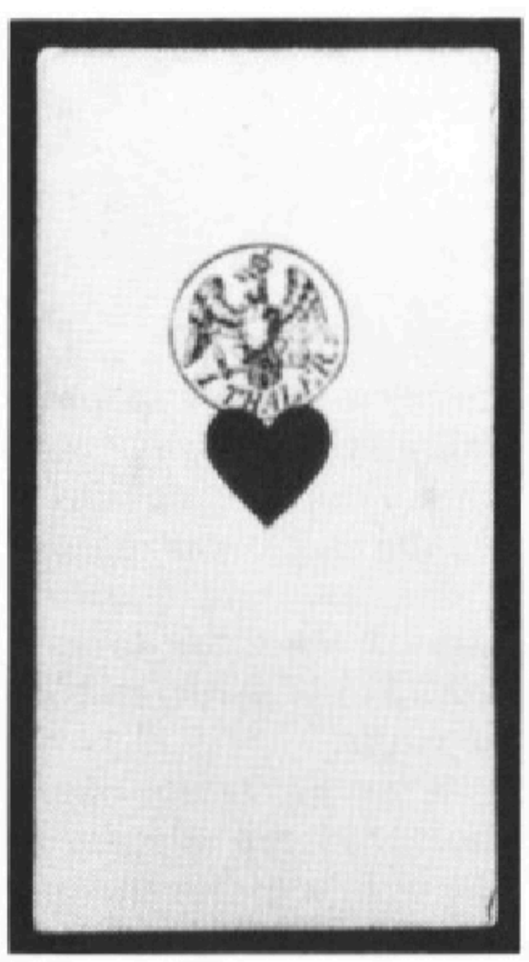
TAX STAMPS IN PRE-UNIFICATION GERMANY

Collection of Deutsches Spielkarten Museum, Leinfelden-Echterdingen, West Germany

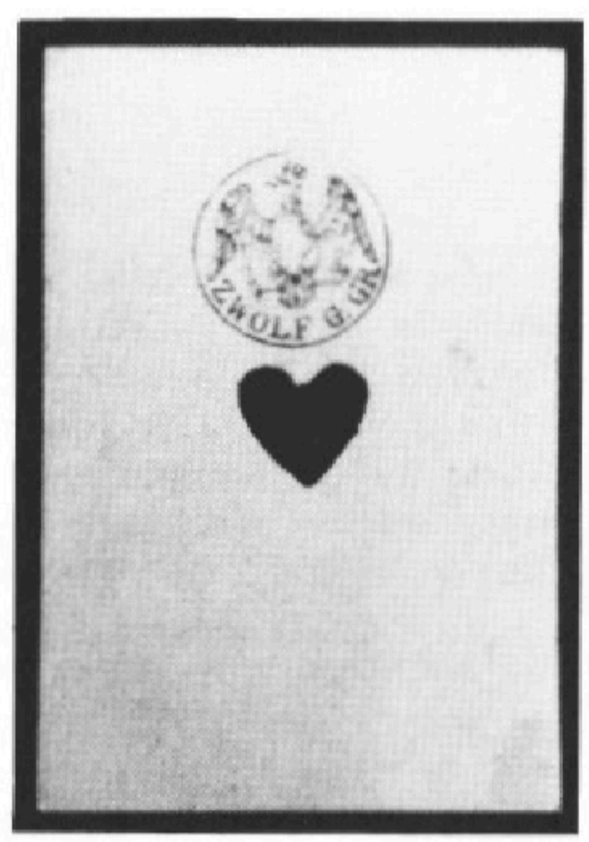




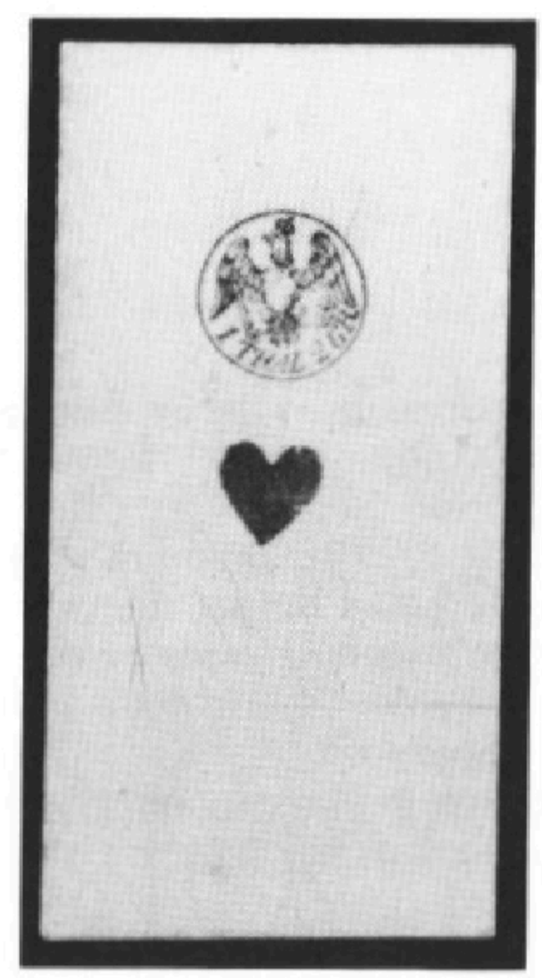
Prussia, ca 1800–1810
Red, with legend KON:PR: HAUPT: U: CART: CAM. (Königlich Preussische Hauptstempel und Carten Camer) *16 groschen (left) for 78-card tarock deck, and 10 groschen (right) for 52-card deck*



Prussia,
first quarter of 19th century
Blue, with Prussian eagle and legend: 1 THALER, *on 78-card tarock deck*



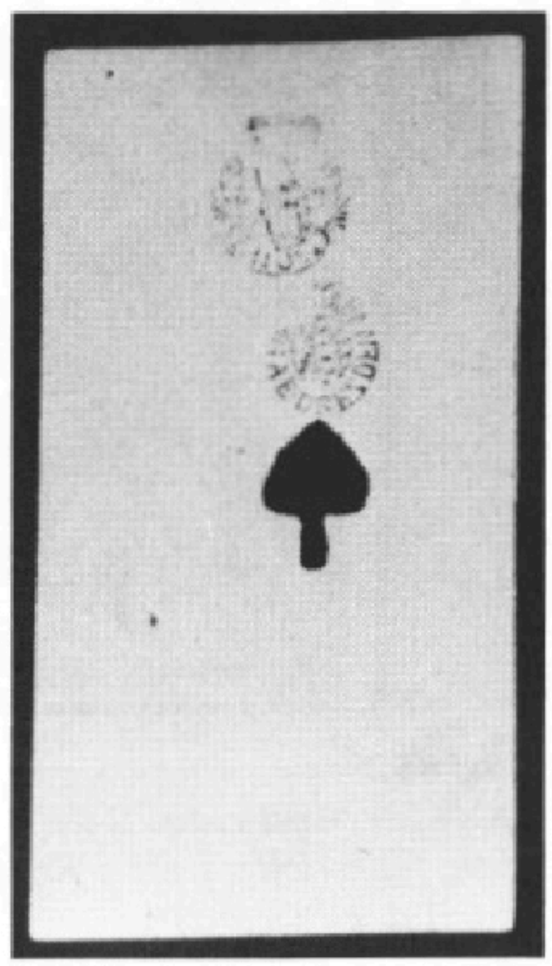
Prussia, 1816–1822
Prussian eagle and legend ZWÖLF G. GR *(12 gute groschen), on 52-card deck*



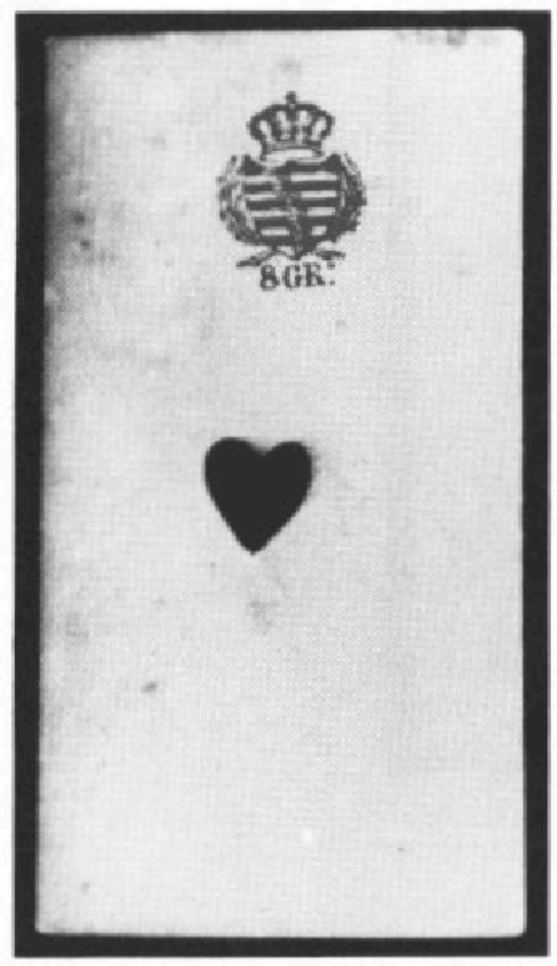
Prussia, ca 1830
Red, with Prussian eagle and legend 1 THAL 2 GR *(1 thaler, 2 groschen), on 78-card tarock deck*

TAX STAMPS IN PRE-UNIFICATION GERMANY

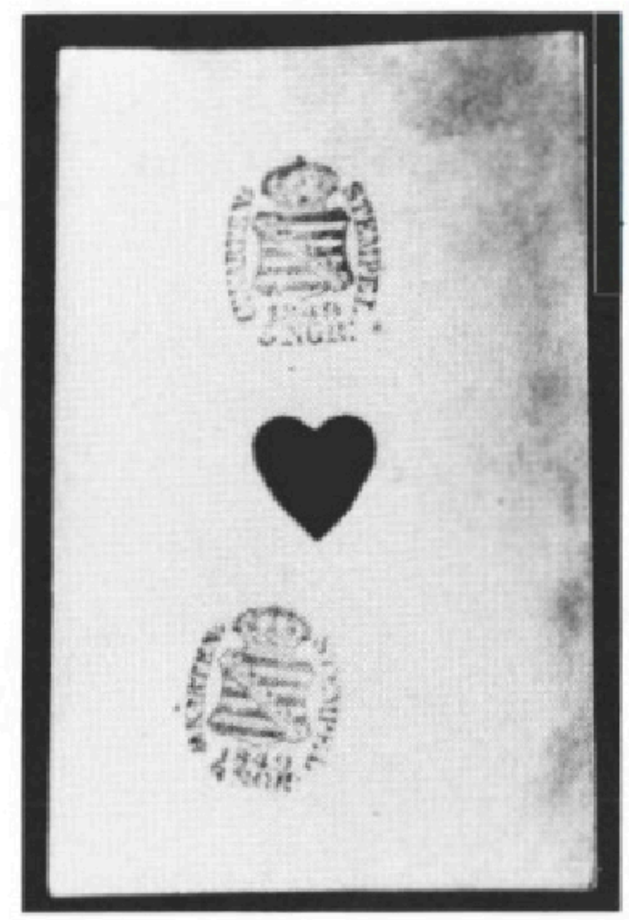
Collection of Deutsches Spielkarten Museum, Leinfelden-Echterdingen, West Germany



Electorate Saxony, early 19th century
Black, on tarock deck

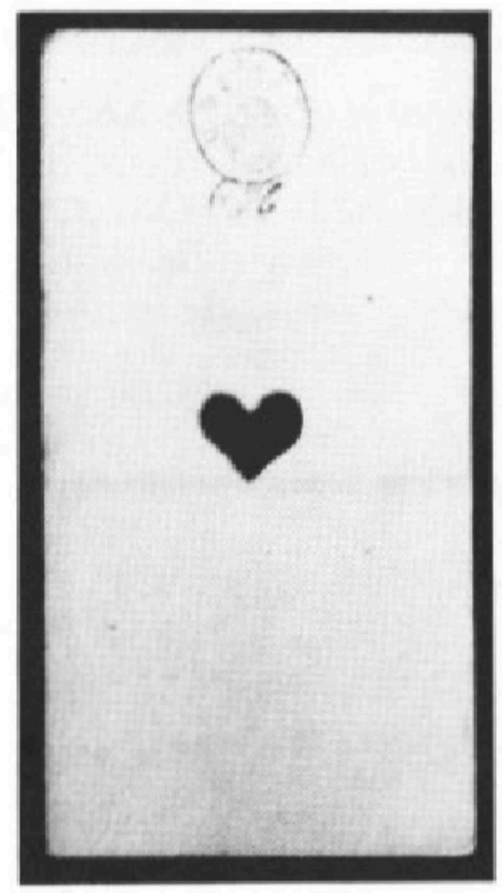


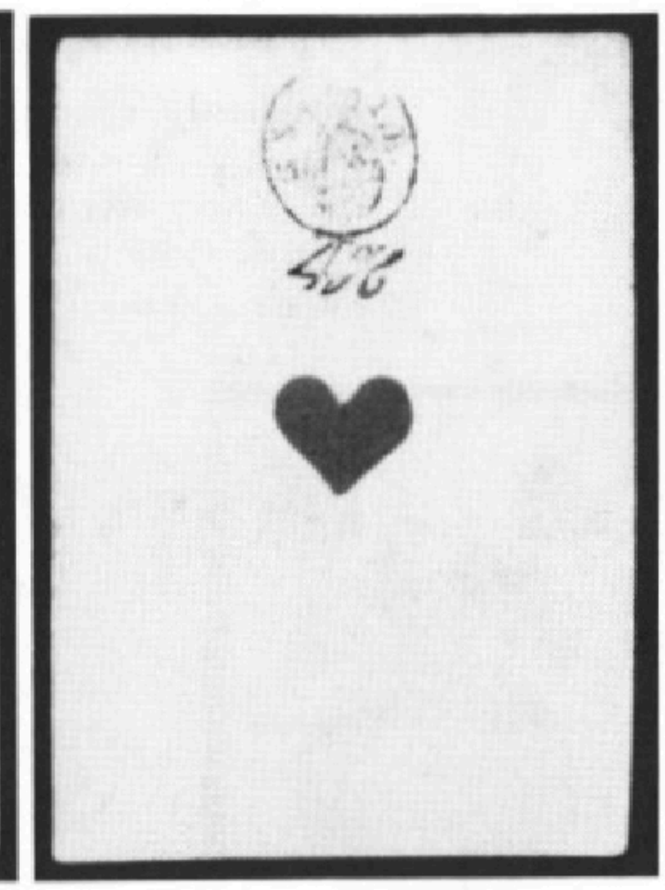
Kingdom of Saxony, before 1830
Red, 8 GR *(8 groschen), on tarock deck*



Kingdom of Saxony, 1849
C. KARTEN-STEMPEL/5 NGR/ 1849 *(C. for city of Chemnitz, today Karl-Marx-Stadt, NGR for neue groschen)*

Kingdom of Saxony, 1872–1878
Black, with legend KARTEN-STEMPEL *and values (left)* 1 MK *(1 mark) and (right)* 50 PF *(50 pfennig)*

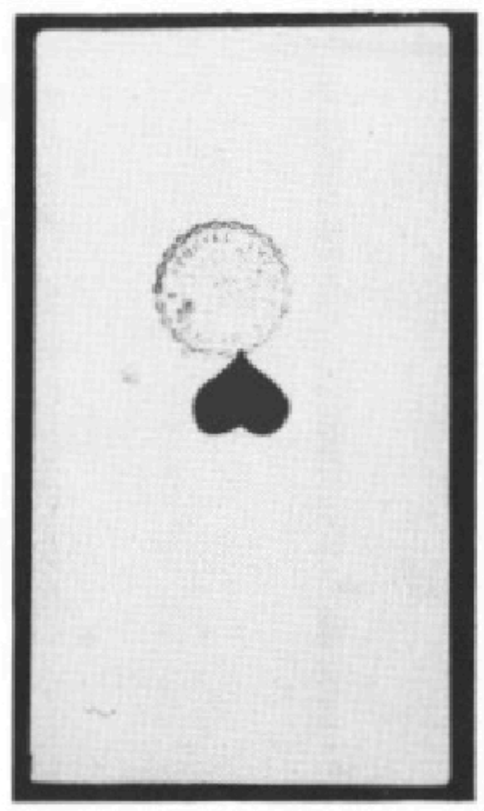


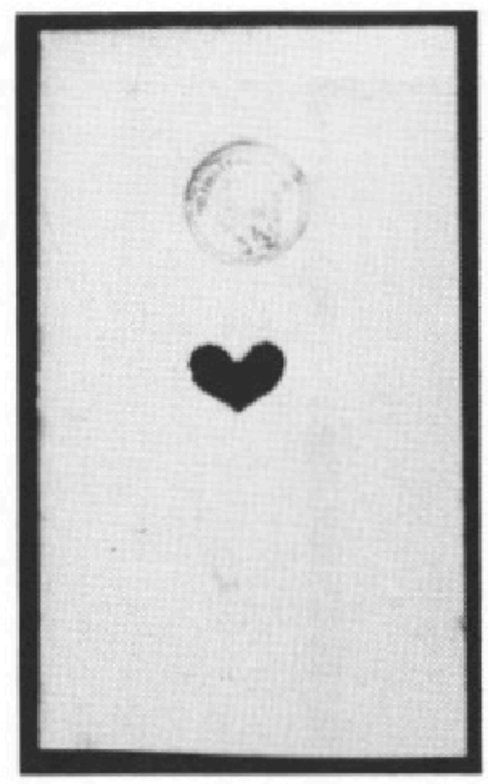


Grand Duchy Saxony-Weimar-Eisenach, ca 1821
Black, G.S.I.E. (Grossherzoglich Sächsische-Impost-Einnahme), *and rates 6 groschen for tarock deck (left) and 4 groschen for 52-card deck (right)*

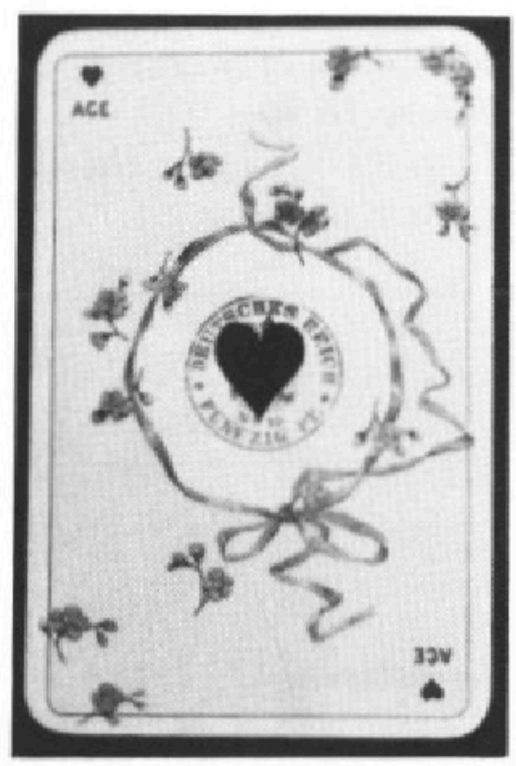
TAX STAMPS IN PRE-UNIFICATION GERMANY

Württemberg, ca 1870
Black, KON. WURTTB SPORTEL AMT (Königreich Württemberg Sportel Amt). *No value given*





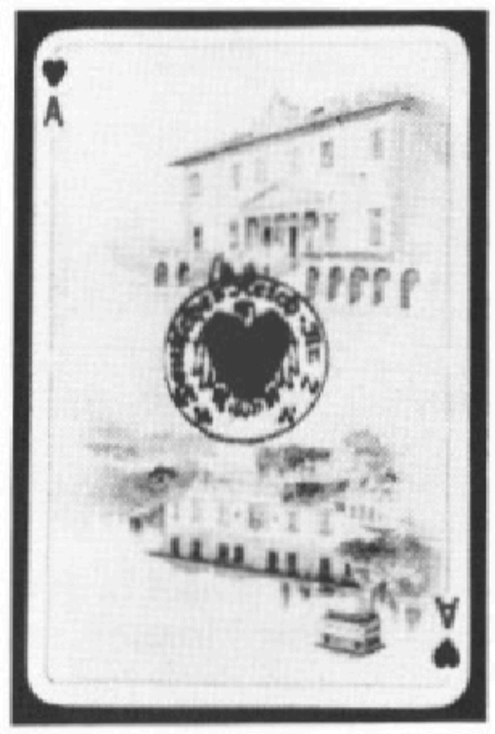
Mittelfranken, ca 1852
Blue, MITTELFRANKEN, *and rates 8 Kr. (8 kreuzer) for tarock deck (left), and 4 Kr. (4 kreuzer) for 36-card deck (right)*



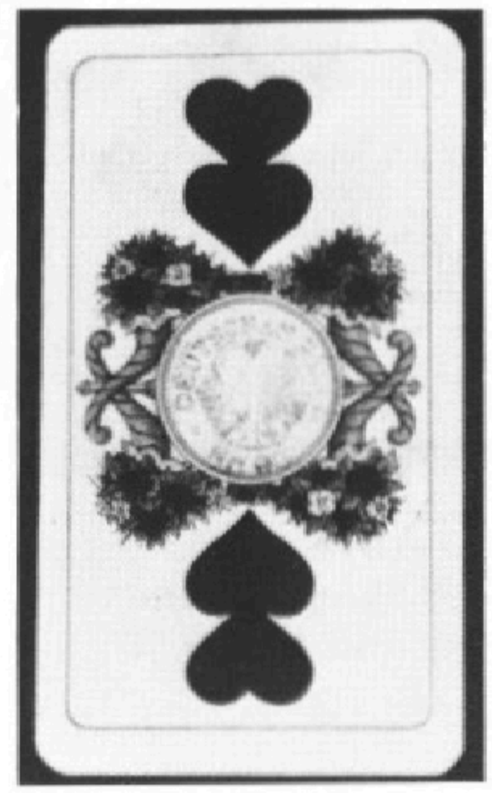
Imperial Germany, Jan. 1, 1879–Nov. 1919
Black, with imperial eagle and legend DEUTSCHES REICH, *followed by tax rate and tax office number: (left)* FUNFZIG PF/No. 52 *on tarot deck made in Nuremberg; (middle)* FUNFZIG PF/No. 15 *on 52-card deck made in Frankfurt ca 1895; (right)* DREISZIG PF/No. 90 *on 32-card deck made in Altenburg ca 1903*

Collection of Deutsches Spielkarten Museum, Leinfelden-Echterdingen, West Germany

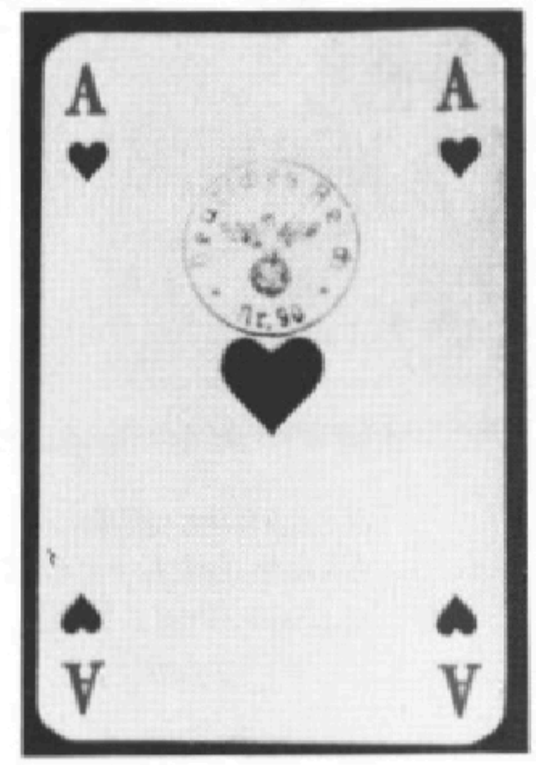
German Republic, Nov. 1919–Oct. 1923
Black, with republican eagle and legend Deutsches Reich No. 73, 1 M, *on 24-card deck made in Darmstadt*



German Republic, 1923–ca 1930
No rate shown. On deck made in Frankfurt



German Republic, ca 1930–1936
On deck made in Altenburg



Nasi Germany, 1936–1939
Eagle and swastika, with Deutsches Reich/Nr. 90, *on deck made in Altenburg*

ITALY

The history of tax stamps on playing cards in preunification Italy (before 1860) is made more complicated by the changing boundaries of the various kingdoms, by the vicissitudes of the governments, and by the intricate customs and duties system upheld by each kingdom to protect its own industries. After the unification it is considerably easier to identify Italian tax stamps and to use the information as a means of dating decks of cards.

The tax stamps on Italian tarot decks generally appear on the ace of coins or on the king of batons. In minchiate decks, a tax stamp sometimes appears on XXIII Air or XXIIII Libra.

Laws granting concessions to gather taxes on playing cards started in the various Italian states at the end of the sixteenth century: 1588 in Bologna, 1606 in Lombardy, 1616 in Venice, 1619 in Tuscany and thereafter in Piedmont. By the beginning of the eighteenth century the practice of tax collection on playing cards was widespread in Italy. By the end of the eighteenth century all but a few small states had abolished the concession system of taxation, and the government gathered taxes directly through its own agents.

In the system of granting concessions, the government granted an individual the right to gather taxes on certain goods, and in return the concessionaire paid the government a fixed fee in advance. The system was favored because it guaranteed to the state a fixed income in advance of sales of goods and it promoted certain industries. Since the concessionaire held control of the manufacture, sale, import and export of cards in his region, it was in his interest that the industry should thrive. Usually, the concessionaire sold the right to manufacture to others. Of course, the concession often served to further the interests of powerful, important people.

Most of the information compiled on Italian tax stamps is due to the research of Dr. Alberto Milano, with whose kind permission this material is reproduced. The presentation of material on Italian tax stamps covers several states up to 1860 and a final section, from 1860 to present, applies to all of Italy after its unification.

Lombardy In order to better understand Lombardy tax stamps, it is useful to divide up their history into three periods. The first period starts in 1606, when tax stamp legislation was introduced, and continues to 1772, when the concession to collect taxes on playing cards was returned to the government. The second period runs from 1774 and continues to the end of the Napoleonic era, in 1815. The final period in Lombardy history is from 1815 until the unification of Italy in 1860.

Milan was under Spanish occupation when tax stamp legislation for playing cards was first introduced. The tax amount, 6 soldi for each deck, was continued for about two centuries, in spite of the change in government.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the government of Lombardy decided to apply to playing cards the system of privilege and concession in use for most other goods. The term of the concession ran three years, but often the right was renewed. The concessionaire issued tax stamps and received for each deck the tax of 6 soldi. When Austria occupied Lombardy at the beginning of the eighteenth century, displacing Spanish rule, the concession system did not change. The law that ended the concession system in Lombardy was issued under the name of Maria Theresa of Austria on December 31, 1772.

The second period of Lombardy's history of playing card taxes began when the right to gather taxes on playing cards was exercised directly by the government. The law dated December 10, 1774, introduced different stamps for playing cards and tarot decks, with the charge of 4 soldi for each deck of cards and 6 soldi for each tarot deck. This is the first tax stamp law in Italy that considered tarot decks differently from other cards.

Eight years later Maria Theresa's son, Joseph II, issued a similar law that modified tax stamps, while the tax amount remained the same. The tax stamp was again changed in 1792 because the old stamp was easily falsified.

In 1798, the Cisalpina Republic under French influence declared a duty of 6 soldi for all cards including tarot. A tax of 6.5 soldi was confirmed on September 11, 1802, with the creation of the Italian Republic (Repubblica Italiana). The republic, with Napoleon as its president, covered modern Lombardy, Emilia and Romagna, and lasted over four years, from 1801 to 1805.

The kingdom of Italy (Regno d'Italia) comprised Lombardy, Venice, Friuli, Trentino Alto Adige, Emilia, Romagna and the March of Ancona, a combined area representing a significant portion of Italy. It was created in 1805 and lasted until the fall of Napoleon. The tax stamp changed, with the tax amount varying according to the place where the game of cards was played: 6 soldi for a private home, and varying rates of 15 soldi, 1 lire, 10 soldi and 7.6 soldi at different places of public use. The design of the tax stamp shows a crown, the rate and the text: *Regno d'Italia.*

The law was apparently too complicated to administer because two years later, on December 23, 1807, a new law stipulated a tax of 25 centesimi for cards used in the privacy of the home and 50 centesimi for cards used in public places such as cafes, theaters and inns. The same law laid down a complete code of manufacture which cardmakers were obliged to follow.

A protectionist law of July 1, 1809, forbade the import of foreign playing cards and stated that cards had to be made on special paper watermarked with the imperial eagle and supplied by the state.

The third period of Lombardy history includes the Austrian restoration. During this time playing cards were popular and their use widespread. The end of the Napoleonic era and the return of Austrian authorities to Milan resulted in more liberal legislation, probably in an effort to enlist the sympathy of the bourgeoisie and merchants. The need for a watermark was rescinded and the law of 1816 established a tax of 25 centesimi on all types of cards. Two years later when the restoration of the Austrian government was consolidated, the law was changed to provide two different stamps and rates, 35 cents for all cards except tarots, which were taxed at 60 cents. Additionally, the name and city of the cardmaker had to appear on the card that was to bear the tax stamp. The design of the stamp was the double eagle of the Hapsburgs in a shield with the rate at the top, "Lombardia" at the bottom and the initials "F.I.," for Emperor Franz I of Austria, in the middle.

On November 1, 1823, when the stamp changed, the amount of tax was increased to 40 centesimi for playing cards and to 70 centesimi for tarot. The stamp shows the crown of Rudolf I, Holy Roman Emperor from 1273 to 1291, together with the Iron Crown of Lombardy, symbols of the Austrian empire and of the Italian Lombardo-Venetian state. At the bottom was inscribed LOMBARDIA, and in the center the initials "F.I." and the rate appeared. When Ferdinand I succeeded Franz I in 1835, the stamp was not changed.

On January 27, 1840, the rate was raised to 75 centesimi for all cards except tarots, which were charged 1 lira. In September of the same year a new design adopted for the tax stamp depicted a crown with allegorical animals or mythological figures that changed each year until 1849, while the tax rate remained unchanged. The name of the city appeared with the rate at the bottom, and "F.I." appeared in the center.

The European revolutions of 1848 also affected Milan. From March until August of that year the city was free and the tax on playing cards was annulled. However, the Austrians returned and new rules promulgated on September 6, 1850, sought to unify tax legislation throughout the empire partly with the use of a uniform tax stamp throughout the various regions. The stamp had the name of the city and the rate and it was placed on the same card which showed the name and city of the cardmaker.

The tax value was figured by how the cards were manufactured and by the market to which they were sold. Smooth cards for the elegant and fashionable market were taxed 50 centesimi, while more ordinary cards made with coarse paper were taxed 25 centesimi. The government was obliged, on February 13, 1851, to issue further explanation of the distinction between smooth and ordinary cards, so apparently the law as originally written was difficult to interpret and regulate.

The last tax law for playing cards used in Lombardy under Austrian rule was dated 1857. The tax rate was 40 centesimi and the stamp showed a woman in profile and an administrative number. This stamp was the *Austria kopf* stamp (see section on Austria).

With the unification of part of Italy under the Regno d'Italia, the laws issued after 1860 applied to Lombardy as well as the rest of the kingdom, and the applicable tax stamps and rates are discussed in the section on post-unification tax stamps in Italy.

Lombardy, Emilia, Romagna, 1802–1805

Lombardy Dec. 23, 1807–1816
On cards for public use

Collection of the author

Lombardy Dec. 23, 1807–1816
On Gumppenberg tarot deck for private use

Lombardy Nov. 1, 1823–Jan. 26, 1840
On Gumppenberg tarot deck

Collection of Dr. Alberto Milano

Lombardy 1648

Lombardy 1670

Lombardy Dec. 10, 1774–1782
Tarot (left); other cards (right)

Collection of Dr. Alberto Milano

Lombardy Sep. 6, 1850–1857
For smooth cards (left); for coarse cards (right)

Tuscany The development of playing card taxation and legislation in Tuscany follows three principal periods of history similar to Lombardy. The first period runs from 1619, the date of the first tax law, until 1752. The second period dates from 1752 to the Napoleonic age. The third period commences at the beginning of the nineteenth century and continues until the unification of Tuscany with other Italian states in 1860.

Several proclamations at the end of the sixteenth century forbade the playing of cards in the streets. The edicts were ineffective, and the Medici administration decided on December 3, 1619, to issue a tax of 1 giulio with a stamp printed on one of the main cards in the pack, the same card to be signed by the fiscal representative.

The privilege system of gathering taxes began around 1636 and was called *privativa*. The ownership of the concession was renewed every five years, but the renewal was usually with the same family.

The accompanying chart shows tax stamps of Tuscany, with the dates of concession, the design of the stamp, the holders of the concession, and the specific card on which the stamp was placed in different kinds of decks. The concessionaire also signed the card on which the tax stamp appeared. Until the end of the seventeenth century, the word *germini* is used on official documents in referring to minchiate decks.

As of January 1, 1781, the concession system was abolished and the royal administration took over the control of taxation. The tax stamp of the Austrian royal administration was a monogram of the letters A.G. surrounded by *Bolla delle carte di Toscana*, and it was placed on XXVII Aries of minchiate decks, and on the jack of hearts of French packs. Apparently in the last quarter of the eighteenth century Italian-suited cards and tarot decks were no longer controlled by legislation. However, no documents are known that clearly state the regulation on tax stamps in Tuscany during the last decade of the eighteenth century.

The third historical period for Tuscany started in 1801 with the formation of the kingdom of Etruria (Regno d'Etruria).

On May 24, 1806, a new form for the tax stamp was created. The stamp became an irregular octagon having in the middle the royal coat of arms with a crown over it, and around it the words *Carte di Etruria*. The stamp had to be placed on XXX Cancer for minchiate and the jack of *trefles* (clubs) for French-suited cards. The price of the tax was 1 paolo for each deck.

The Regno d'Etruria ended in 1807 and Tuscany became a French dominion annexed to the French empire and subject to French legislation.

On May 17, 1814, after the defeat of Napoleon, the 1781 regulation came back into use. It now also became necessary to print cards on watermarked paper and the decks were sealed in a wrapper and signed.

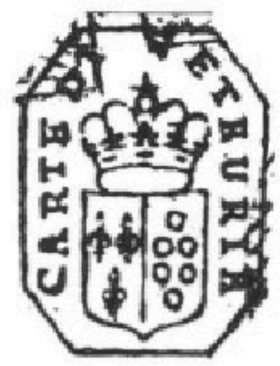
The law of August 25, 1816, set a tax rate of 13 soldi and 4 denari for minchiate packs and the tax stamp had to appear on card XXX Cancer. The rate for French-suited cards was changed to 10 soldi and the tax stamp appeared on the ace of *piques* (spades).

The law of March 20, 1820, retained the same tax rate but changed the location of the tax stamp to XXIV Libra for minchiate and to the jack of *piques* for all other cards.

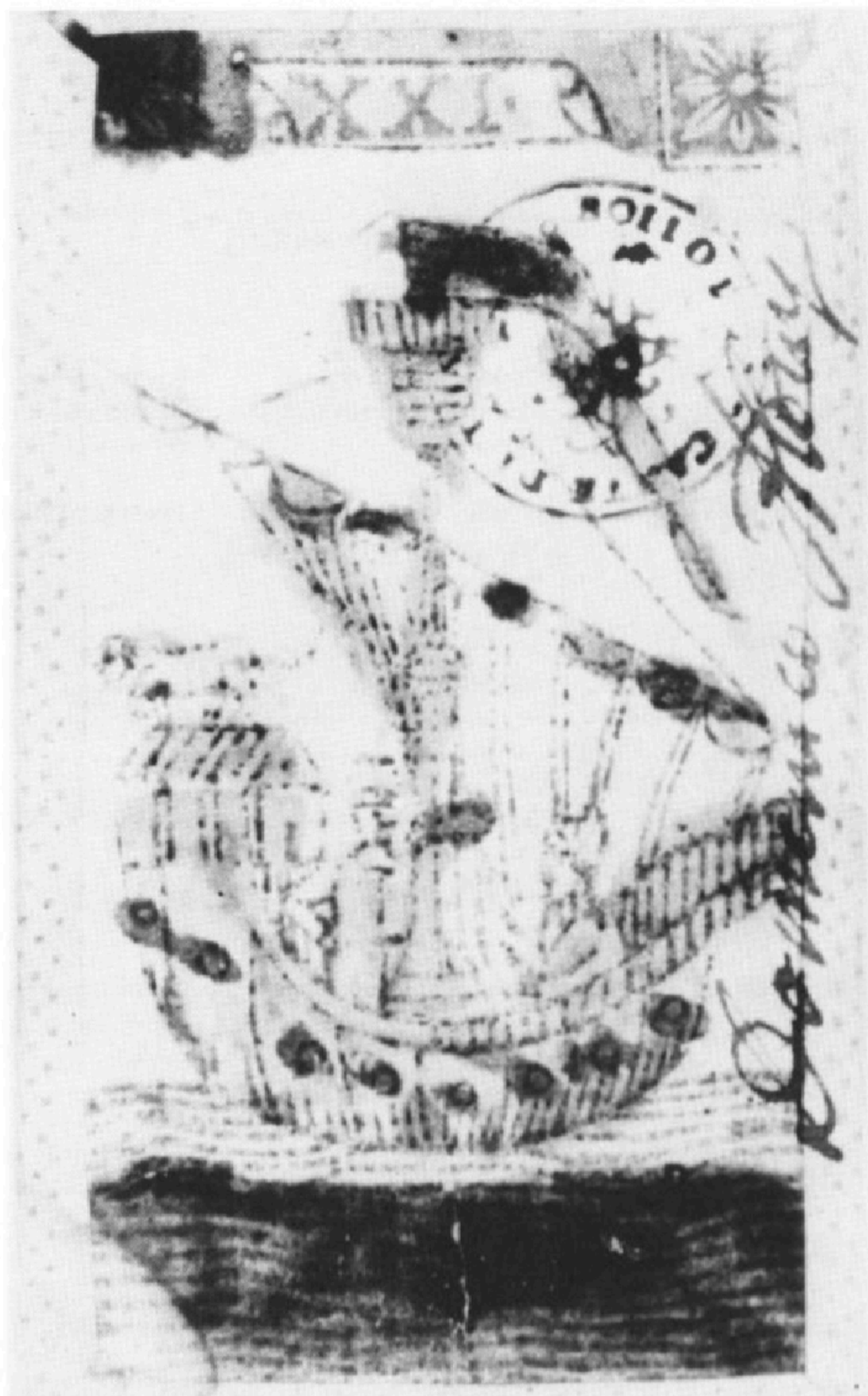
From 1820 to 1840 the duty stayed constant, although tax stamp designs and the cards on which tax stamps appeared changed. Only around the middle of the nineteenth century was the rate on French-suited cards increased to 13 soldi and 4 denari.

Upon unification of Italy in 1860, the coat of arms of the Lorena family appearing on the Fama card in the minchiate pack had to be covered on existing decks and eliminated from new decks.

Collection of Dr. Alberto Milano



Tuscany
1806–1807



Tuscany, 1752–1780 *Minchiate card showing stamp and signature of Domenico Aldini, who held the last concession for collecting taxes on playing cards in Tuscany (Cary Playing Card Collection, The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.)*

TAX STAMPS IN TUSCANY

DATES OF CONCESSION	DESIGN OF STAMP	HOLDERS OF THE CONCESSION	CARDS DEPICTING TAX STAMP			
			Tarot	Minchiate	Italian Suits	French Suits
1. 1636–1640	Figure of Fortuna	?	—	2 of staves	2 of staves	jack of clubs
2. June 1641–May 1646	Ship	Jacopo di Cosimo Pavonazzi & Francesco di Piero Borghiani	—	XXVI Scorpio	knight of coins	jack of spades
3. 1646–1656	Atlas or two wrestlers	Santi di Alessandro Molinelli (died 1656)	—	?	?	?
4. 1646–1656	?	Santi di Alessandro Molinelli (subcontracted to Giambattista da Trapani) (for Livorno)	—	?	?	?
5. 1656–1659	Lion rampant with a cone and a Hebrew letter	Isach di Abram Lucena (for Livorno & Pisa)	—	XVII Prudence	ace of swords six of coins	queen of diamonds
6. 1656–?	Stag with a blue bottle on its back adorned with leaves	Giovan Maria di Vettorio Calvani & Pasquino di Antonio Donnini (for Florence)	—	XXIV Libra	page of batons four of coins	jack of clubs
7. 1672–1677	?	Cristofano Alfieri [di Cortona]	—	?	?	?
8. 1677–ca 1682	Seahorse with Cupid on its back and letters S.A.	Giovanni Domenico Molinelli	—	XXXII Aquarius	page of batons two of cups	jack of hearts
9. 1696–1701	Cypher of Porri and Molinelli names topped by star	Andrea Porri & Giovan Francesco di Santi Molinelli (son of G. Domenico)	—	XXXII Aquarius	page of swords	jack of spades
10. 1701–1706	Cypher of Porri and Molinelli names topped with star	Porri & Molinelli	—	XXIV Libra	knight of coins	jack of clubs
11. 1706–1721	Molinelli monogram topped with star	Molinelli	—	XXXI Pisces	knight of cups six of swords	jack of hearts
12. 1721–1731	A.G.M between two lions, topped with a fleur-de-lis	Anton Giuseppe Molinelli	—	XXXII Aquarius	knight of coins six of swords	jack of hearts.
13. 1731–1736	Same	Giovanni Francesco Gastone Molinelli & Xaverio Molinelli	—	XXXII Aquarius	knight of coins six of swords	jack of hearts
14. 1736–1751	G.D.M with arabesque	Giovanni Domenico Molinelli	—	XXXI Pisces (Livorno: XXX Cancer)	knight of swords	jack of spades
15. Jan. 1, 1752–June 30, 1752	*A.D.A./bollo delle carte di toscana*	Domenico Aldini	page of swords	Sun (Livorno: XXXV Gemini)	knight of batons	king of clubs
16. June 30, 1752–1762	Same	Domenico Aldini	page of swords	XXI Water	knight of batons	jack of diamonds
17. 1762–1780	Same	Domenico Aldini	knight of batons	XXI Water	king of coins	jack of diamonds

Post-Unification Tax Stamps After the unification of part of Italy under the Regno d'Italia, tax legislation was administered for the whole of the kingdom. Three new tax stamps were decreed on September 21, 1862. On all of them, Mercury was shown seated, surrounded by the words, *REGNO D'ITALIA/LEGGE 21 SETT. 1862.* On one, the rate was 30 centesimi for packs of fifty-two cards or less, on another the rate was 50 centesimi for packs of more than fifty-two cards, and *PER L'ESTERO* was used on packs for export. Below Mercury's throne is written: *A. REST(L?)LLI F.*, possibly the name of the tax stamp engraver, A. Restelli, plus F. standing for *Fecit,* Latin for "made it."

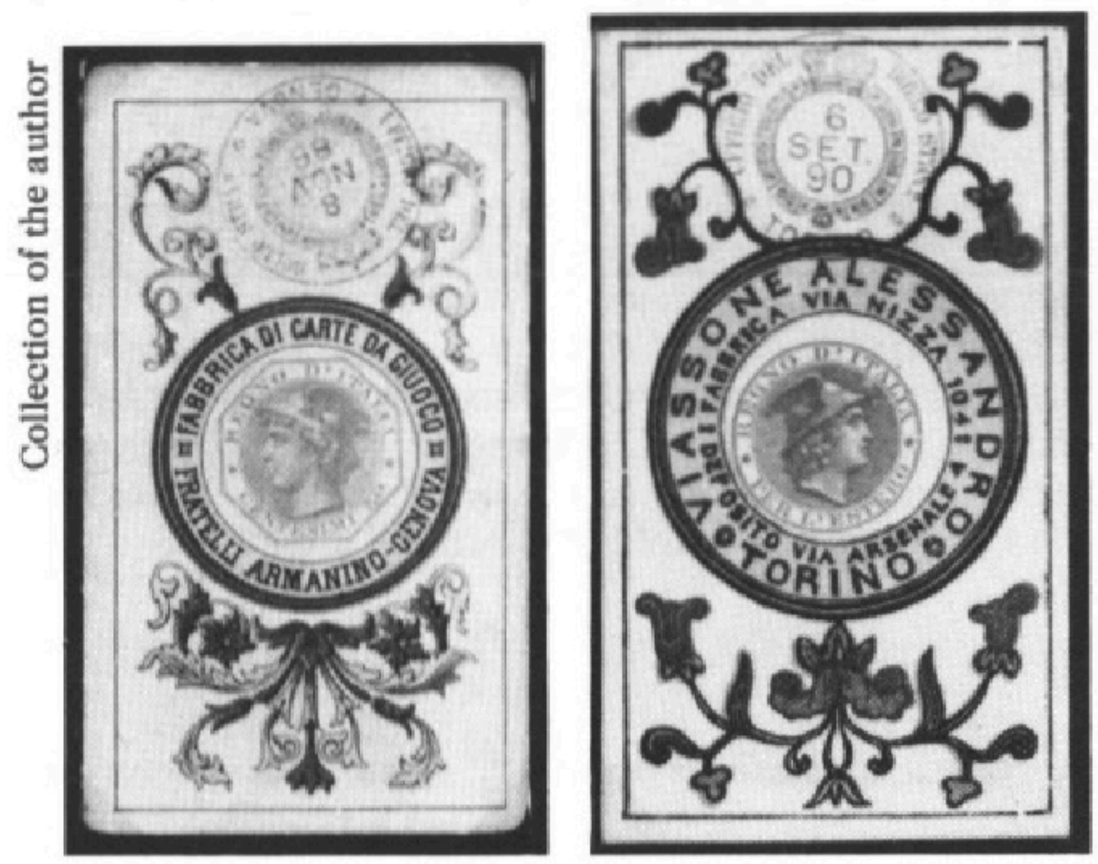
The tax stamp was changed, although the rate remained the same, on June 8, 1874. The new stamp showed Mercury's head wearing a winged hat and facing right, and was inscribed *REGNO D'ITALIA* with *CENTESIMI 30* for small packs and *CENTESIMI 50* for packs of more than fifty-two cards. The former stamps were circular and the latter were octagonal.

A further modification of June 29, 1879, added a background of lines to the stamp and a slight change in the design. At this time a second stamp was to be placed on playing cards. This stamp was inscribed with *UFFICIO DEL BOLLO STRA.O (Stradinario)* and with the name of the city and the date. Decks for domestic consumption got a black stamp, and exported decks got a red stamp. The rate did not change.

In the mid-1880s, Mercury's head was turned to face left instead of right, except on the stamp for exported decks, on which Mercury's head remained facing right. The stamp ink was changed to light brown. This stamp remained in effect, with minor changes, until recent years. The rate was increased to 3 lire after World War I, and 300 lire after World War II. After the first World War, the *REGNO D'ITALIA* was changed to *REPUBBLICA ITALIANA* and the *UFFICIO DEL BOLLO STRA.O* stamp was changed to a smaller stamp with only the date. One unique stamp for Lombardy was valid during the last two years of World War II in Mussolini's Repubblica di Salo. It showed a victory statue and the year of the "Fascist Age" XXII or XXIII.

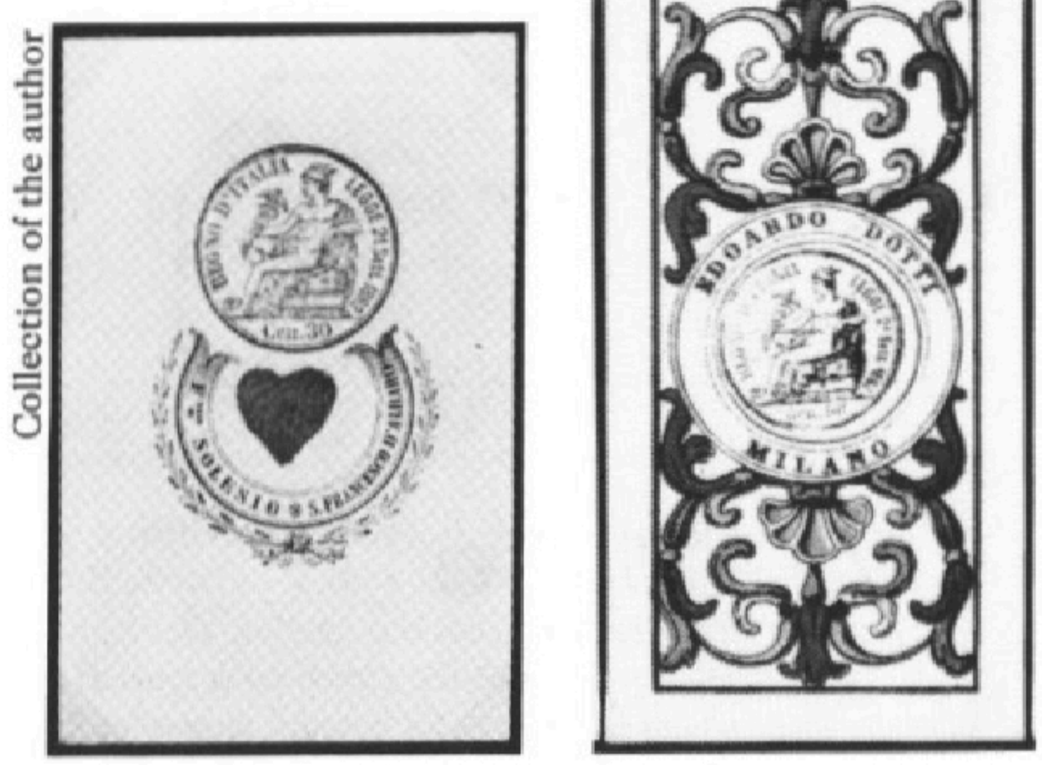
Collection of the author

Italy
June 8, 1874–June 29, 1879



Collection of the author

Italy, Mid-1880s
For domestic use (left); for export (right)



Collection of the author

Italy
Sep. 21, 1862–June 7, 1874

Collection of Dr. Alberto Milano

Lombardy
1944–1945
Repubblica di Salo

POLAND

Little research has been done on Polish tax stamps on playing cards. The aces of hearts from two Polish decks, one by Willink and the other by DuPort, provide examples of Polish tax stamps from the early nineteenth century. Rafael Prinke of Poland has generously provided background on them.

Both the DuPort and the Willink decks (see chapter on tarock packs) were made, or at least sold, during the Russian occupation of Poland after 1815.

The Willink deck has three stamps on the ace of hearts. The top stamp shows an imperial eagle, clutching scepter and orb, within an oval that is topped by a crown. The numbers indicate the tax in Russian currency. An octagon frames the stamp. Although the eagle was used during the reign of the last king of Poland and as the official arms of the Warsaw dukedom under Saxon rule (1807–1815), Russian letters and currency indicate the stamp is post-1815. Possibly the stamp was made shortly after the Russians took over Warsaw and the arms had not yet changed.

The middle stamp on the Willink deck shows the arms of the kingdom of Poland within the Russian empire, again indicating a post-1815 date. Polish letters *ST:KA* are above an eagle, the whole enclosed by an octagon.

The bottom stamp on the Willink deck is a wide oval, inside of which is an eagle surrounded by Russian writing. The tax rate is indicated in both Russian and Polish currency, since both were in use around 1815. This stamp is identical to the lower stamp on the DuPort deck.

The top stamp of the DuPort deck shows a Polish eagle inside a circle with the tax duty, 8 zlotys. The designs for the deck were made between 1780 and 1790, but the presence of the Russian tax stamp (the lower stamp) indicates that the deck was probably sold or reprinted after 1815.

SWITZERLAND

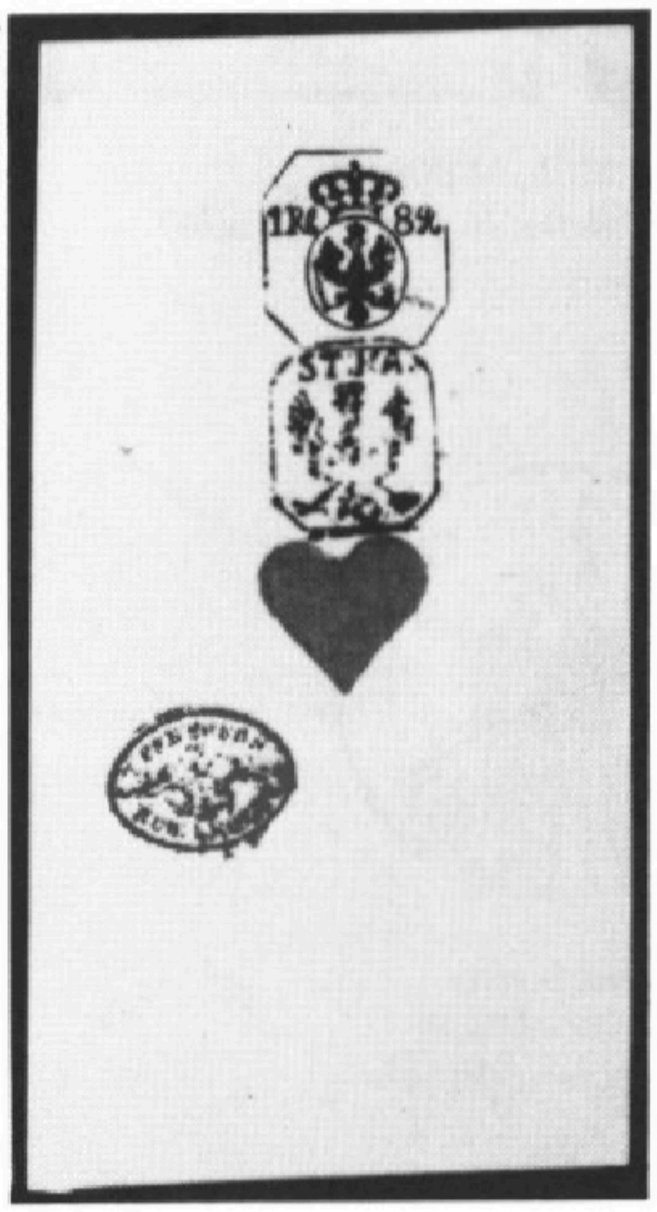
A comprehensive study of tax stamps on playing cards in Switzerland is not yet available. Balz Eberhard of Switzerland has given permission for his general research in this area to be printed here. Detailed information on playing card stamps in the Helvetic Republic can be found in "Spielkarten und Spielkartensteuer in der Helvetischen Republik 1789–1803," by Balz Eberhard (in *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte,* Volume 30, 1973).

Unlike other European countries, Switzerland had no tax on playing cards until the very end of the eighteenth century. After the French Revolution, the political system of Switzerland was changed from a confederation of independent cantons to the unified Helvetic Republic. The centralized government imposed a variety of previously unknown taxes, including one on playing cards. From February 1799 to March 1801, the tax was 1 sol per deck. Since the selling price of an ordinary deck of cards was about 1 sol, the new tax doubled the price of a deck. From April 1801 to March 1803, the tax was 1 batz 5 rappen for tarot decks, and 7 rappen for other decks.

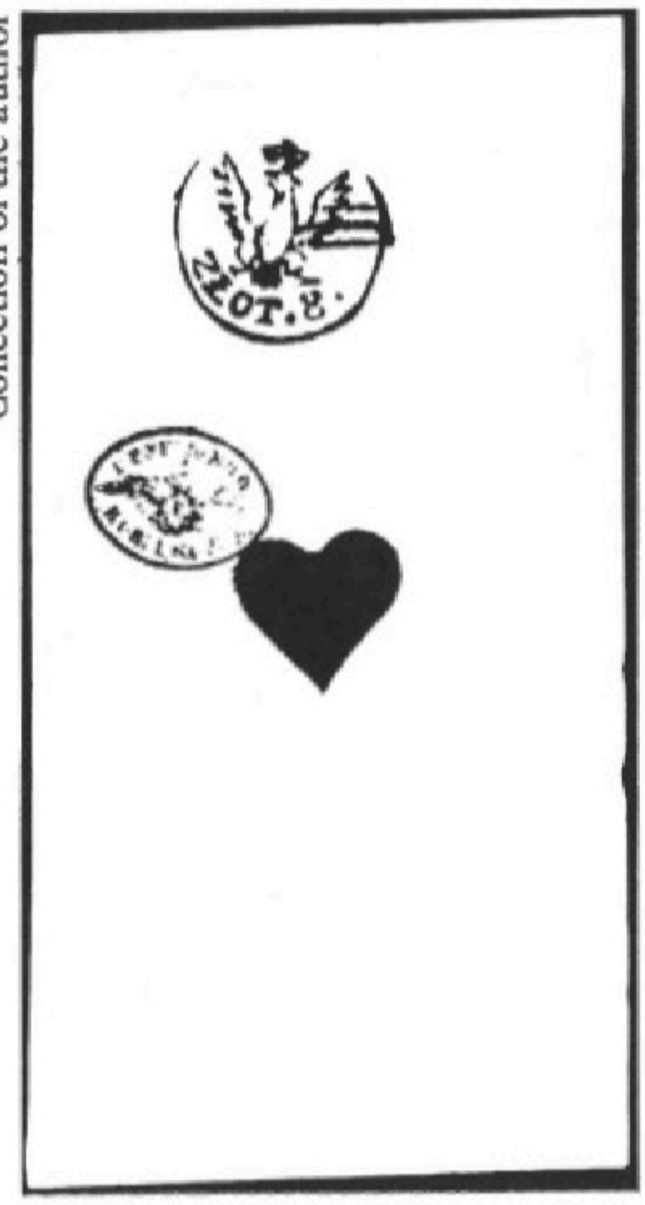
At the beginning, from 1799 to 1801, the tax was implemented with paper seals on the wrappers of the decks. From 1801 to 1803, an ink stamp was applied directly on a card from the deck. In tarot decks, the card selected was XIII *La Mort,* or Death, and the ace of spades was stamped in decks with French suitmarks. Taxation on playing cards was suspended in 1803 with the collapse of the Helvetic Republic.

In 1803, with the Act of Mediation, the cantons recovered independence and sovereignty. Their first concern was to abolish most of what had been instituted by the very

Collection of Albert Field



Collection of the author



Poland, post–1815 *Three stamps on deck made by Willink (left), and two stamps on deck by DuPort (right)*

Collection of the author

Switzerland, Helvetic Republic, Apr. 1801–Mar. 1803 *(Top) Black, for regular playing cards. Design shows four suits signs in a quadrant around a bundle on the top of which (between the words) is a hat with feathers. (Bottom) Black, for tarot and tarock decks. Note the similarity of the figure on the stamp to the figure on The World card in Cartes de Suisse decks.*

TAX RATES ON PLAYING CARDS IN SWISS CANTONS

Canton	Date	All decks	Tarot decks	Nontarot decks	Decks with more than 32 cards	Decks with 32 cards or less
Aargau	1823–1852		2 Btz	1 Btz		
Basel	1818	1 Btz				
	1851–1869	15 Rp				
Bern	1803	1 Btz				
	1820		7 Btz 5 Rp		2 Btz 5 Rp	2 Btz
	1834	1 Btz				
	1851	25 Rp				
	1880	50 Cts				
	1935–1964	1 Fr				
Fribourg	1804		1 Btz	5 Rp		
	1837	10 Rp[1]				
		15 Rp[2]				
		20 Rp[3]				
	1838		10 Rp[4]	5 Rp[4]		
	1851				20 Cts	10 Cts
	1872	20 Cts				
	1924	50 Cts				
Geneva	1782	(?)				
	1816	3 Sols				
	1838	12 Cts				
	1859–1865	10 Cts				
Neuchâtel	1935–present	50 Cts				
St. Gallen	1821		4 Kr	2 Kr		
	1831	6 Kr				
	1835	2 Kr				
	1852	10 Rp				
	1934–present	30 Rp				
Schwyz	1848–1849	10 Rp				
	1889	10 Rp				
Ticino	1804		1 Btz	½ Btz		
	1806		4 Soldi	2 Soldi		
	1820		6 Soldi	3 Soldi		
	1863		30 Cts	15 Cts		
	1873		2 Fr	1 Fr		
	1879		1.40 Fr	75 Cts		
	1885		80 Cts	40 Cts		
	1921	1 Fr				
	1934–1966		2 Fr	1 Fr		
Vaud	1804		1 Btz 5 Rp	7½ Rp		
	1812–1813		2 Btz	1 Btz		
	1850				20 Cts	15 Cts
	1872				50 Cts	30 Cts
	1889				1 Fr	50 Cts
	1898	50 Cts				
	1951	60 Cts				
	1958–present	65 Cts				

[1]For cards made in the Fribourg canton
[2]For cards made in other Swiss cantons
[3]For cards imported from abroad
[4]Amendment concerning only cards made in Fribourg canton

unpopular republic. However, some cantons with strong financial needs reintroduced the playing card tax. Since taxation was in the jurisdiction of the cantons, there have been many different systems for taxes on playing cards in Switzerland since that time.

The tax stamps usually show the heraldic emblem of the canton, the name of the canton, and sometimes the amount of tax. The stamps had to be applied on different cards, according to the canton. For tarot decks, the stamped card was I The Magician *(Bateleur* or *Pagat)* in Aargau, and XIII Death *(La Mort)* in Fribourg. Cards with German suitmarks were stamped on the eight of acorns in Fribourg, on the ace of acorns in Saint Gallen, and on the ace of bells in Aargau. The card stamped for decks with French suitmarks was the ace of hearts in Aargau, Bern, Neuchâtel and Vaud, the ace of spades in Basel, and the ace of diamonds in Fribourg.

Some cantons revived the playing card tax as early as 1803 or 1804, while others did so only after some years. Geneva and Neuchâtel joined Switzerland after 1814, and therefore have a somewhat different background. Geneva implemented its own playing card tax in the eighteenth century; Neuchâtel introduced it during the economic crisis of the 1930s.

Some cantons that produced their own cards taxed imported cards while allowing domestic production to be untaxed. Others taxed all cards or never reintroduced the tax on playing cards. A few cantons still tax playing cards, but most have abolished the playing card taxes.

Before 1850/1851, each canton had its own currency, which made the tax stamps on playing cards vary still more. In most cantons the unit was the batz, which usually had 10 rappen. Some cantons used the kreuzer (Kr), which had the value of 3.5 centimes and roughly corresponded to the soldi used in Milan and in the canton of Ticino. When common Swiss currency was adopted, the unit was, and still is, the Swiss franc (Fr), which has 100 centimes (Cts) also called rappen (Rp) or centesimi.

The accompanying table covers only a limited number of cantons, but it shows the variety of tax laws applied. The canton and the dates and amounts of taxes for various kinds of decks are shown. The cantons Schaffhausen, Solothurn and Zurich had no taxes on playing cards, and consequently were areas of great activity in cardmaking.

TAX STAMPS ON PLAYING CARDS IN SWISS CANTONS

Private collection, Switzerland

Aargau
1823–1852
(black)

Basel
1851–1869
(black)

Bern TOP ROW: ***1803** (blue); **1851** (blue or red); **1851** (blue).* BOTTOM ROW: ***1880** (black); **1935–1964** (black)*

Fribourg *1851 (blue); **1872** (black); **1924** (black or blue)*

Schwyz
(blue)

Ticino
1921 or 1934–1966
(red)

Neuchatel
1935–present
(red or black)

Saint Gallen
(black)

***Vaud 1812–1813** (blue);*
***1958–present** (black)*

UNITED STATES

Tax stamps, or revenue stamps, were used on packets of playing cards in the United States between 1862 and 1965. They took the form of a paper label or stamp affixed to the wrapper or box of cards. Most kinds of stamps had to be cancelled, usually by the manufacturer, with the initials and date of cancellation. Thus, for example, "A.D." for Andrew Dougherty or "U.S.P.C." for United States Playing Card Company can be found on many cancellations. Additionally, from 1878 to 1958, the paper sheets on which revenue stamps were printed were watermarked "U S I R" (United States Internal Revenue). Since the watermark was larger than the individual stamps, the complete watermark does not appear on any single stamp. Decks made overseas and imported into the United States had to bear the same tax stamps as domestic packs. For example, a Rider-Waite Tarot in its original box, marked with an ink stamp, "Made in Great Britain," bears a tax stamp valid from 1929 to 1940, with a cancellation written by pen, dated for 1931.

Information on tax stamps on playing cards can be found in the *Scott United States Stamp Catalogue,* which is updated yearly. In 1960 the American Philatelic Society of Pennsylvania published *I British Playing Card Stamp Duties and Their Authorized Stamps; II The Laws Relating to United States Playing Card Revenue Stamps 1862-1883 and 1894-1960,* by John Boynton Kaiser.

Although no tarot packs are known to have been printed in or imported to the United States before the early 1900s, the history of tax stamps on playing cards in the United States is discussed from its beginning in the following section. In addition to their value in dating decks, tax stamps on wrappers are collectors' items in their own right.

The United States commissioned its first issue of revenue stamps in August 1862, and the stamps appeared in late 1862 or early 1863. The Revenue Act of July 1, 1862, had been passed in order to help alleviate the heavy drain on the federal treasury caused by the Civil War. According to the legislation, the government provided revenue stamps to be fixed to the box or wrapper of a number of items, from matches to perfume to playing cards. At first, the stamps themselves specified what item they were to be placed on, and a stamp labeled "Playing Cards" could only be used for that product. Later, after 1864, the stamps could be used indiscriminately, and "Playing Cards" stamps appeared on a variety of items, including documents, photos and promissory notes, and non-playing-card stamps appeared on the wrappers and boxes of playing cards. Until 1894, there were no more specific stamps for playing cards, but the remaining stock of 1862 playing cards stamps was allowed to be used up.

The first issue stamps used from 1862 to 1883 were rectangular. An oval portrait of George Washington was surrounded by scrolls reading: "U.S. Inter. Rev./Playing Cards" and the denomination. "Playing Cards" was later changed to "Revenue" or "Proprietary." From July 1, 1862, to June 29, 1864, the taxes were as follows: a red stamp of one cent for decks costing under nineteen cents; a blue or an orange stamp of two cents for decks costing nineteen to twenty-five cents; a green stamp of three cents for decks costing twenty-six to thirty cents; a slate stamp of four cents for decks costing thirty-one to thirty-six cents; and a red stamp of five cents for decks costing thirty-seven cents and over. On June 30, 1864, the taxes were increased, since prices of decks had increased, and the denominations of the stamps were two cents, four cents, ten cents and fifteen cents, with five-cent stamps for every fifty cents over one dollar in the price of a deck. From July 12, 1866, to March 3, 1883, packs of cards not exceeding fifty-two cards were taxed five cents, regardless of value. There were no taxes on playing cards in the United States between March 3, 1883, and August 27, 1894.

From 1864, manufacturers were allowed to make their own tax stamps. These stamps did not have to be cancelled, but had to be fixed on the box or wrapper in such a way that they were broken when the deck was opened. Manufacturers used the space on the stamps for their own advertisements. For example, a medicine stamp for Wm. E. Clarke advertises a product called "Hunt's Remedy" by showing a man wrestling with a skeleton, ready to smash a bottle—presumably of the remedy—over the skull of his adversary.

A listing of private die playing card stamps follows, giving the name of the cardmaker, the color and denomination of the stamp, and the dates during which it was used. The Caterson, Brotz & Co. stamp was never used.

Caterson, Brotz & Co.; brown; five cents
A. Dougherty; orange; two cents; May 1865-July 17, 1866
A. Dougherty; black; four cents; Dec. 1864-Sep. 11, 1866
A. Dougherty; blue or ultramarine; five cents (20 x 26 mm); Aug. 1866-1877
A. Dougherty; blue; five cents; (18 x 23 mm); 1878-Feb. 15, 1883
A. Dougherty; blue; ten cents; Dec. 1864-May 2, 1866
Eagle Card Co.; black; five cents; 1880-Feb. 6, 1883
Chas. Goodall; black; five cents; Nov. 1870-Aug. 1875
Samuel Hart & Co.; black; five cents; Sep. 1866-1877
Lawrence & Cohen; blue; two cents; July 1865-July 24, 1866
Lawrence & Cohen; green; five cents; July 1865-March 1874
John J. Levy; black; five cents; March 13, 1867-Jan. 1873
Victor E. Mauger & Petrie; blue; five cents; 1877-Oct. 1, 1880
New York Consolidated Card Co.; black; five cents; 1876-March 3, 1883
Papier Fabrique Co.; black; five cents; June 1873-Oct. 1, 1880
Russell, Morgan & Co.; black; five cents; May 26, 1881-March 3, 1883

Private Die Playing Card Tax Stamps TOP ROW: *A. Dougherty, Aug. 1866-1877; Chas. Goodall, Nov. 1870-Aug. 1875; Victor Mauger & Petrie, 1877-Oct. 1, 1880.* BOTTOM ROW: *New York Consolidated Card Co., 1876-Mar. 3, 1883 (collection of the author); Papier Fabrique Co., June 1873-Oct. 1, 1880; Russell, Morgan & Co., May 26, 1881-Mar. 3, 1883 (Collection of Gene Hochman)*

From August 27, 1894, to October 3, 1917, the U.S. government issued two types of tax stamps for playing cards. Both were rectangular, with an inner frame whose corners were square and projecting. In the center four cards were fanned out, over which the words "Playing Cards" were superimposed in block letters. The letters "U.S." appeared in the top left corner and "I.R." in the top right corner (for United States Internal Revenue). Both had the denomination of two cents. The stamps varied from each other by the words printed on the bottom of the cards. One, issued from August 23, 1894, to circa July 1, 1895, was inscribed "On hand Aug. 1894"; the other, first issued on August 30, 1894, had the words "Act of Aug. 1894." From 1894 to 1898 the stamps were ultramarine or lake colored, and in 1902 the stamps were changed to cobalt blue. (Sometimes the 1902 stamps have an 1899 cancellation, due to the use of an old cancellation plate.)

From October 4, 1917, to March 31, 1919, the tax on playing cards went up to seven cents per pack. Thus the two-cent stamps received an ink stamp numbered either "7" for seven cents, or "17" referring to the Act of 1917, which raised the tax.

A new stamp, tall and rectangular, appeared in 1918. At the top was written "U.S. Int. Rev." and at the bottom, "Class A." The words "Class A" indicated an attempt to classify the taxes on playing cards on basis of retail price as was done in 1862 and 1864. However, the idea was never put into effect. In the center of the 1918 stamp was a circle containing four suit signs and bordered with the words "Playing Cards." This stamp was blue, with a value of seven cents until March 31, 1919, and eight cents from April 1, 1919, to July 2, 1924.

A stamp issued in 1919 was rectangular, with "U.S.I.R." at the top and, in the center, "Class A" surrounded by a band reading "Playing Cards." Four suit signs were in the corners. The duty on this stamp was eight cents, and it was in use from April 1, 1919, to July 2, 1924.

A stamp with the denomination of ten cents was used from July 2, 1924. It was rectangular, and at the top were the initials "U.S.I.R." The numeral 10 appeared in the center, with "Playing Cards" written in a curved scroll over the number, and a scroll reading "cents" beneath. In the four corners were the suit signs. The stamp, in blue, was used through 1929.

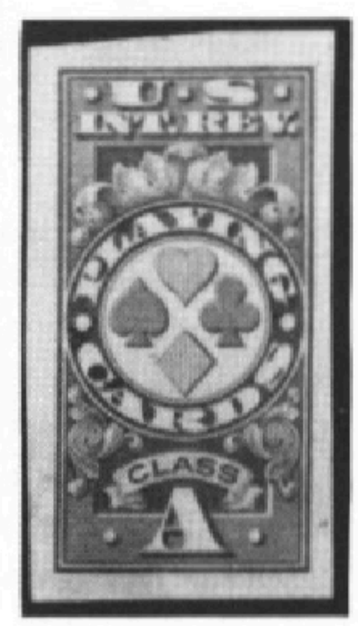
The stamp issued in 1929 was wide and rectangular, with "Playing Cards" written at the top and "U.S. Int. Rev." at the

Collection of the author

First Issue Playing Card Tax Stamps, July 1, 1862–Mar. 2, 1883

First Issue Playing Card Tax Stamps *On wrapper of deck made by L.I. Cohen of New York*

Aug. 27, 1894–Oct. 3, 1917 *Two stamps on left, upper row, read at bottom* ON HAND AUG. 1894 *while the rest read at bottom* ACT OF AUG. 1894. *In the bottom row, the two left stamps are cancelled for 7 cents:* 10-4-17/7 CENTS/U.S.P.C. Co. *indicating use between Oct. 4, 1917, and Mar. 31, 1919;* U.S.P.C. Co. *stands for United States Playing Card Company. The three stamps on the right are stamped for 8 cents, for use between April 1, 1919, to July 2, 1924. Second stamp on upper row is hand-cancelled.*

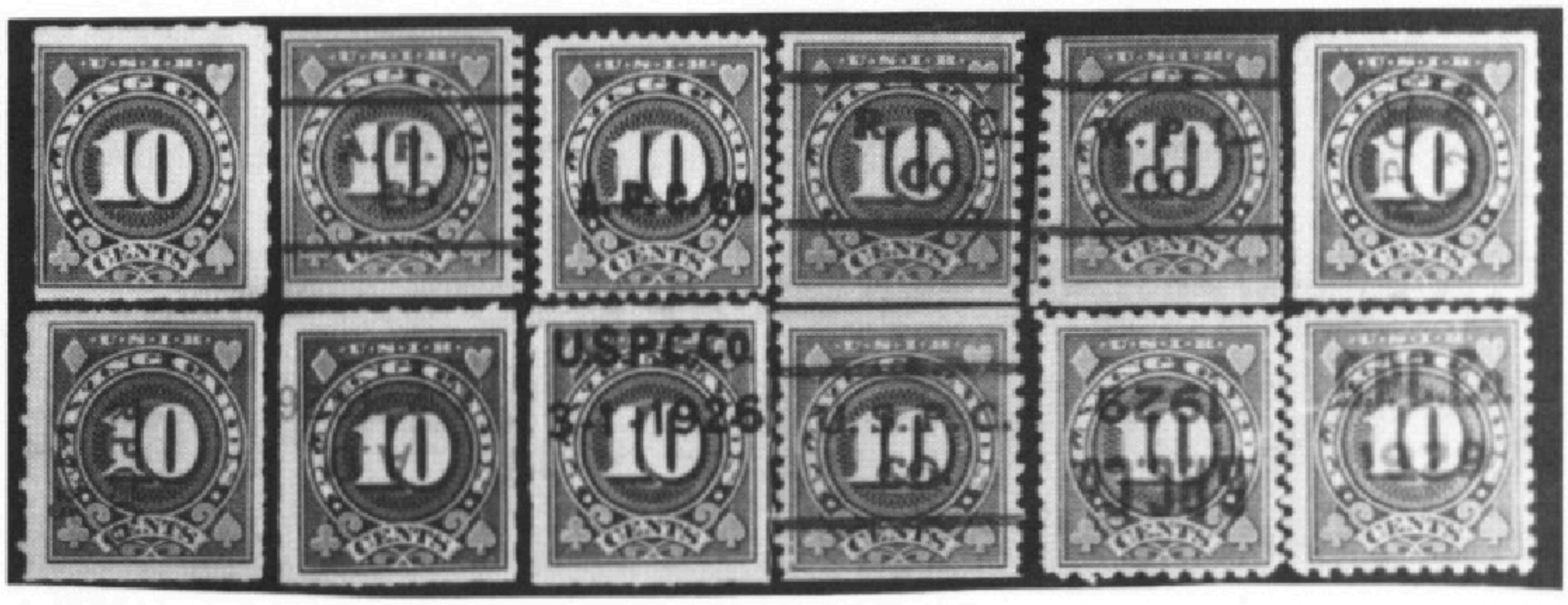


1918–July 1, 1924

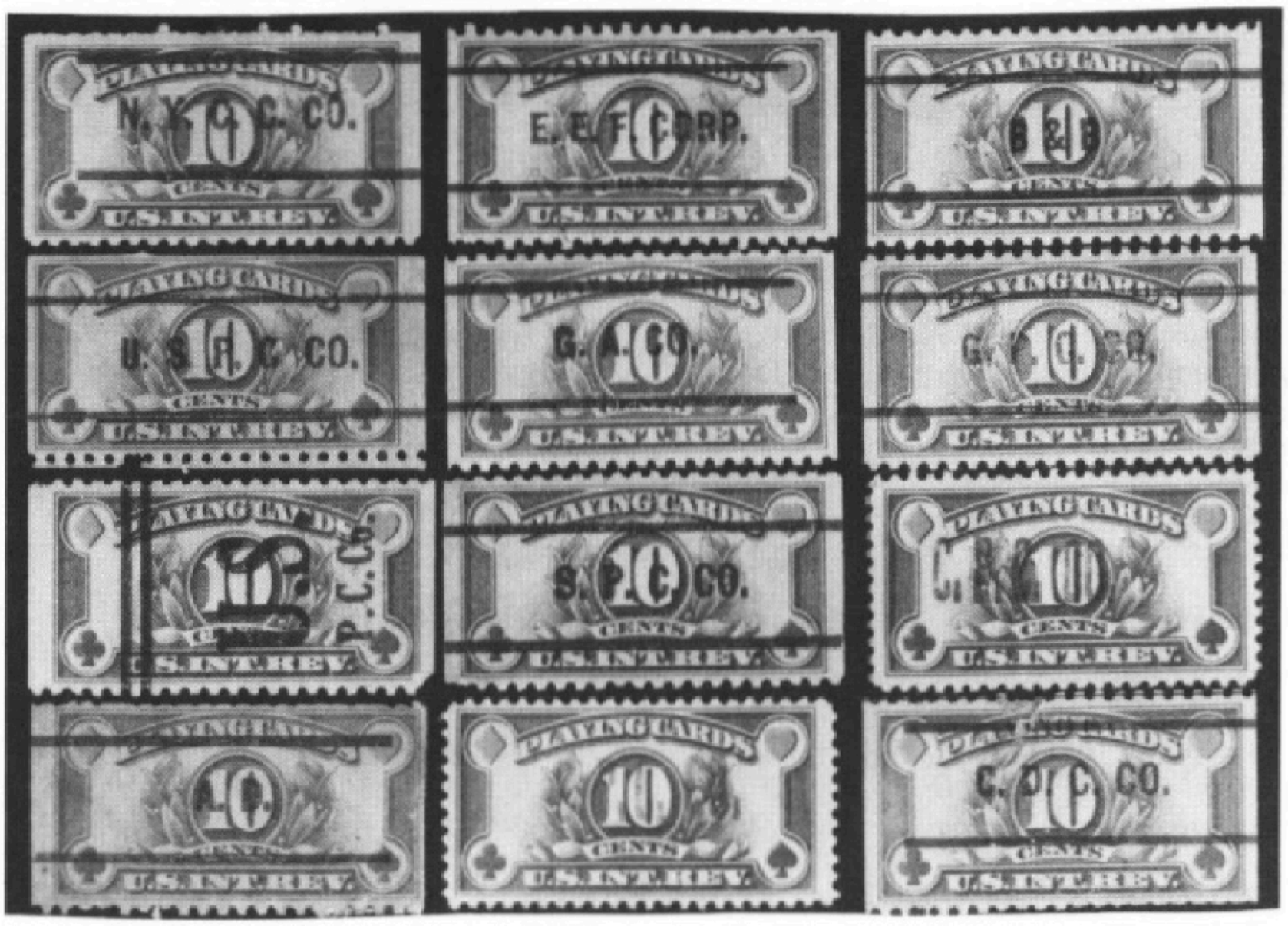
Apr. 1, 1919–July 1, 1924

UNITED STATES PLAYING CARD TAX STAMPS

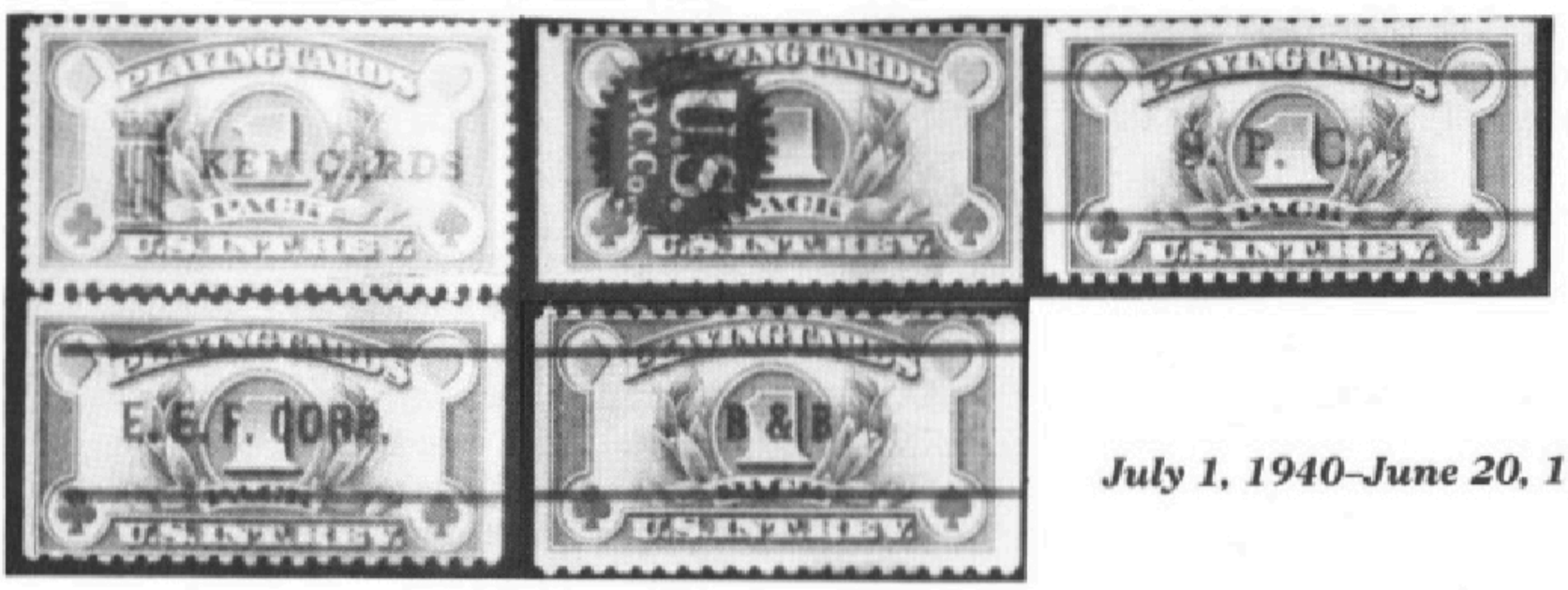
Collection of the author



July 2, 1924–1929



1929–1940



July 1, 1940–June 20, 1965

bottom. In the center was the numeral 10, surrounded by foliage, with "cents" below. The suit signs were in the corners. The stamp first appeared in light blue, and in 1930 it became deep blue.

The stamp issued in 1940 was identical to the rectangular 1924 stamp, except that the numeral in the center was 1 and the word below, "pack." Also in 1940 a stamp identical to the wide 1929 stamp was issued, again with the numeral changed to 1, accompanied by "pack." Both 1940 stamps were blue. Their values were eleven cents from July 1, 1940, to September 30, 1941, and thirteen cents from October 1, 1941, to June 20, 1965.

Taxes on playing cards in the United States were abolished effective June 21, 1965. Paper strips on boxes of playing cards found after that time were applied by the manufacturer as ornament or in keeping with the tradition of sealing the pack.

XIII

MINCHIATE CARDS AND TAROCCO SICILIANO CARDS

THE MINCHIATE PACK of Florence and the tarocco Siciliano pack resemble the seventy-eight-card tarocchi decks in that they have many of the same cards. However, they also show considerable variations, especially in a number of cards not found in the tarocchi deck.

MINCHIATE

The ninety-seven-card minchiate deck comprises forty-one trumps and fifty-six suit cards. Eighteen of the trumps correspond to tarocchi trumps, while the rest of the trumps are different from those of the tarocchi pack. Minchiate decks were originally made in Florence as a regional variation of the tarocchi deck.

The cards added to the minchiate deck are the twelve signs of the zodiac, four element cards, the three theological virtues of Faith, Hope and Charity, and one cardinal virtue, Prudence. Instead of The Popess, The Empress, The Emperor and The Pope, there are three imperial cards known as The Grand Duke, The Western Emperor and The Eastern Emperor.

Minchiate cards do not bear titles. The following list of trump cards in the minchiate pack uses generally assigned names.

The five unnumbered trump cards are called *arie*. They have bright red backgrounds and comprise The Star, The Moon, The Sun, The World and The Last Judgment, sometimes depicted as Fame.

The suits of swords and batons depict centaurs for knights, and the suits of cups and coins depict monsters—half-human and half-dragon—for knights. Additionally, while the suits of swords and batons depict the traditional male pages, the suits of cups and coins instead depict female pages.

The presence of Faith, Hope, Charity and female knights and pages in the Cary-Yale Visconti Tarocchi has led some researchers to conclude that the sixty-seven-card Cary-Yale deck is either an incomplete minchiate deck or an intermediate pack with its development somewhere between tarocchi and minchiate.

I	The Juggler or Mountebank
II	The Grand Duke
III	The Western Emperor
IIII	The Eastern Emperor
V	The Lovers
VI	Temperance
VII	Force or Fortitude
VIII	Justice
VIIII	The Wheel of Fortune
X	The Chariot
XI	Time or The Hermit
XII	The Traitor or Hanged Man
XIII	Death
XIIII	The Devil
XV	The Tower
XVI	Hope
XVII	Prudence
XVIII	Faith
XVIIII	Charity
XX	Fire
XXI	Water
XXII	Earth
XXIII	Air
XXIIII	Libra, The Balance or The Scales
XXV	Virgo, The Virgin
XXVI	Scorpio, The Scorpion
XXVII	Aries, The Ram
XXVIII	Capricornus, The Goat
XXVIIII	Sagittarius, The Archer
XXX	Cancer, The Crab
XXXI	Pisces, The Fishes
XXXII	Aquarius, The Water Carrier
XXXIII	Leo, The Lion
XXXIIII	Taurus, The Bull
XXXV	Gemini, The Twins
	The Star
	The Moon
	The Sun
	The World
	The Last Judgment or Fame
	The Fool

Ancient History Minchiate Dating from sometime between 1721 and 1731, the ninety-seven-card Ancient History Minchiate pack features biblical, classical and mythological themes. Italian text with occasional Latin phrases appears on each card beneath a woodblock print. The first forty trump cards are Roman numbered inside a ribbon at the top of each card. Cards numbered XXXIII through XXXX are printed in ocher instead of black. Card XXXII Aratro contains a tax stamp, and handwritten across the bottom is the name of the local tax collector, Anton Giuseppe Molinelli, who held the concession for playing card taxes in Tuscany from 1721 to 1731. The unnumbered trump card, which depicts the statue of *Nabucco,* contains the inscription "engraved with the assistance of C. Migelli." The four suits represent Rome (batons), Persia (cups), Greece (swords) and Assyria (coins). Each card has an extra sheet of paper wrapped from the back around the front edges to form a border decorated with dots. Back design is a crown above an escutcheon and Maltese cross.

The descriptions are taken, in part, from the text material appearing on each card. The dates given on several cards, for example, cards I and VI, are from a calendar older than the Gregorian calendar in use today, thus the dates are different than they would be by modern calculations.

Minchiate of Florence A complete ninety-seven-card minchiate of Florence pack dating from the late eighteenth century is illustrated in this chapter. The deck was made during the Austrian occupation of Tuscany, as evidenced by the tax stamp on XXVII Aries. The stamp was enacted by the Austrian administration on January 1, 1781, and the exact date of its expiration is not known. It was not used past 1801, when the kingdom of Etruria was formed. It is interesting to note the variation on some cards compared to the same cards in other minchiate packs (see Volume I). The minchiate cards are woodblock printed and crudely stenciled. A sheet of paper covers the back and wraps over the front edges to form a thin panel border. The back design shows a man carrying two swords and a large blanket. Below is an inscription, *Meschino,* probably naming the maker of the deck.

Minchiate Pack, circa 1820 A minchiate pack was made around 1820 with metal engraving plates and was stencil colored by hand. The cards have dotted borders, as if in imitation of the borders on earlier cards that were formed by the edges of the paper, on which the back design was printed, folding over the front margins of the cards. The designs are traditional minchiate, rendered with more detail and finesse than many of the other decks of the time. Unfortunately, the heavy stencil obscures the designs. The tax stamp on card XXIIII Libra was enacted on March 20, 1820.

TAROCCO SICILIANO

Tarocco Siciliano decks comprise sixty-four cards with twenty-two Major Arcana and forty-two Minor Arcana. The Major Arcana cards are numbered in Arabic and untitled, except for The Jester, which is both unnumbered and untitled, and *Miseria,* which is unnumbered but bears its title in a ribbon at the top of the card.

The Major Arcana cards in the tarocco Siciliano pack do not follow the traditional tarocchi sequence and, generally, they are assigned the names shown in the following list.

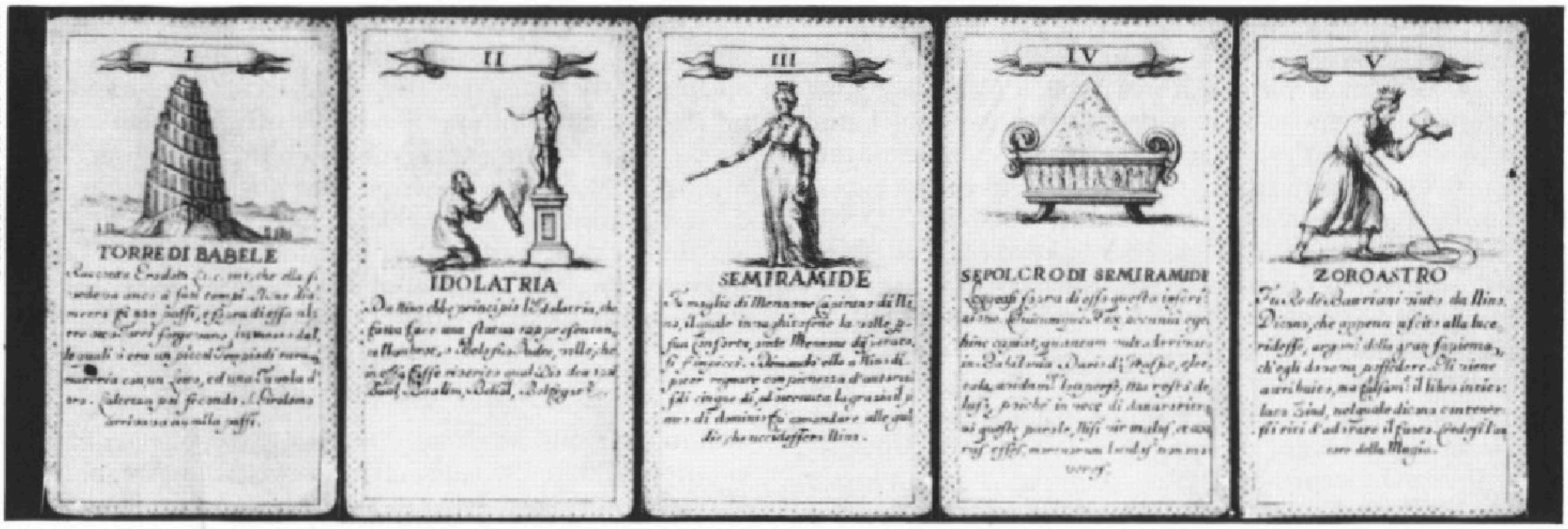
	The Fool or The Jester	11	The Hanged Man
1	The Juggler	12	The Hermit
2	The Empress	13	Death
3	The Emperor	14	The Ship
4	Constancy	15	The Tower
5	Temperance	16	The Star
6	Fortitude	17	The Moon
7	Justice	18	The Sun
8	The Lovers	19	The World
9	The Chariot	20	Judgment
10	The Wheel of Fortune		*Miseria* (The Beggar)

The court cards in the Minor Arcana are single-ended and the valets or pages are female and they hold ornate shields.

The two incomplete packs illustrated are examples of typical tarocco Siciliano decks, although they are dated nearly a century apart.

Minchiate Rule Books *Title pages from three rule books for minchiate, dating from 1742 (left), 1747 (middle) and 1790 (right).*

Collection of the author



Ancient History Minchiate ***I Torre di Babele*** *(Tower of Babel) depicts the tower described in Genesis (2:1–9) commenced by the descendants of Noah near Babylon. Herodotus, Greek historian of the fifth century B.C., recounts that it was still seen in his time, and said its diameter was four hundred paces and that it comprised eight circular towers in the midst of which was a small temple of rare stonework with a bed and table of gold. The height, according to Saint Jerome, totaled four thousand paces.*

II Idolatria *(Idolatry) depicts an old man on his knees, burning incense as an offering to the statue of a deity. According to the card, the beginning of idolatry derives from King Ninus, legendary eponymous founder of Nineveh, capital of Assyria and great metropolis of the ancient world. Ninus caused a statue to be built representing Nembrot [sic], or Belofus (Belo), his father, and he desired that in the statue, a god should be revered and thereafter called Baal (lord or deity), Baalim (plural of Baal), Belial (which came to mean ungodliness, worthlessness or personification of the devil) and Belfegor (Beelpeor, a Moabite deity from the Old Testament).*

III Semiramide *(Semiramis) was the daughter of the fish goddess Ataryatis or Derketo of Ascalon in Syria. Abandoned at birth, she was protected by doves until found by a shepherd. She possessed unsurpassed beauty and intelligence and married Onnes (Mennone), a general under King Ninus of Assyria. When the Assyrians sought in vain to capture Bactria, Semiramis planned an attack upon the town's citadel and, accompanied by a few admirers, mounted the walls and succeeded in capturing the town. King Ninus became enamored of her deeds and beauty and, wanting Semiramis for his consort, he made her queen. Onnes fell into despair and hanged himself. Semiramis persuaded Ninus to let her reign with full authority for only five days and, having been granted her wish, her first act of revenge was to command the guards to murder Ninus. Semiramis is said to have had many lovers whom she buried alive. She ruled for forty-two years, conquering all of Asia except India. At the end of her reign she disappeared from earth in the form of a dove, leaving her throne to her son Ninyas. Thereafter, she was worshipped as a deity, acquiring many of the characteristics of Ishtar, ancient fertility goddess and the most widely worshipped goddess in the Babylonian religion.*

IV Sepolcro di Semiramide *(The Sepulcher of Semiramis) depicts an ornate sepulcher. Darius I, king of ancient Persia (also known as Darius the Great and Darius Hystaspis, after his father, Hystaspes or Vishtaspa), traveled to Babylon and viewed the tomb of Semiramis. According to the card, the sepulcher is inscribed in Latin:* Qiucumque Rex pecunia eqei hinc capiat, quantum vule *(Any king who lacks money takes from here as much as he wants). Having read the inscription, Darius avariciously opened the tomb, but instead of money he found these words:* Nisi vir malus, et avarus esses, martuorum loculos non moveres *(If you were not a bad man, and greedy, you would not disturb the tombs of the dead).*

V Zoroastro *(Zoroaster) depicts the religious teacher and prophet of ancient Persia who is generally believed to have lived circa 628 B.C. to 551 B.C. The card calls him a king of Bactria. He founded Zoroastrianism in which the forces of light, fertility and goodness are in continuous conflict with the forces of darkness, drought and evil. The emphasis on dualism and the principle that good eventually triumphs over evil influenced Christianity. Ahuro Mazdoco (Ahura Mazda), the spirit of good, opposes Angro Mainyus (Anra Mainyu, also known as Ahriman), the spirit of evil. According to the text on the card, the book* Zind, *containing rites for fire worship, was falsely attributed to Zoroaster. Zoroaster is believed to be the author or creator of* Magia *(Zorastrianism, or Magism).*

Collection of the author

Ancient History Minchiate ***VI Amazzoni*** *(Amazons) depicts two female warriors, one of whom has cut off her breast, as was customary, in order to use the bow more effectively. The Amazons lived in a matriarchal society. Male children were killed at birth or given back to the fathers or to neighboring tribes. These strong-willed and strong-bodied females were celebrated warriors who often used cavalry in battle. According to the text on the card, the monarchs of Assyria, beginning with Ninus and continuing to Sardanapalus, the last king of Assyria, resembled men changed into women, while to the contrary, in Libya (northern Africa) and in European Scizia (part of Yugoslavia) the women performed as men. The celebrated Amazons of Libya disappeared around the year 2319 and those of Scizia in 3726 at the time of Alexander the Great.*

VII Balena *(Whale) is the big fish or whale cited in the Book of Jonah (2:1-11) that was sent by God to save Jonah. Although God commanded Jonah to preach at Nineveh, capital of Assyria, the prophet refused and instead boarded a ship bound for Tartessus. A great storm arose and the superstitious sailors threw Jonah overboard. The whale swallowed him and, after three days, the whale spat Jonah upon the shore. Jonah proceeded to Nineveh where he was lovingly received by King Belochus who, along with the nobles and populace of Nineveh, performed the penance preached to them. Jonah's mission proved so successful, and God was so moved by the people's repentance, that he revoked the doom Jonah had foretold, despite Jonah's displeasure that his prophecy was not fulfilled.*

VIII Geroglifici *(Hieroglyphics) depicts an Egyptian obelisk covered with hieroglyphics. The card says that around the time of King Ninus, Mercurio I (Mercury) invented hieroglyphic letters that enabled the Egyptians to depict the gods in monstrous animal forms. These hieroglyphics are to be seen especially on the pyramids, beneath which are buried the Egyptian kings.*

X Babbilonia *(Babylon) depicts one of the great metropolises of the ancient world. Babylon was the capital of the Assyrian monarchy and the miracle city of the world. Enclosed by walls in the form of a square, each side was nineteen square Italian miles [sic] long. The height was two hundred feet, width fifty, with three hundred towers and one hundred doors of bronze. Nineveh, also built by Ninus, was a marvelous city along the Tigris River, and the Assyrian kings resided alternately at both cities.*

XIII Tomiri *(Tomyris) depicts a crowned queen placing a disembodied head in a large urn. In the year 529 B.C., King Cyrus of Persia invaded Scythia (Sciti) and engaged in battle Queen Tomyris of the Massagetae whose son was killed in the fighting. In revenge, when King Cyrus died during battle, Tomyris cut off his head and threw it into a goatskin of blood, saying contemptuously, "Of blood you were thirsty, of blood drink."*

Collection of the author

Ancient History Minchiate ***XV Artemisia*** *depicts the fourth-century B.C. queen of Caria, Artemisia. In a union sanctioned by the custom of the time, she married her brother, Mausolus, to whom she was greatly attached. Upon her brother's death in 352 B.C., she was plunged into deepest affliction. She offered a reward for the best elegiac panegyric on her brother-husband, and the prize was won by Theopompus. Artemisia erected the famous mausoleum to her brother-husband (from whose name the word mausoleum is derived). The monument was constructed of the choicest marble and was ornamented with masterpieces of classic sculpture, some of which is owned by the British Museum. It held its place among the seven wonders of the ancient world, but the building crumbled in an earthquake in 1375 A.D. after having stood almost 1,800 years.*

XVIII Serapi *(Serapis) depicts the sacred bull or ox of Memphis. According to the card, the Egyptian god Serapis was the god of healing. His cult blended the worship of the Apis bull and Osirus. According to the card description, he was represented by a fat ox. Artaxerxes III Ochus succeeded his father in 358 B.C. after causing the death of his two elder brothers and of about eighty relatives. He despoiled all the temples of the great kingdom and, as a last act, slit the throat of Serapis and prepared a dinner with its body. Then, even more scornfully, he exhibited an ass in its place for public veneration.*

XXIII Ulisse *(Ulysses), called Odysseus by the Greeks, depicts the cunning king of Ithaca. He married Penelope and lived happily in Ithaca with his wife and son, Telemachus. When Menelaus solicited Ulysses' services against Troy, Ulysses feigned madness, but Palamedes exposed the ruse and thus Ulysses was forced to join in the war which lasted ten years. Ulysses went wandering for yet another ten years after the Trojan War, and his return to Ithaca provided the basis for Homer's poem of the Odyssey. Homer presents in his epic poem the character of a man gifted with rare abilities and experience, shrewd, and courageous in war and suffering.*

XXXII Aratro *(The Plough) depicts a man ploughing in a field with two oxen. Romulus, founder of the city of Rome, harnessed a bull and a cow to a plow with a bronze share. He made a furrow where the walls of the city should rise and called the city Urbs ab Urvo (city from Urvo), or Urbus, which is what the ancients called the bend of the hoe. This card also has in black across the bottom the signature and monogram of the local tax collector, Anton Giuseppe Molinelli.*

XXXIX Trionfo *(Triumph) depicts an emperor crowned with a wreath of victory. He is drawn in his chariot while a winged angel overhead holds his crown. According to the text on the card, Saint Augustine would have liked to have seen Rome triumphant after Christ lived on earth and Paul had preached. So rich, showy and uproarious was the Roman feast of triumph that whoever tried to describe it was like a small tub that wished to be filled with the sea.*

Collection of the author

Ancient History Minchiate ***Statua Vedutado Nabucco*** *(Statue Seen by Nebuchadnezzar). Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon, destroyed Jerusalem in 587* B.C. *and carried the Jews into Babylonian captivity. The statue seen by Nebuchadnezzar in his dream was a crowned figure on a pedestal. The statue represented the principal monarchies of the world and was a symbol of the declining character of both the world's and a person's qualities. When none of King Nebuchadnezzar's magicians, enchanters, sorcerers or servants could interpret the dream, Daniel was sought out and he willingly described both the dream and its meaning. The Book of Daniel (2:1–49) relates that Daniel told the king how he saw a large and exceedingly bright statue with its head of pure gold, its chest and arms silver, its belly and thighs bronze, its legs iron and its feet partly iron and partly clay. The text of the card relates the golden head to Assyria, the silver bust to Persia, the brass or bronze belly and thighs to Greece, and the iron legs with feet half of clay to Rome. Thus, while Nebuchadnezzar's kingdom was the head of gold, another kingdom of silver would eventually take its place, inferior in rule, then a third kingdom of bronze would rule over the earth, and finally a fourth kingdom, strong as iron, would break and subdue all others. As a reward for revealing the dream to King Nebuchadnezzar, Daniel, whose name had been changed to Belteshazzer by the king's chamberlain, was advanced to a high post in the king's court and his three colleagues, Hananiah, Mishael and Azariah (renamed Shadrock, Meshack and Abednego respectively) were appointed administrators of the province of Babylon.*

Carta XIV di Roma. Durasione, Ed Estensione Di Questa Monarchia *(Card number fourteen of Rome. Duration and Extent of the Monarchy) depicts the king of batons seated upon his throne and holding a baton, the sign of his suit. The Roman monarchy survived in Rome until Constantine the Great transferred the capital of the empire to Byzantium. The title of Roman emperor was kept solely by the emperors of the East until Charlemagne rejuvenated the Western Empire and held the title of Roman emperor. The confines of the Roman empire were—according to the card—in the west, the extreme tip of Spain, in the east, the Euphrates, Mount Taurus and Armenia, to the north, the Rhine and the Danube, and to the south, Ethiopia.*

Carta VIII di Persia *(Card number eight of Persia) depicts a large cup representing the suit of cups. The card relates that Sogdiano (Soddiano), a province in northeastern Persia, was in existence by the year 3630. In Persia, Atemonus of Clazomenae discovered oxidation machines, Callius the Athenian made peace between Persia and the cities of Greece, and Leucippus discovered atomic theory. Empedocles, the fifth-century* B.C. *philosopher, poet and historian of Agrigento, was the first to set forth certain fundamentals of physics, but Corax, of Sicily, and Tisias, both early teachers of rhetoric, published them. Afterward, Pythagoras composed his philosophy of numbers. Dionysus the younger, son of Dionysus the elder, and tyrant of Syracuse, was banished from the kingdom by Timoleon and became a schoolmaster at Corinth, from which derives the saying of Juvenal (Decimus Junius Juvenalis), the second-century* A.D. *Roman satirical poet,* Si fortuna voler, fies de consule Rheto *(If you want fortune, be the one who praises the consul).*

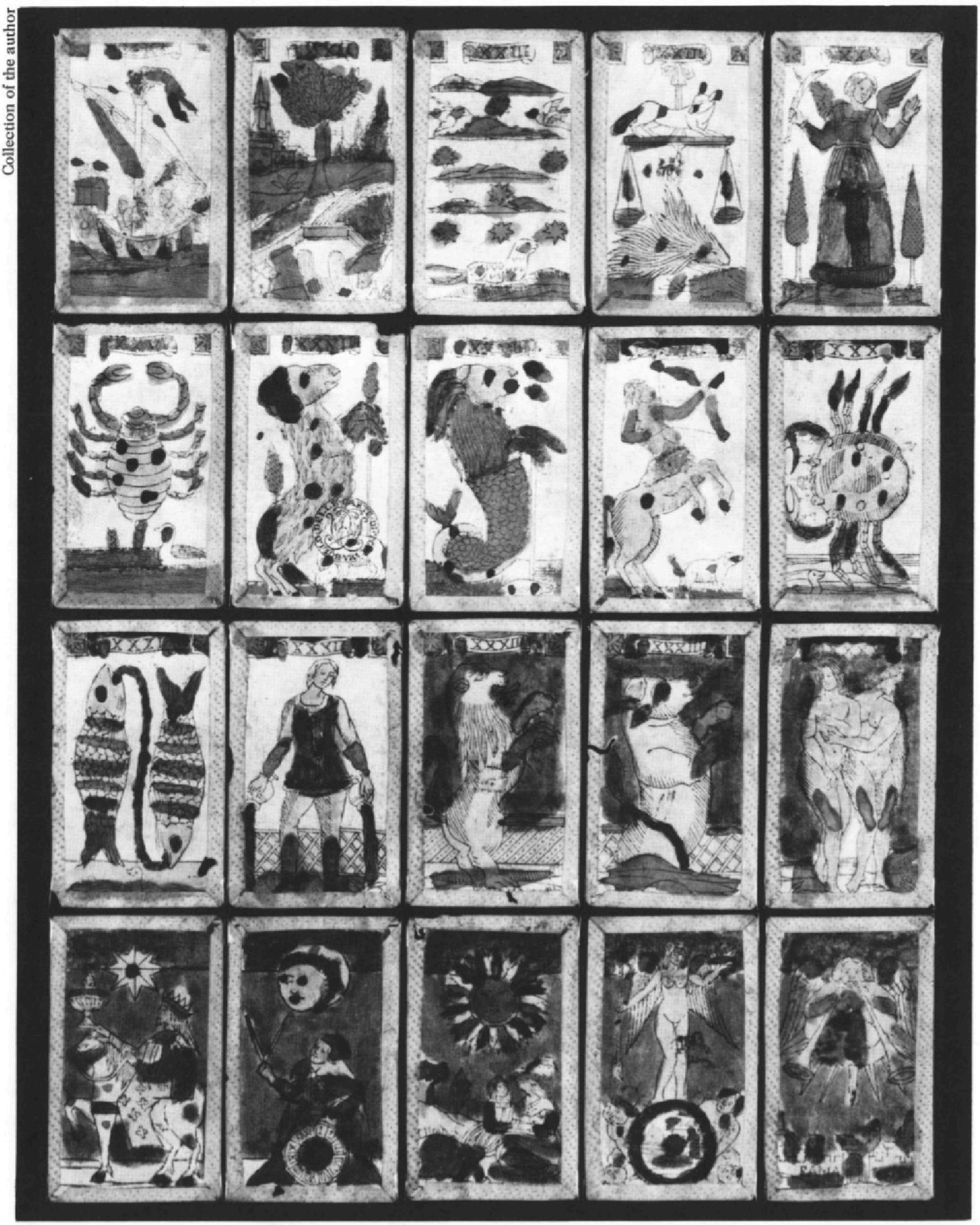
Carta III di Grecia *(Card number three of Greece) depicts a large sword representing the suit of swords. Around the seventh century* B.C., *Lycurgus, the famous legislator of Sparta, and founder of its constitution, forbade that Sparta be surrounded by walls, preferring that the valorous breasts of the citizens serve as the city's walls. Male babies born with physical defects were thrown as useless into a certain whirlpool in the river Taigetoo. The ephori of Sparta were annually elected magistrates responsible for protecting the rights and liberties of the people and were similar to the Areopagus of Athens. Some young men of Clazomenae, ancient coastal city of Ionia between Smyrna and Chios, now western Turkey, came for their pleasure to Sparta. They dirtied with soot the faithful ephori who had not given them any trouble, but had only published the notice:* Liceat Clazomeniis, indecore facere Sparti ed Ateno furono seprecinuli acerimi *(What is permitted to the Clazomenians is not proper in Sparta and Athens because they are our mortal enemies).*

Carta XII d'Assiria *(Card number twelve of Assyria) depicts a centaur holding aloft a large coin, the sign of its suit. Nebuchadnezzar the third, the Great, twice defeated the perfidious Jehoiakin, king of Judah. The second time Nebuchadnezzar skinned him alive and threw him unburied to the beasts, but after Nebuchadnezzar's death Jehoiakim's body was given honorable treatment. In 197* B.C. *Nebuchadnezzar destroyed Jerusalem and carried to Babylon the sacred vases of the temple. Thus began the infamous slavery of the Jews that lasted for ten years, as predicted by Jeremiah. To humble Nebuchadnezzar, according to the Book of Daniel (chapter 4) the king's appearance was changed by God from that of a man into that of a beast. For seven years he wandered through the woods living on the foliage while his hair grew like the feathers of an eagle and his nails like the claws of a bird.*

Collection of the author

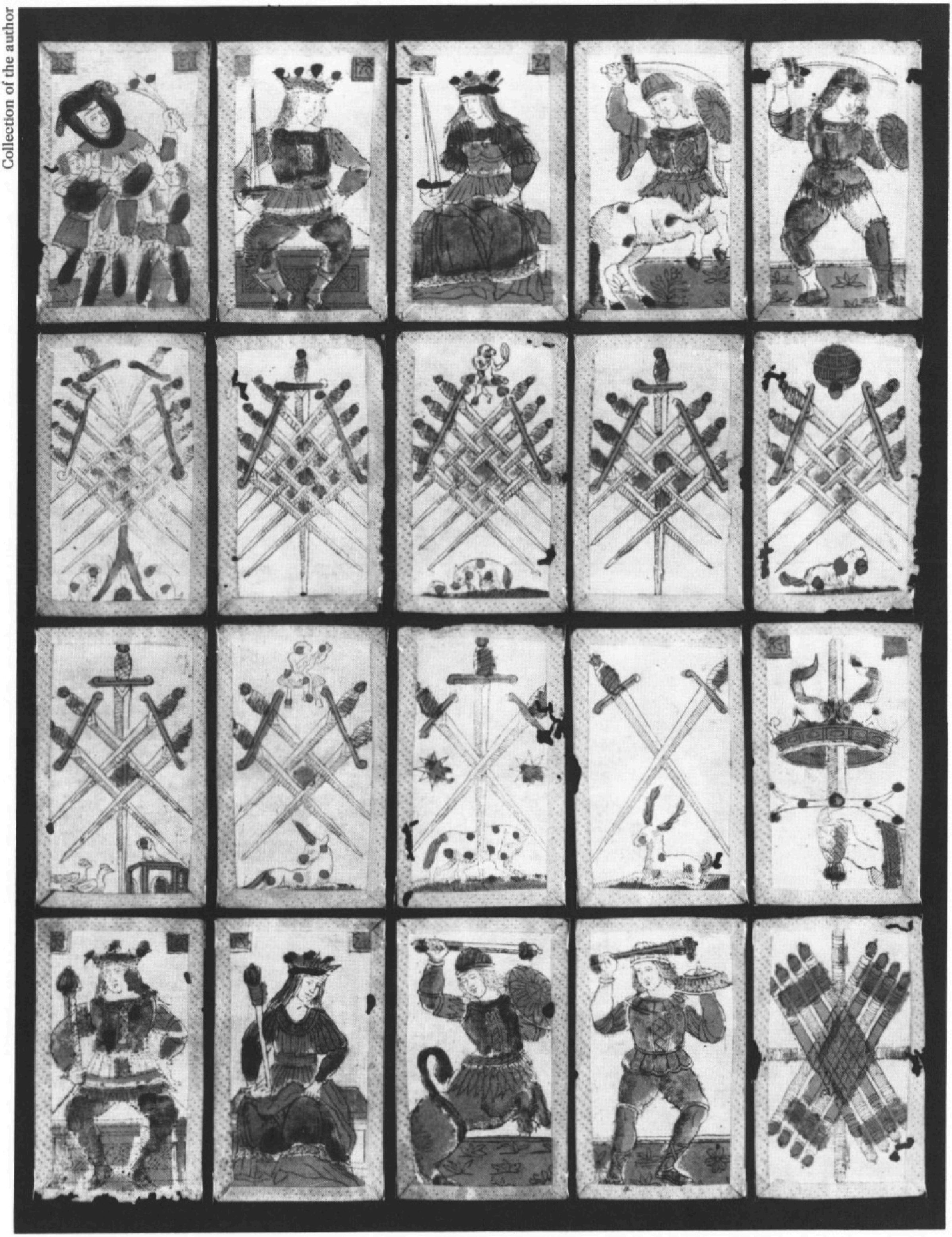
Minchiate of Florence TOP ROW: *I The Juggler or Mountebank, II The Grand Duke, III The Western Emperor, IIII The Eastern Emperor, V The Lovers.* SECOND ROW: *VI Temperance, VII Force or Fortitude with a lion at the bottom of the card, VIII Justice, VIIII The Wheel of Fortune, X The Chariot.* THIRD ROW: *XI Time, an old man with the attributes of hourglass, crutches and a stag, XII The Hanged Man, XIII Death, XIIII The Devil, XV The Tower (with a portion of the numeral obscured by the paper border).* BOTTOM ROW: *XVI Hope, XVII Prudence holding a snake which is made unclear by the crude stencil, XVIII Faith, XVIIII Charity, XX Fire.*

Collection of the author



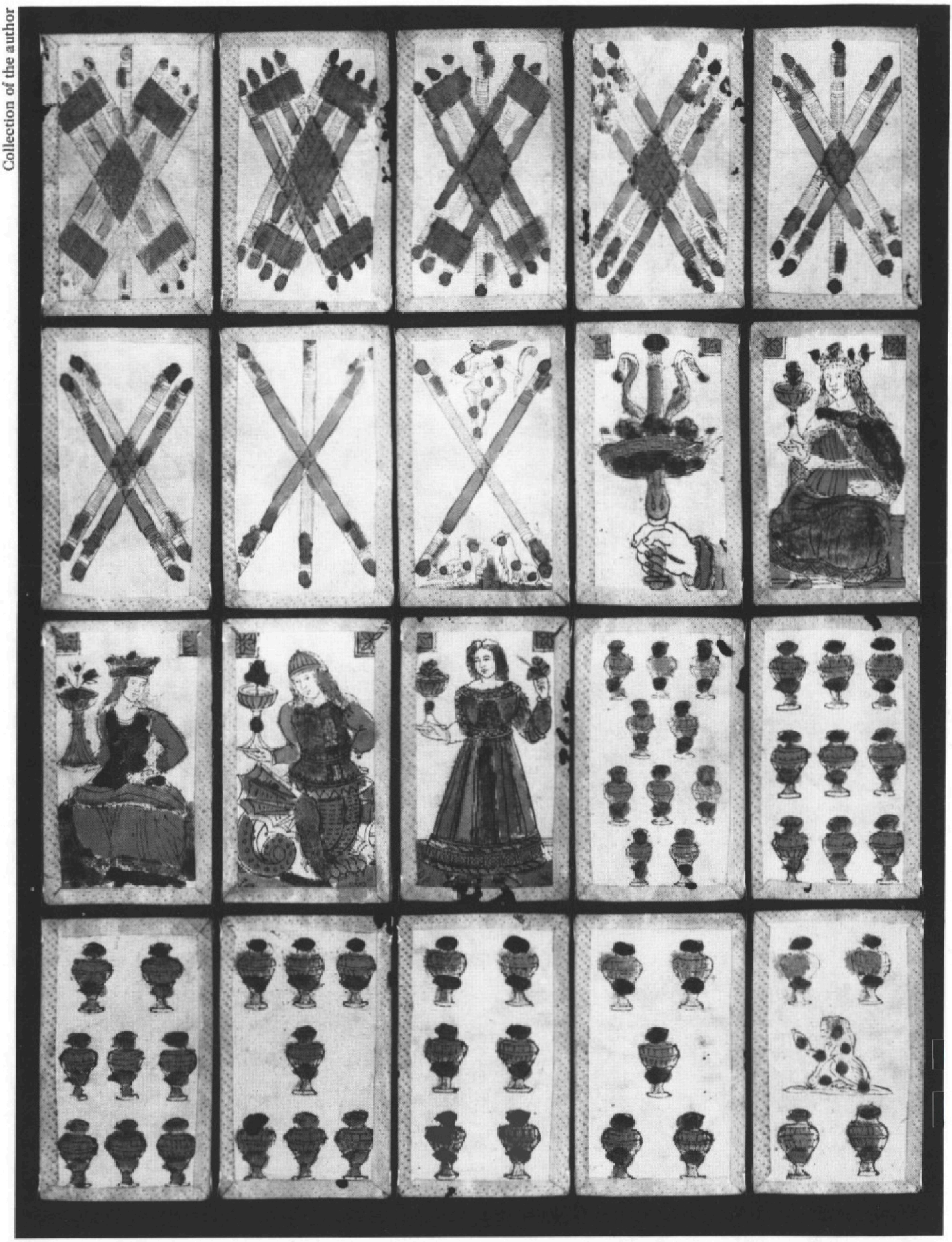
Minchiate of Florence TOP ROW: *XXI Water, XXII Earth, XXIII Air, XXIIII Libra, The Balance or The Scales, with an indecipherable monogram between the pans of the scale, XXV Virgo, The Virgin.* SECOND ROW: *XXVI Scorpio, The Scorpion, XXVII Aries, The Ram, with tax stamp, XXVIII Capricornus, The Goat, XXVIIII Sagittarius, The Archer, XXX Cancer, The Crab.* THIRD ROW: *XXXI Pisces, The Fishes, XXXII Aquarius, The Water Carrier, XXXIII Leo, The Lion, XXXIIII Taurus, The Bull, XXXV Gemini, The Twins.* BOTTOM ROW: *Five unnumbered cards: The Star, The Moon, The Sun, The World, The Last Judgment.*

Collection of the author



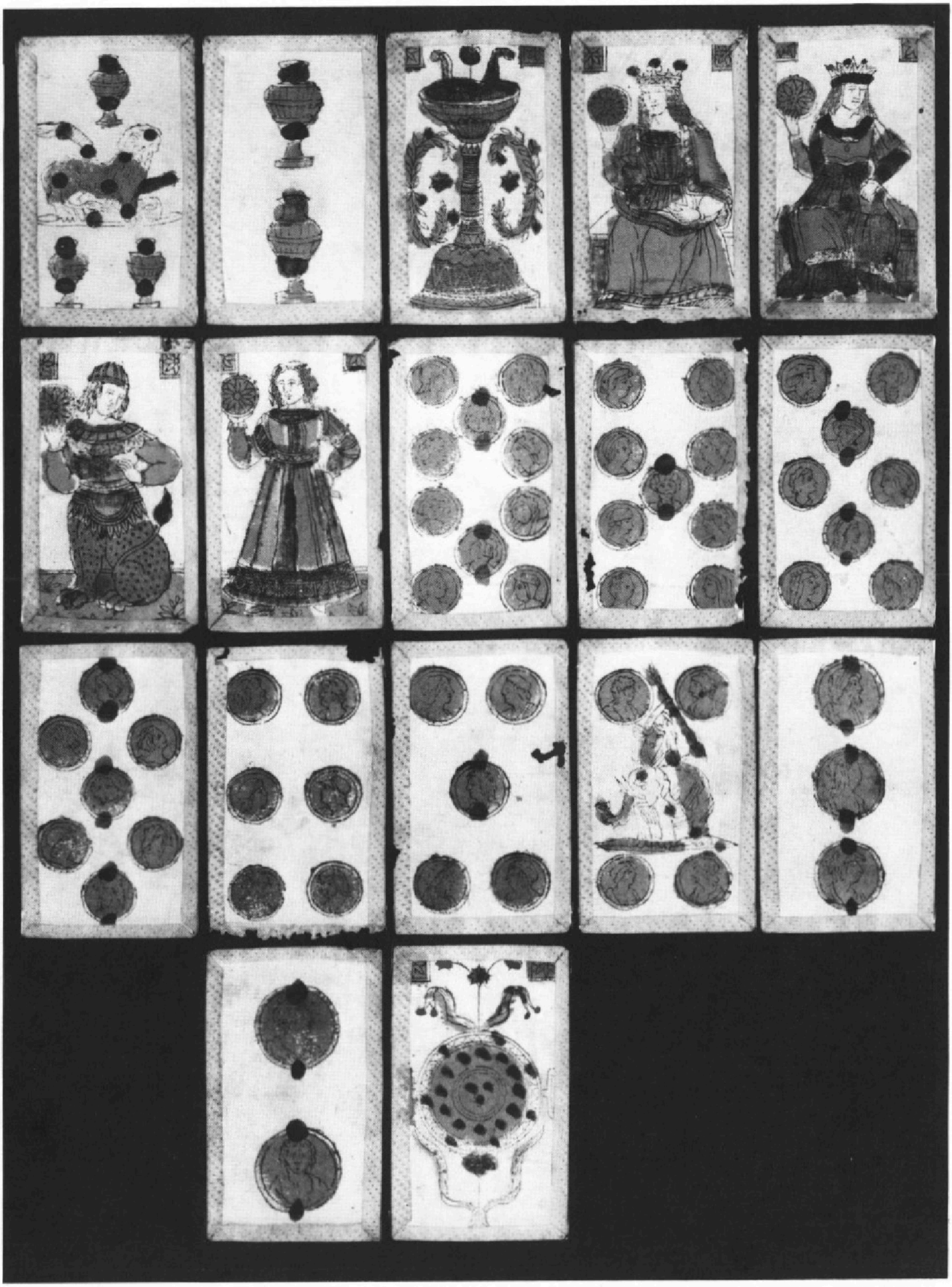
Minchiate of Florence TOP ROW: ***The Fool, king, queen, centaur (knight) and male page of swords.*** SECOND ROW: ***Ten, nine, eight, seven and six of swords.*** THIRD ROW: ***Five, four, three, two and ace of swords.*** BOTTOM ROW: ***King, queen, centaur, male page and ten of batons.***

Collection of the author



Minchiate of Florence TOP ROW: *Nine, eight, seven, six and five of batons.* SECOND ROW: *Four, three, two and ace of batons, king of cups.* THIRD ROW: *Queen, knight, female page, ten and nine of cups.* BOTTOM ROW: *Eight, seven, six, five and four of cups.*

Collection of the author

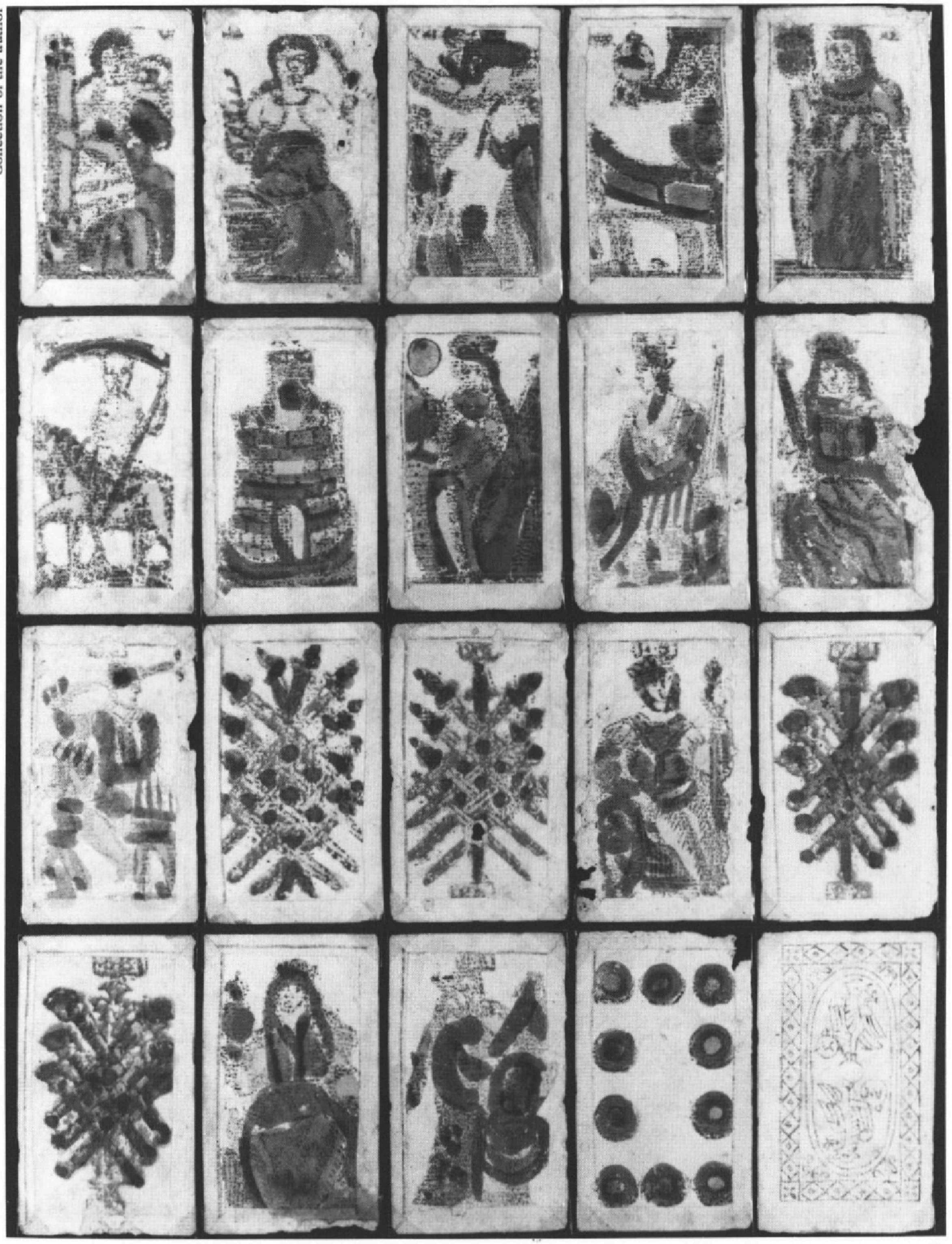


Minchiate of Florence TOP ROW: *Three, two and ace of cups, king and queen of coins.* SECOND ROW: *Knight, female page, ten, nine and eight of coins.* THIRD ROW: *Seven, six, five, four and three of coins.* BOTTOM ROW: *Two and ace of coins.*

Collection of the author

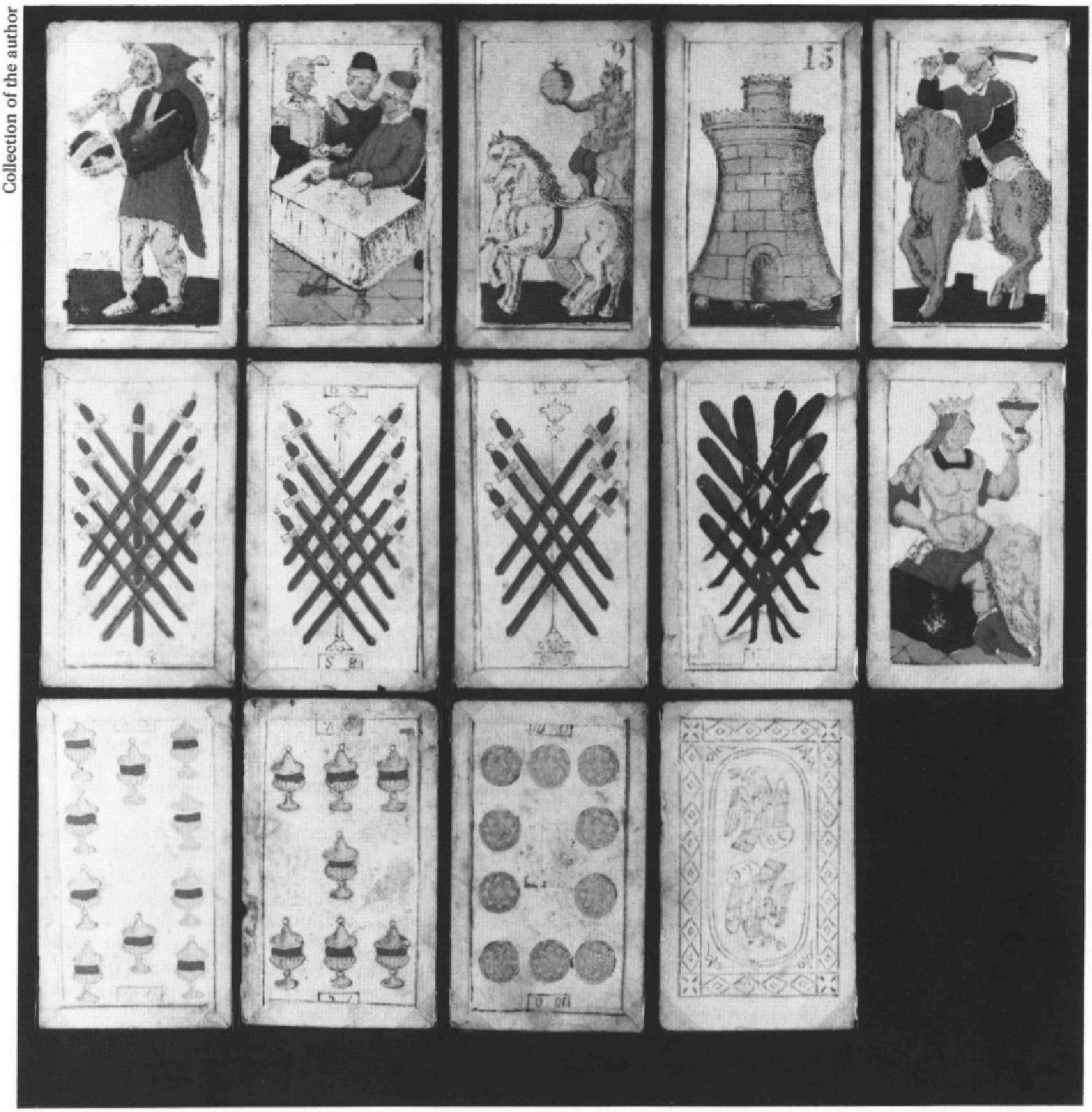
Minchiate Pack, ca 1820 TOP ROW: ***I** The Juggler or Mountebank, **II** The Grand Duke, **III** The Western Emperor, **IIII** The Eastern Emperor, **VI** Temperance, **VII** Force or Fortitude.* SECOND ROW: ***VIII** Justice, **IX** The Wheel of Fortune, **X** The Chariot, **XI** Time, **XII** The Traitor or Hanged Man, **XIII** Death.* THIRD ROW: ***XIV** The Devil, **XVII** Prudence, **XVIIII** Charity, **XX** Fire, **XXI** Water, **XXII** Earth.* FOURTH ROW: ***XXIII** Air, **XXIIII** Libra, The Balance, with tax stamp, **XXV** Virgo, The Virgin, **XXVI** Scorpio, The Scorpion, **XXVII** Aries, The Ram, **XXVIII** Capricornus, The Goat.* BOTTOM ROW: ***XXVIIII** Sagittarius, The Archer, Fame, The Fool, knight of batons—a centaur, four of cups with a monkey gazing in a mirror as a symbol of vanity, ten of coins showing portrait medallions.*

Collection of the author



Tarocco Siciliano, 1828 *The crudely hand-stenciled cards from a sixty-four-card tarocco Siciliano deck are short, conforming with the regional style, and the figures are squat. An extra sheet of paper wraps from the back around the front edges of each card. The Major Arcana are numbered but untitled. The court figures are full-length and, except for the queens, have a rectangular box at the top to identify the suit and card. The pip cards have a rectangular box at the top and bottom center designating the suit and card value.* TOP ROW: ***6*** *Fortitude (a female figure),* ***7*** *Justice,* ***8*** *The Lovers,* ***9*** *The Chariot,* ***12*** *The Hermit.* SECOND ROW: ***13*** *Death,* ***15*** *The Tower, The Empress (?), king of swords, queen of swords.* THIRD ROW: *Knight of swords, ten of swords, nine of swords, king of batons, seven of batons.* BOTTOM ROW: *Six of*

Collection of the author



Tarocco Siciliano, mid-nineteenth century *This tarocco was woodblock printed and stencil colored by hand. The Major Arcana are full-length figures and, except for The Jester, are Arabic numbered at the upper right. The pip cards have rectangular boxes at the top and bottom center that designate the suit and card value. An extra sheet of paper that wraps from the back around the front edges of each card sometimes conceals the suit and card value.* TOP ROW: *The Jester,* ***1*** *The Juggler,* ***9*** *The Chariot,* ***15*** *The Tower, knight of swords.* MIDDLE ROW: *Nine, eight and six of swords, ten of batons, king of cups.* BOTTOM ROW: *Ten of cups, seven of cups, ten of coins, double-ended back design (5 of cups) of bird with initials "G.C." within an oval and, around the edge, a diamond panel. The initials "G.C." identify the cardmaker, Gaetano Cimino, who may have been a successor in the same family as "A.C." whose initials are found on an earlier version of a tarocco Siciliano pack.*

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batons, queen of cups, page of cups, ten of coins, double-ended back design (6 of swords) of bird with initials "AC" within an oval and, around the edge, a diamond panel. The initials "AC" identify the cardmaker, A. Cimino. Interestingly, the six of swords contains printed text inside the back paper. After carefully soaking and peeling off the back paper, a fragment of printed text reveals the date 1828 and reference to the town of Trapani.

XIV

FIFTEENTH- TO SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY TAROT CARDS

ONLY A FEW PACKS OF TAROT CARDS are known to exist from the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, although many thousands were probably produced during that time. The scarcity unfortunately spans what was apparently a formative phase in the history of tarot. Therefore, each deck or partial deck that is left to us is all the more precious.

A number of tarot cards survive from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the form of fragments of uncut sheets. Several fragmented sheets of woodblock tarots, probably dating from the sixteenth century and of Italian origin, are found at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, the Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest, and the Cary Collection of Playing Cards at Yale University in New Haven, Connecticut. Many uncut sheets exist today due to the thriftiness of bookmakers. Sheets of cards that were not cut apart for decks were often layered together to make pasteboards for books, then covered in leather and bound with the pages.

The layout of cards on the uncut sheets differs considerably from the sequence popular today in Tarot of Marseilles decks. In fact, the numbering on some cards of the uncut sheets indicates that the designs for the cards were carved on the woodblocks without regard to eventual sequence. Considerations of stencil coloring probably came into play, since cards requiring the same colors were placed on the same woodblock so that one stencil sheet could be used for each color.

A treasury in old playing cards was found at the beginning of the twentieth century when the cisterns and wells of the Sforza Castle were cleaned. Playing cards and fragments of playing cards were brought up among bits of antique pottery. Although the cards are torn and soiled, and none comprise even near a full deck, some of them are important examples of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century tarot cards.

The Sola-Busca cards, dating from the late fifteenth century, survive as photographs of one complete deck (the location of the original deck is presently unknown) and as incomplete parts of decks. The designs were made as metal engravings in the late fifteenth century. A deck such as the one made by an anonymous Parisian is a jewel in its uniqueness. On the other hand, Jacques Vieville's tarot fascinates because of its resemblance to the Belgian tarots, and Jean Noblet's deck is one of the earliest examples of a Tarot of Marseilles pack.

Most of the extant woodblock packs from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries originated in France and Italy. Thirty-eight cards remain from a pack by Catelin Geofroy dated 1557. The Jacques Vieville pack probably dates from between 1643 and 1664, and the pack by Jean Noblet was likely made in the middle of the seventeenth century. The François Chosson pack dates from 1672, and the Parisian Tarot by an unknown cardmaker is also of the seventeenth century. Ten extant sixteenth-century tarocchi cards were made in Italy and are now housed at the Museo delle Arti e delle Tradizioni Popolari, in Rome.

It was probably during the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century that the Tarot of Marseilles first emerged as a type of deck. On the evidence of extant decks, it is impossible to determine whether France or Italy innovated the designs for what was to become, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the most well-known type of tarot deck. The name Tarot of Marseilles reflects the fact that Marseilles was a major city for cardmakers, and many Tarot of Marseilles decks were produced there. The relatively large quantity of extant Tarot of Marseilles decks produced in France in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the fact that many Italian-made Tarot of Marseilles decks carried French titles, weighs in France's favor. Some scholars believe that the Tarot of Marseilles was brought from Italy to France by French troops that occupied Milan for various periods between 1494 and 1525. Of course, before that time there already existed a cultural exchange between Italy and France. The ace of swords in the Tarot of Marseilles may have been modeled on the early Italian Cary-Yale Visconti Tarocchi deck, whose ace of swords shows a hand emerging from a ruffled sleeve to grasp the hilt of an upright sword. Additionally, the sword of the Tarot of Marseilles pierces a crown draped with palm frond and laurel branch, and the crown with foliage is a heraldic device of the Visconti and the Sforza of Milan.

It is known that being hung by the foot was punishment for a traitor in Italy and, more rarely, in other parts of Europe. The fact that the Hanged Man is suspended in such a manner is another point of evidence for Italian origin of the tarot deck. French and Swiss cardmakers commonly made The Hanged Man card with the figure standing on

one foot, possibly because they were unfamiliar with a custom that was more known in Italy, and thus misinterpreted the original image.

Switzerland also claims that it could be credited with the invention of the Tarot of Marseilles. However, when studying Swiss tarots one needs to bear in mind that many Swiss cardmakers emigrated from France.

The existence of the cards found at the Sforza Castle, early samples of Italian-made Tarot of Marseilles, suggests that the style of the Tarot of Marseilles decks originated in Italy and was brought to France during the occupation of Milan by the French. However, one cannot entirely preclude the possibility that French travelers or troops brought the Tarot of Marseilles designs to Milan, only to have the cards eventually carried back to France by returning French troops. Hopefully more discoveries of old playing cards will add clues to the early history of tarot.

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York possesses three uncut, fragmented sheets of late-fifteenth-century or sixteenth-century Italian tarocchi cards. The sheets as identified by the Metropolitan Museum of Art catalog numbers comprise:

1. Nine complete cards and six fragments of cards, catalog number 26.101.4
2. Eight complete cards and seven fragments of cards, catalog number 31.54.159
3. Eight complete cards and ten fragments of cards, catalog number 26.101.5.

Two of the uncut sheets (26.101.4 and 31.54.159) were pulled from the same woodblock and appear as a composite in Volume I of *The Encyclopedia of Tarot*. The illustration in Volume I shows sheet 31.54.159 laid over the other sheet, so that only the top row of 26.101.4 is exposed. Not shown on sheet 26.101.4 are two more rows, each containing three complete cards and one fragmented card, and another row with fragments of three cards. Thus sheet 26.101.4 actually has four rows in all. Its bottom three rows partially duplicate sheet 31.54.159, which was seen in its entirety in Volume I. The composite illustration of the two sheets shows a larger overall picture of the cards from the single woodblock. Most of the Major Arcana are Roman numbered and all are untitled. One of the cards, The Tower, is upside down in relation to the other cards. Sheets 26.101.4 and 26.101.5 are reproduced in their entirety in the following pages.

Melbert B. Cary, Jr., writing about the process of hand-stencil-coloring (December 1939, *The Print Collectors Quarterly*), called attention to the fact that the three sheets owned by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, are duplicates of sheets then owned by the National Museum of Hungary (Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum) in Budapest. The duplicates had been auctioned by the Hungarian museum and acquired by the Metropolitan Museum in 1922. Since publication of Cary's article, the sheets from the National Museum of Hungary have been transferred to the Museum of Fine Arts (Szépmüvészeti Múzeum), Budapest. The description of the sheets at the time of the auction cited fifteenth-century Venice as their provenance.

The existence of more than one print from the same woodblock facilitates identification of fragmented cards otherwise unidentifiable. Thus, some fragments of cards at the Metropolitan Museum can be identified by comparison to cards from the same woodblock printed sheets at the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest.

BUDAPEST MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

The Museum of Fine Arts (Szépmüveszeti Múzeum), Budapest, possesses twenty fragments of uncut sheets of Italian playing cards, possibly dating from the fifteenth century, but more likely from the sixteenth century. The sheets were formerly held by the National Museum of Hungary (Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum). The twenty sheets can be divided into eight distinct groups, each group comprised of different prints from the same woodblock. Two groups, each with two prints, contain Major Arcana cards and are therefore unquestionably part of tarocchi packs. The sheets of these two groups were apparently from the same woodblock as the three New York Metropolitan Museum sheets. The remaining five groups contain court and pip cards, or only pip cards, and it is not certain that they are from tarocchi packs. Nevertheless, the twenty uncut sheets are important examples of early playing cards.

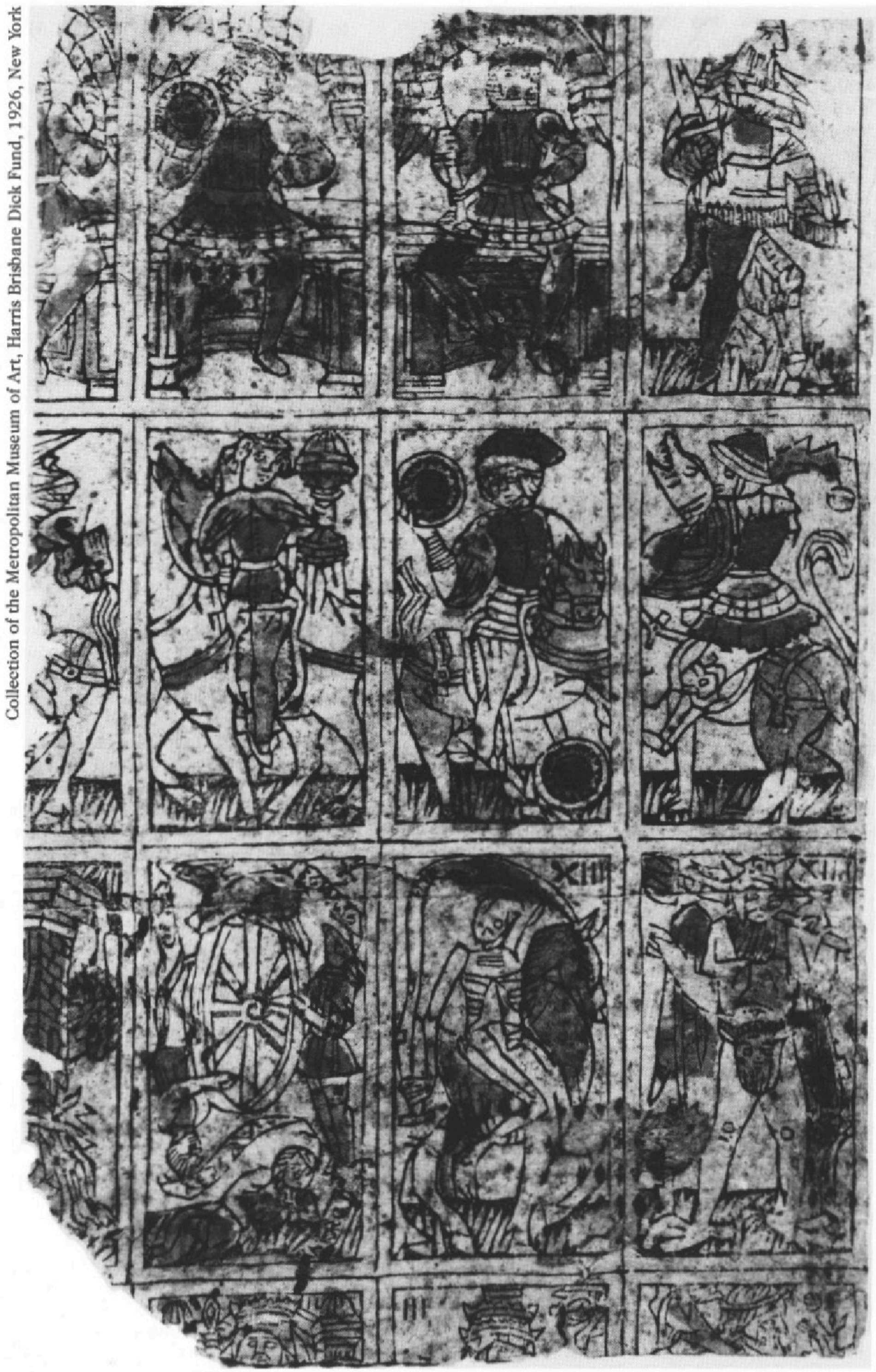
The eight groups are as follows.

1. Major Arcana and court cards with Magician in top row and XVI The Star in the bottom row; two sheets (duplicated at New York Metropolitan Museum of Art)
2. Major Arcana and court cards with kings in top row; two sheets (duplicated at New York Metropolitan Museum of Art)
3. Pip cards of swords and batons, court cards including pages and kings; four sheets
4. Pip cards, mostly cups and coins; six sheets
5. Pip cards of batons, four aces and court cards; two sheets
6. Pip cards of batons and swords, including aces with a leopard and a lion; two sheets
7. Pip cards of tens in four suits; one sheet
8. Four aces, eight through two of cups, court cards; one sheet

It is possible to identify fragments on sheets by comparing them to more complete cards from the same woodblock.

The page of cups in group 2 of the Budapest sheets (duplicated also at the New York Metropolitan Museum) is seen drinking from a cup while carrying a flute in his other hand. Another sheet at Budapest, in group 3, is from a different woodcut but shows the page of cups in the same pose. The image recalls the skys, or joker, of several tarock packs, which feature a clown holding a sausage and a glass.

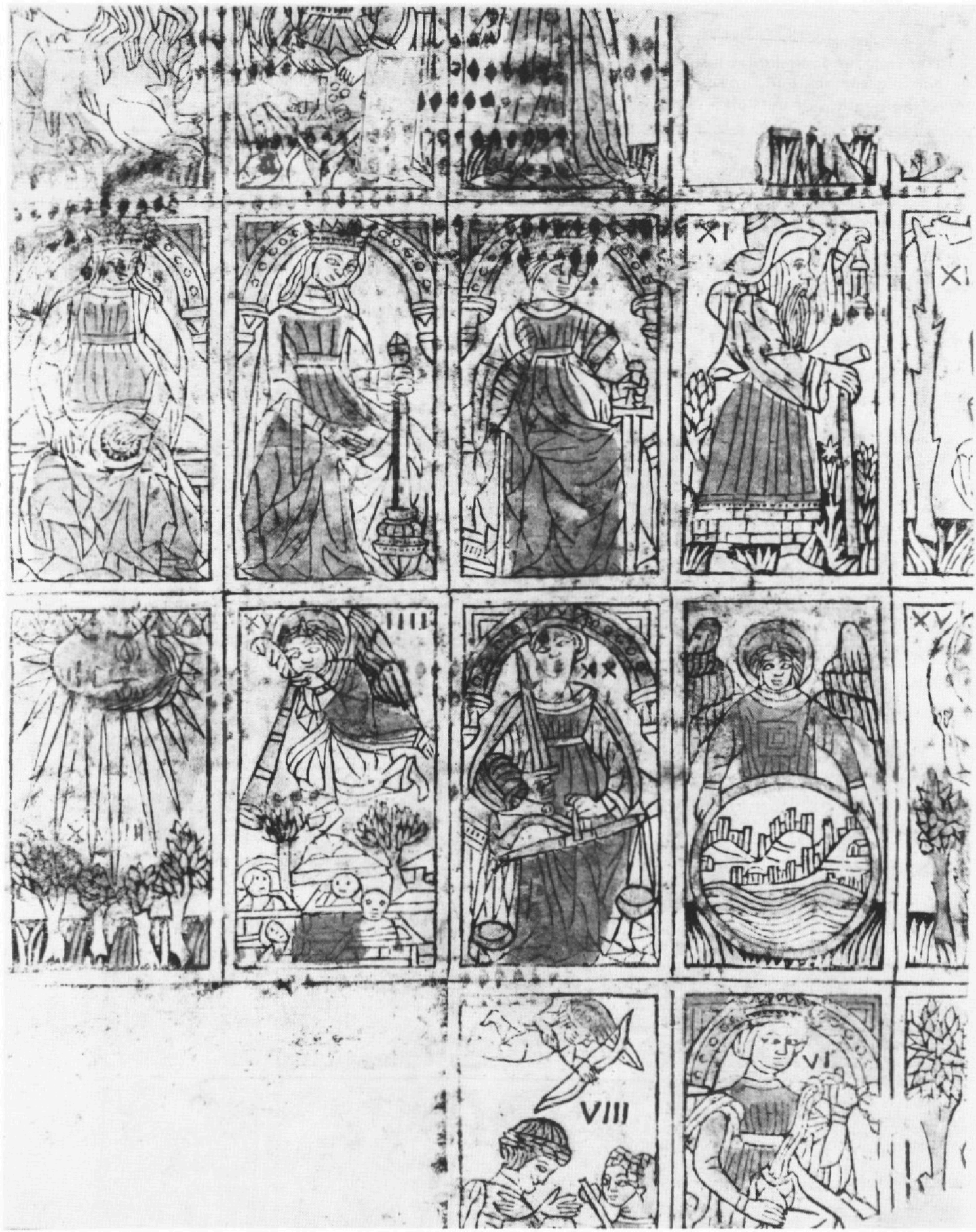
The Cary Collection of Playing Cards at Yale University holds a stencil sheet that was apparently used to color decks printed by the same woodblock used for group 6 of the Budapest Museum cards. The sheet exhibits numerous cut-out holes which follow the design so that when the stencil sheet was placed over the woodblock print and color brushed through the holes, the corresponding parts of the design below were all colored simultaneously. Since the original woodblock print in group 6 is colored, it is possible to verify that this stencil sheet or one like it was used in the coloring process. The excisions on the stencil sheet correspond exactly with some of the colored areas on the card sheet, but other colored areas are not cut out on the stencil. Thus, one can assume that more than one stencil was used to apply the colors on the cards. Practical necessity required the use of more than one stencil because large areas were to be colored. There was a need for reasonable surrounding areas of support for the excised areas, and the paper mask used as the stencil was fragile. The card sheet in group 6 has two colors. The darker impressions are red while the lighter areas are greenish-brown. The latter color is used for the staves and for the blades of the swords that



Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1926, New York

Italian Tarocchi Cards *Nine complete and six fragmentary cards (Metropolitan Museum catalog number 26.101.4) from the fifteenth or sixteenth century. The top row of the sheet appears in a composite photograph in Volume I of* The Encyclopedia of Tarot. TOP ROW: *Vertical fragment of the king of cups, king of coins, king of staves, the standing figure of the page (?) of swords.* SECOND ROW: *Fragment of the knight of swords, knights of cups, coins and staves.* THIRD ROW: *Fragment of XV The Tower, upside down, X The Wheel of Fortune, XIII Death and XIIII The Devil.* BOTTOM ROW: *Upper portion of The Empress, III The Popess with the hook of a crosier, and The Fool (?).*

Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1926, New York



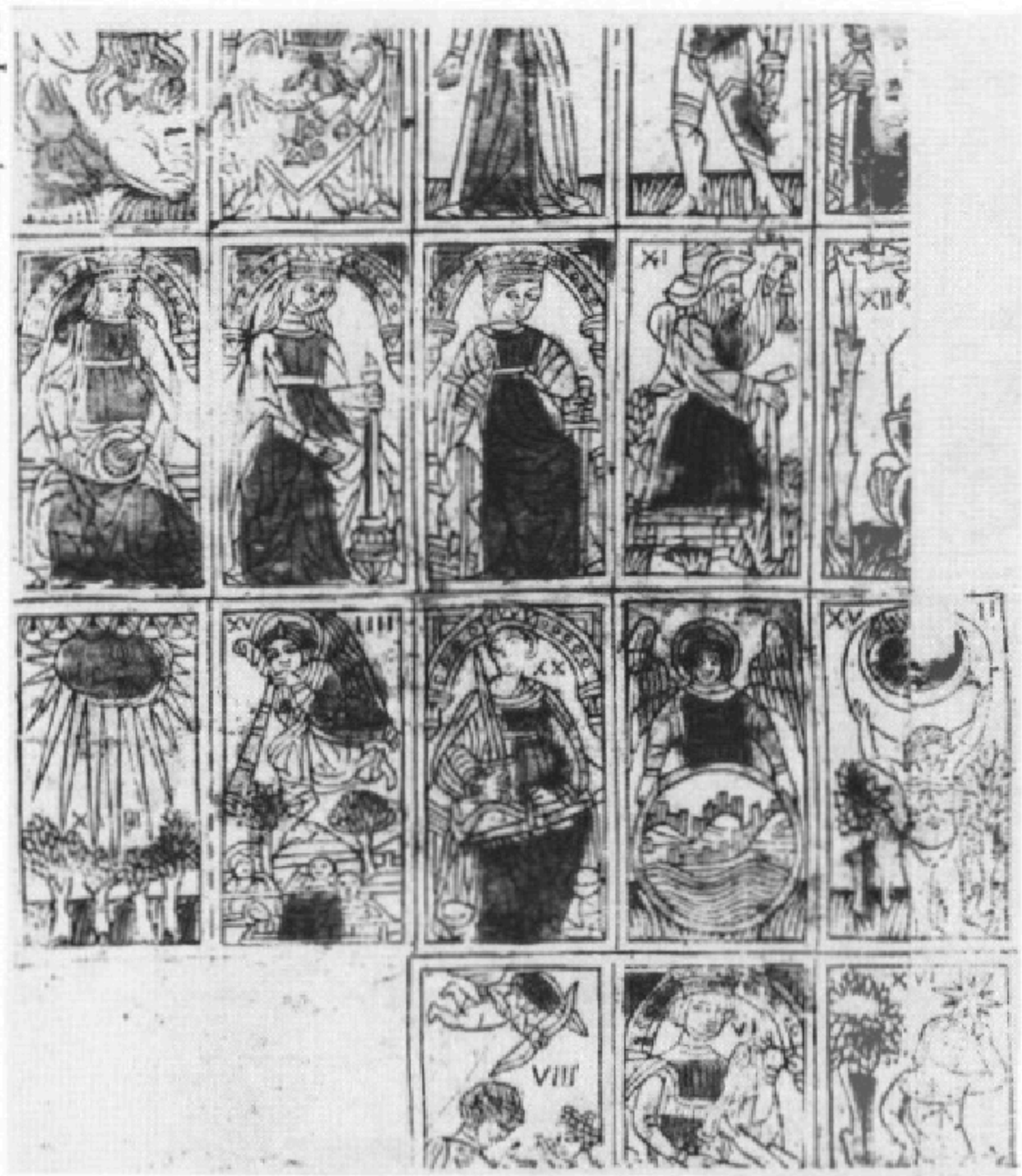
Italian Tarocchi Cards *A sheet (Metropolitan Museum catalog number 26.101.5) of fragmented tarocchi cards from the fifteenth or sixteenth century. The uncut sheet comprises a total of eighteen cards; eight cards are complete and ten cards are fragments.* TOP ROW: *The bottom half of the card Strength showing a lion's front paws and heavy mane; The Magician standing behind a table with dice and other gambling tools; a gowned figure of the female page of coins; a small portion of the male page of staves. The bare fragment of the last card on the right is all that remains of the queen of cups.* SECOND ROW: *Queens of coins, staves and swords, followed by XI The Hermit and XII The Hanged Man.* THIRD ROW: *XVIII The Sun, XVIIII Angel or Judgment, XX Justice, The World, and XVII The Moon.* BOTTOM ROW: *VIII The Lovers, VI Temperance and a fragment of XVI The Star. The Roman numerals on some cards are divided; thus on card XVIIII The Angel, XV appears to the left and IIII to the right of the winged figure.*

slope to the right, and also for the heads and tips of all the staves and the ribbons and crowns that appear at the centers of the bundles. On the stencil illustrated, only some of the batons and swords are cut out, and it is apparent that at least two stencil sheets were used to apply the greenish-brown color.

Italian Tarocchi Cards *(Group 1) Uncut sheet of tarocchi cards without titles, circa late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, presently located at the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest.* TOP ROW: *Fragment of VIIII Strength, I The Magician, female page of coins, male page of staves, queen of cups. The top row of cards was cut horizontally but the pieces are positioned back together.* SECOND ROW: *Queens of coins, staves and swords, XI The Hermit, XII The Hanged Man.* THIRD ROW: *XVIII The Sun, XVIIII Judgment, XX Justice, The World, XVII The Moon.* BOTTOM ROW: *VIII The Lovers, VI Temperance, XVI The Star.*

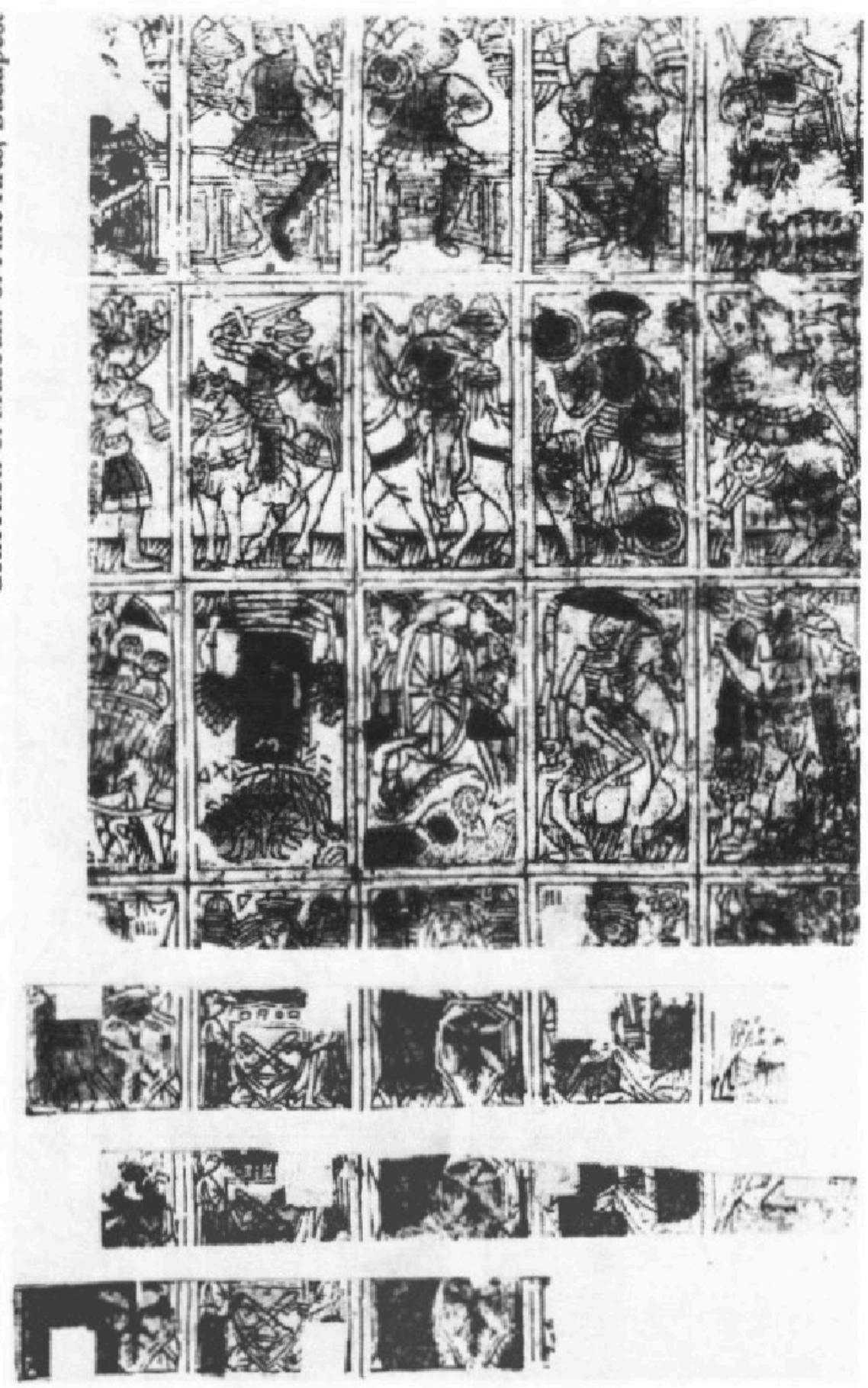
ITALIAN CARDS, BUDAPEST MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Collection of Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest



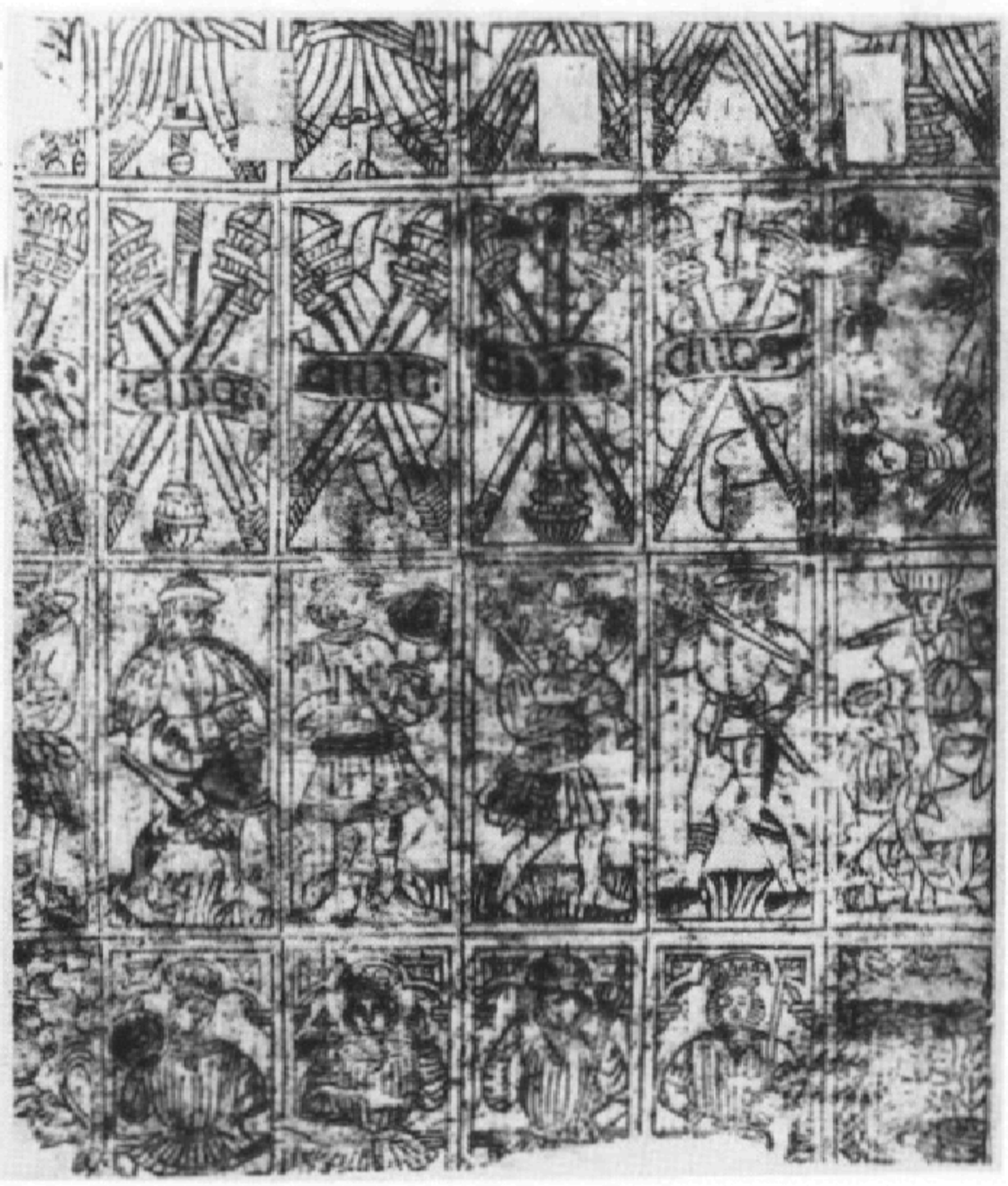
Italian Tarocchi Cards *(Group 1) Uncut sheet without titles.* TOP ROW: *Fragments of the lower half of Strength, The Magician, female page of coins, male page of staves, queen of cups.* SECOND ROW: *Queens of coins, staves and swords, XI The Hermit, XII The Hanged Man.* THIRD ROW: *XVIII The Sun, XVIIII Judgment, XX Justice, The World, XVII The Moon.* BOTTOM ROW: *VIII The Lovers, VI Temperance, XVI The Star. The vertical row on the right was cut but the pieces are positioned back together.*

Collection of Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest



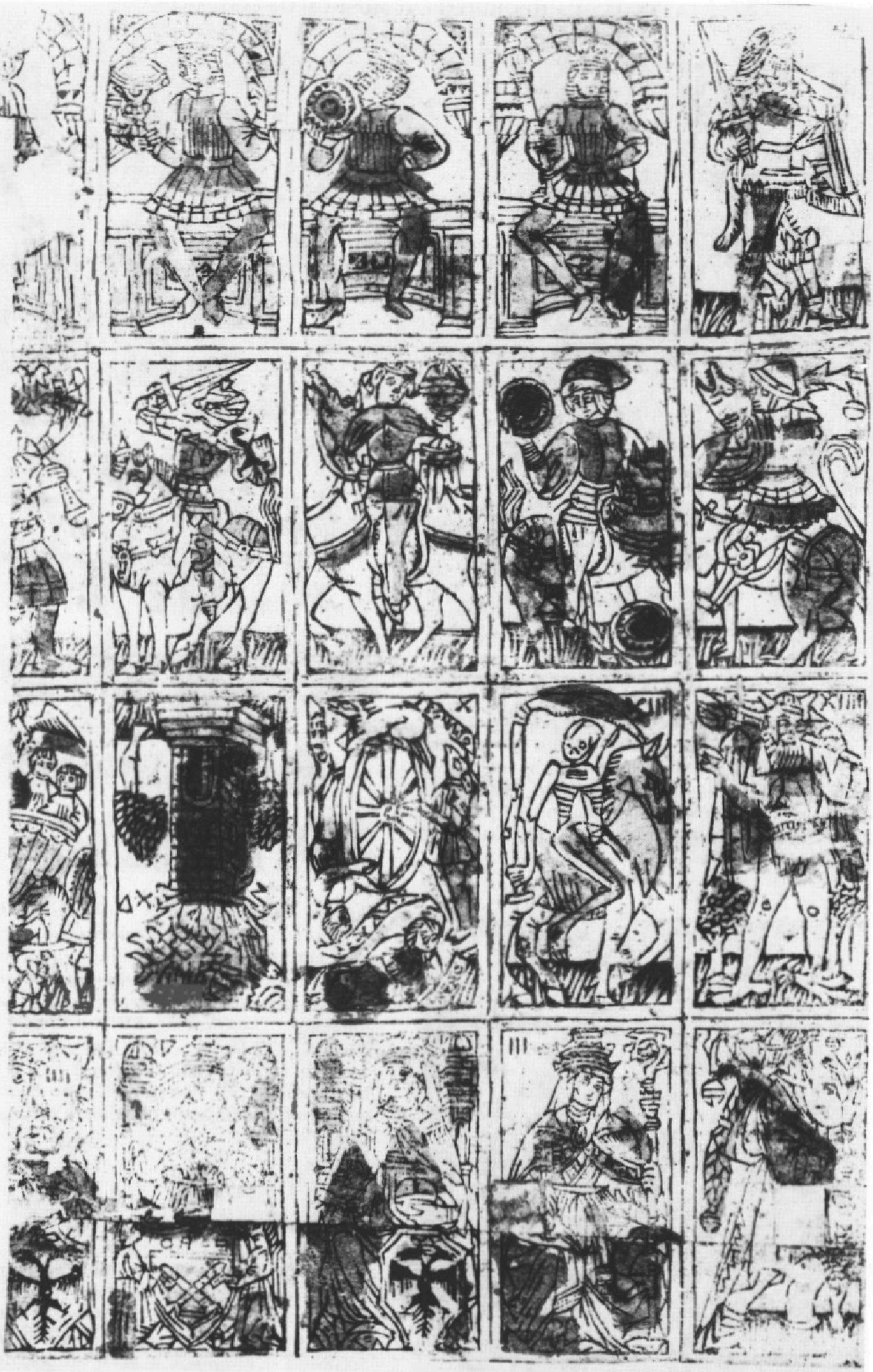
Italian Tarocchi Cards *(Group 2) Uncut sheet of tarocchi cards and three repeating lower fragments.* TOP ROW: *Vertical fragment of the king of swords, kings of cups, coins and staves, page of swords.* SECOND ROW: *Page of cups, knights of swords, cups, coins and staves.* THIRD ROW: *The Chariot, XV The Tower, X The Wheel of Fortune, XIII Death, XIIII The Devil.* BOTTOM ROW *(fragments of upper portion): IIII The Emperor, V The Pope, The Empress, III The Popess, The Fool (?). The three additional horizontal fragments belong to the bottom row of cards.*

Collection of Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest



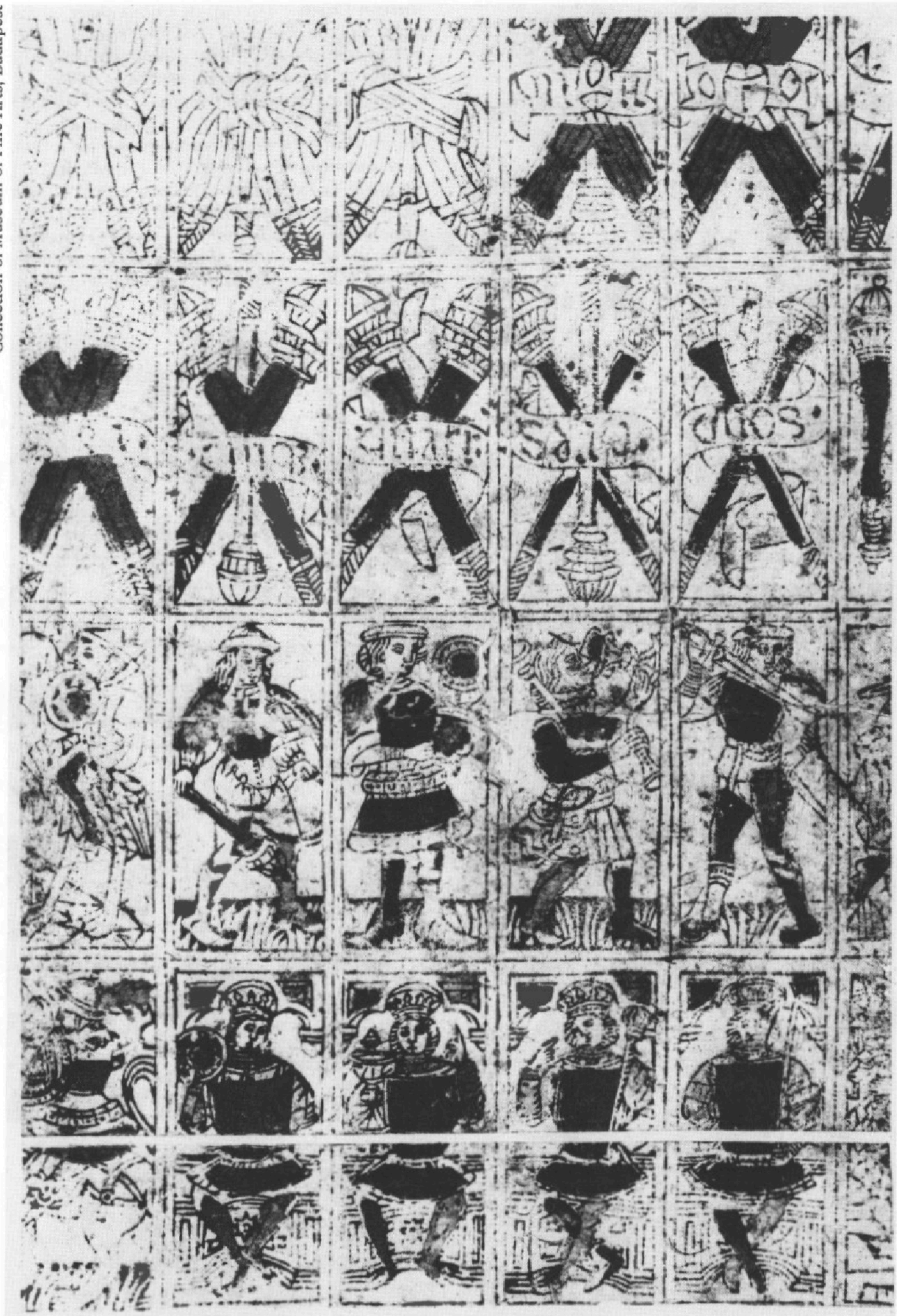
Italian Cards *(Group 3) Uncut sheet, possibly from a tarocchi pack.* TOP ROW: *Fragment of five of swords, lower portion of seven and nine of swords and nine, eight and seven of staves.* SECOND ROW: *Fragment of six of staves, five, four, three, two and ace of staves.* THIRD ROW: *Fragment of knight of coins, pages of staves, coins, cups and swords, knight of swords.* BOTTOM ROW: *Fragment of knight of staves or cups, upper half of kings of coins, cups, staves and swords, unidentifiable card.*

Collection of Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest

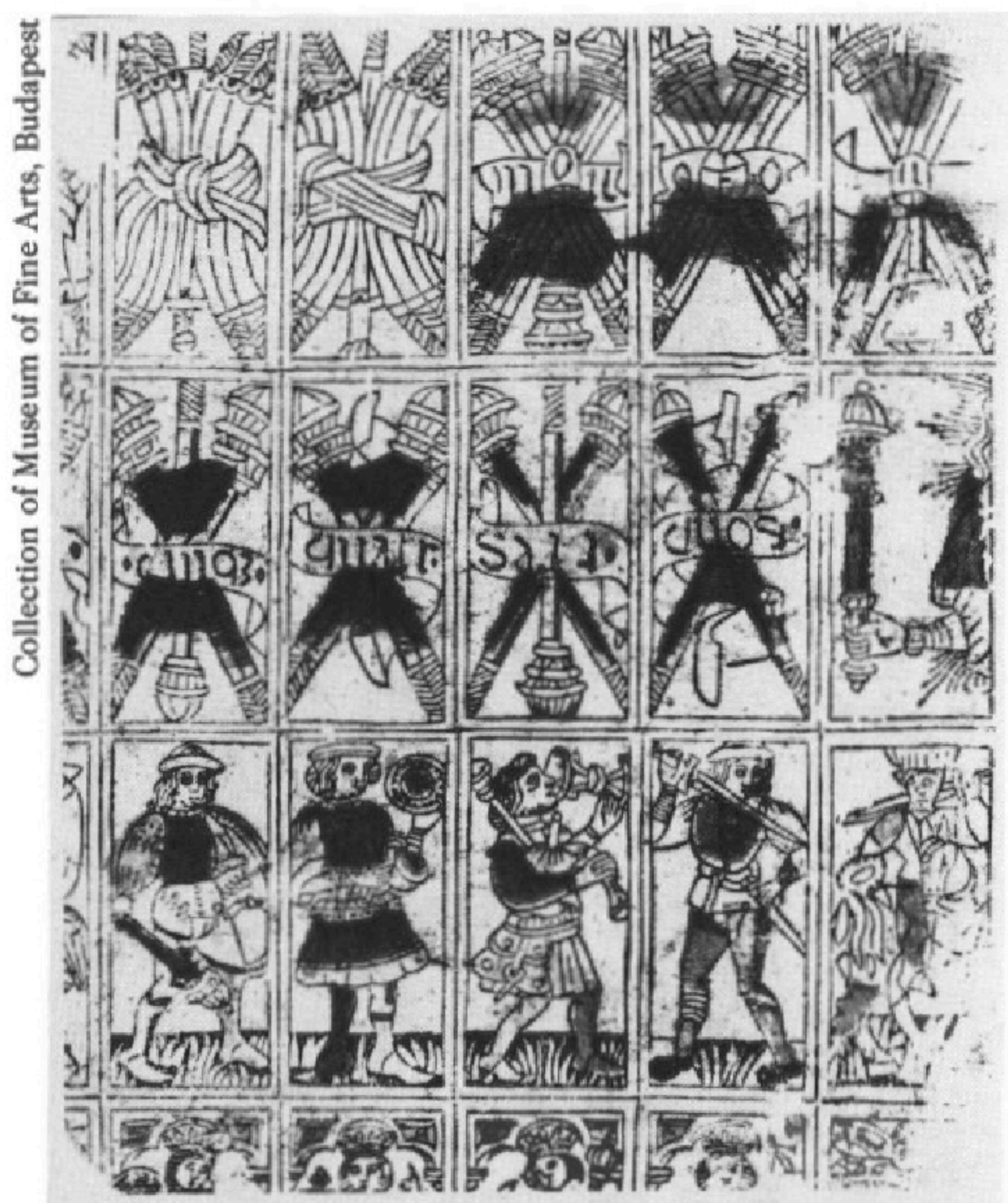


Italian Tarocchi Cards *(Group 2) Uncut sheet of tarocchi cards.* TOP ROW: *Fragment of king of swords, kings of cups, coins and staves, page of swords.* SECOND ROW: *Vertical fragment of the page of cups, knights of swords, cups, coins and staves.* THIRD ROW: *The Chariot, XV The Tower (upside down), X The Wheel of Fortune, XIII Death, XIIII The Devil.* BOTTOM ROW: *IIII The Emperor, V The Pope, The Empress, III The Popess, The Fool (?). The bottom row of cards is either cut or creased in the middle.*

Collection of Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest

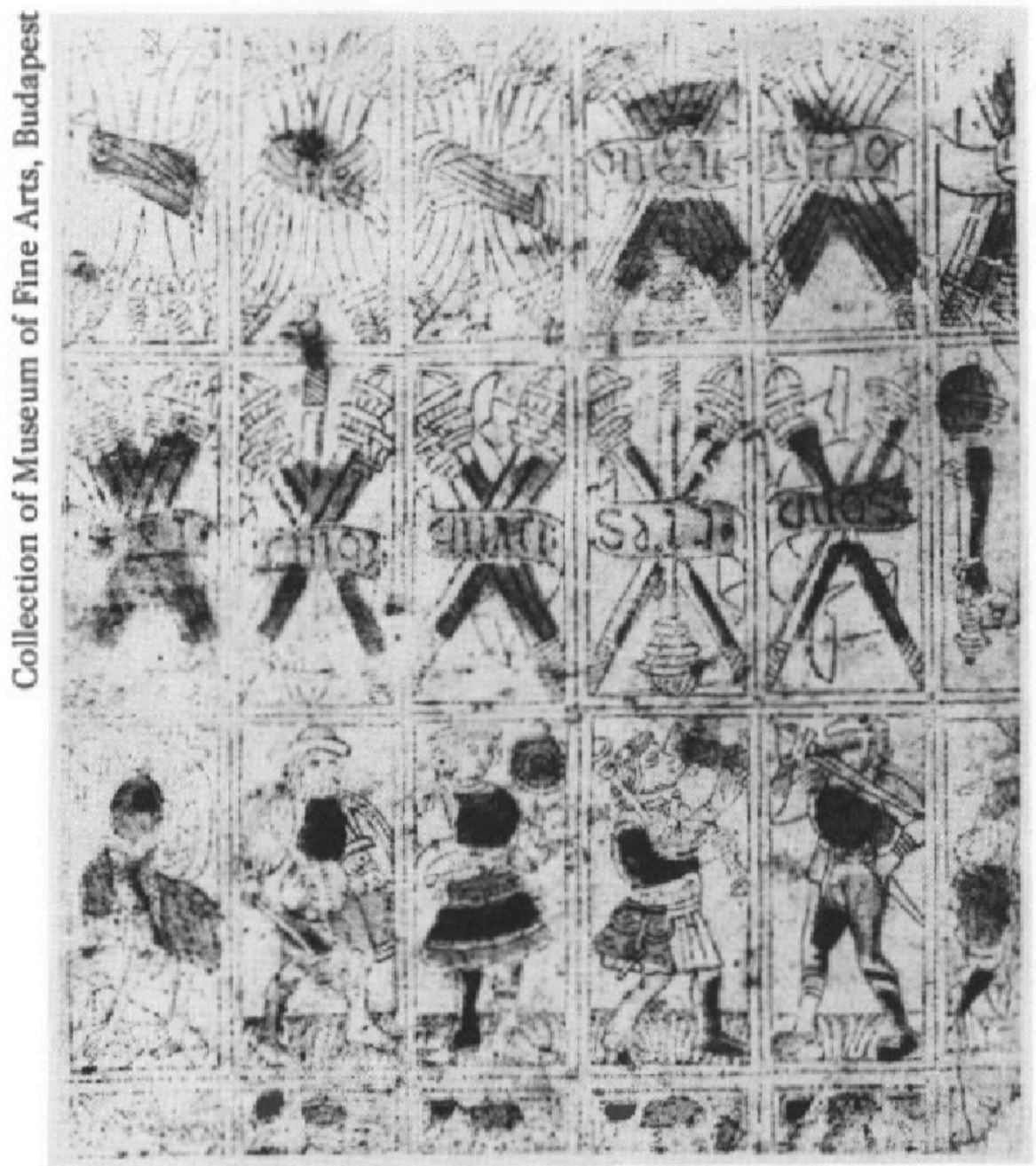


Italian Tarocchi Cards *(Group 3) Uncut sheet of Italian cards depicting Minor Arcana, possibly from a tarocchi pack.* TOP ROW: *Five, seven and nine of swords, nine and eight of staves and vertical fragment of the seven of staves with card values in Italian appearing in a ribbon across the center of the card.* SECOND ROW: *Six, five, four, three, two and ace of staves.* THIRD ROW: *Knight of coins riding a bird with webbed feet, page of staves, page of coins, page of cups shown drinking from an upraised cup and holding a flute in his other hand, page of swords and knight of swords.* BOTTOM ROW: *Knight of staves or cups, kings of coins, cups, staves and swords, unidentifiable card fragment. The bottom row of cards has been cut in half.*



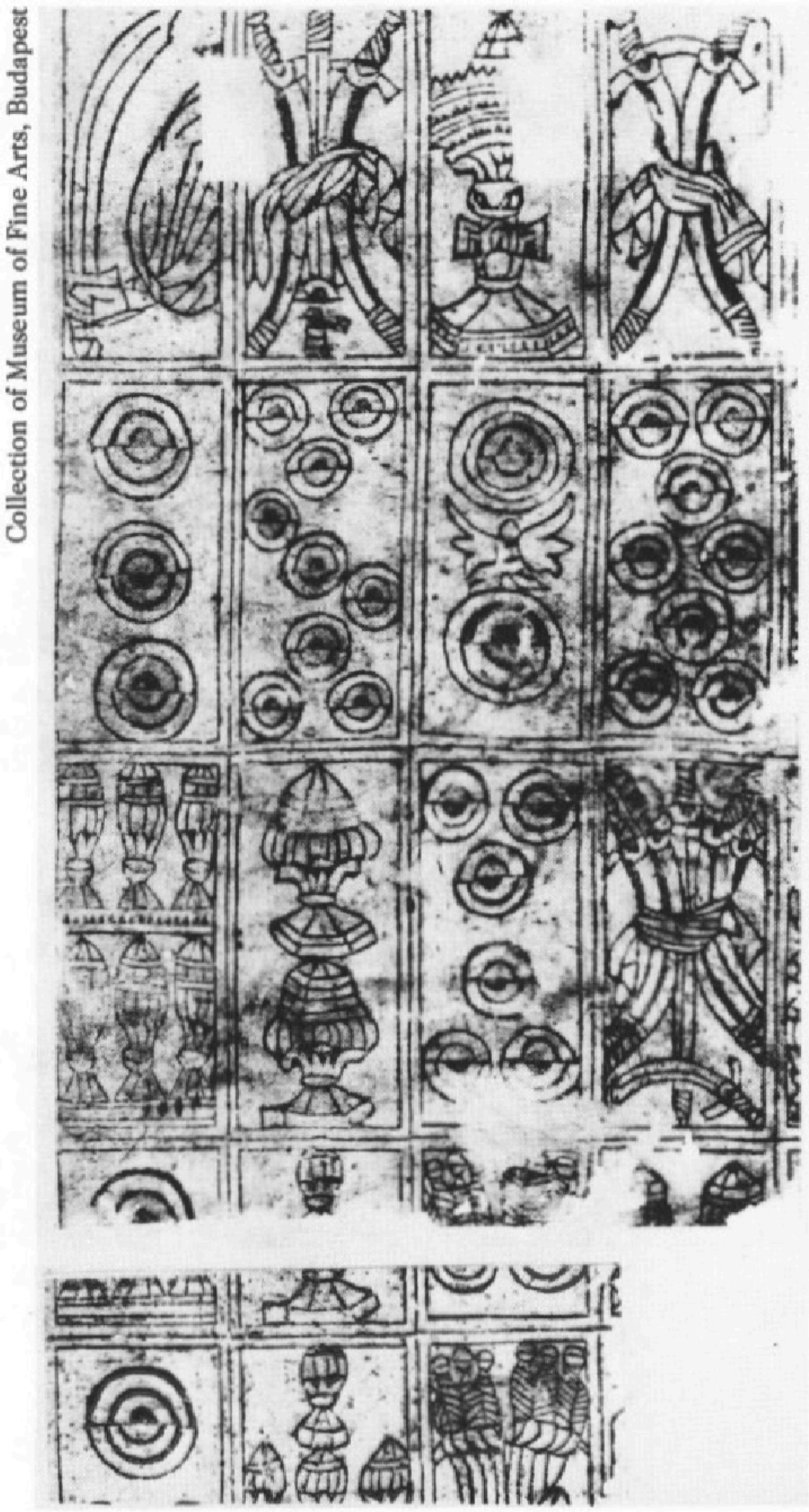
Collection of Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest

Italian Cards *(Group 3) Uncut sheet, possibly from a tarocchi pack.* TOP ROW: *Fragments of five of swords, seven and nine of swords, nine, eight and seven of staves.* SECOND ROW: *Fragments of six of staves, five, four, three and two of staves with card values in Italian, ace of staves held by a hand emanating from a cloud with bursting rays.* THIRD ROW: *Fragments of knight of coins, pages of staves, coins, cups and swords, knight of swords.* BOTTOM ROW: *Tiny upper right fragment of the knight of staves or cups, upper portions of the kings of coins, cups, staves and swords, upper left fragment of an unidentifiable card.*



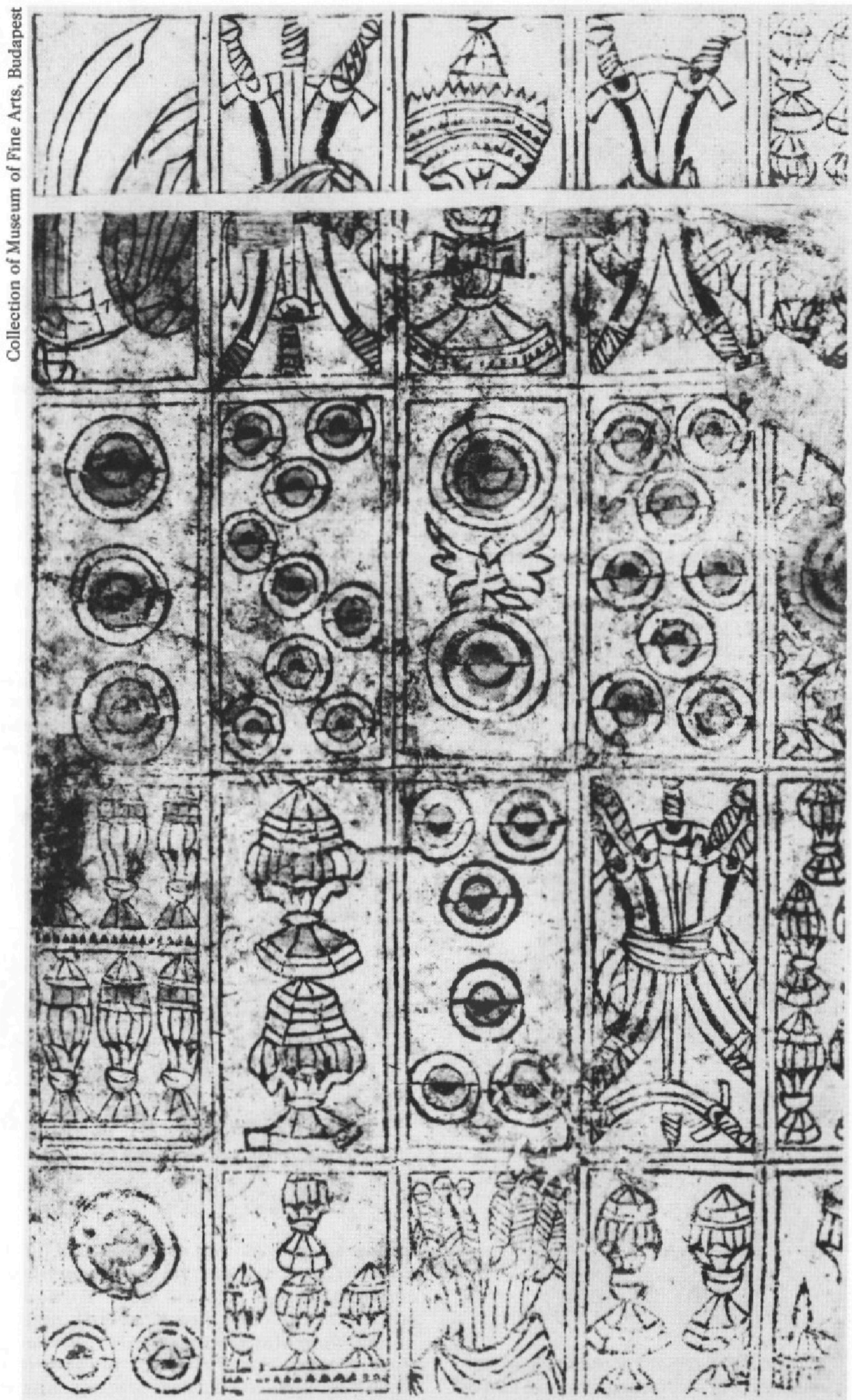
Collection of Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest

Italian Cards *(Group 3) Uncut sheet, possibly from a tarocchi pack.* TOP ROW: *Five, seven and nine of swords, nine and eight of staves and vertical fragment of seven of staves.* SECOND ROW: *Six, five, four, three, two and ace of staves.* THIRD ROW: *Knight of coins, pages of staves, coins, cups and swords, fragment of knight of swords.* BOTTOM ROW: *Upper fragments of knight of staves or cups, kings of coins, cups, staves and swords, unidentifiable card.*



Collection of Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest

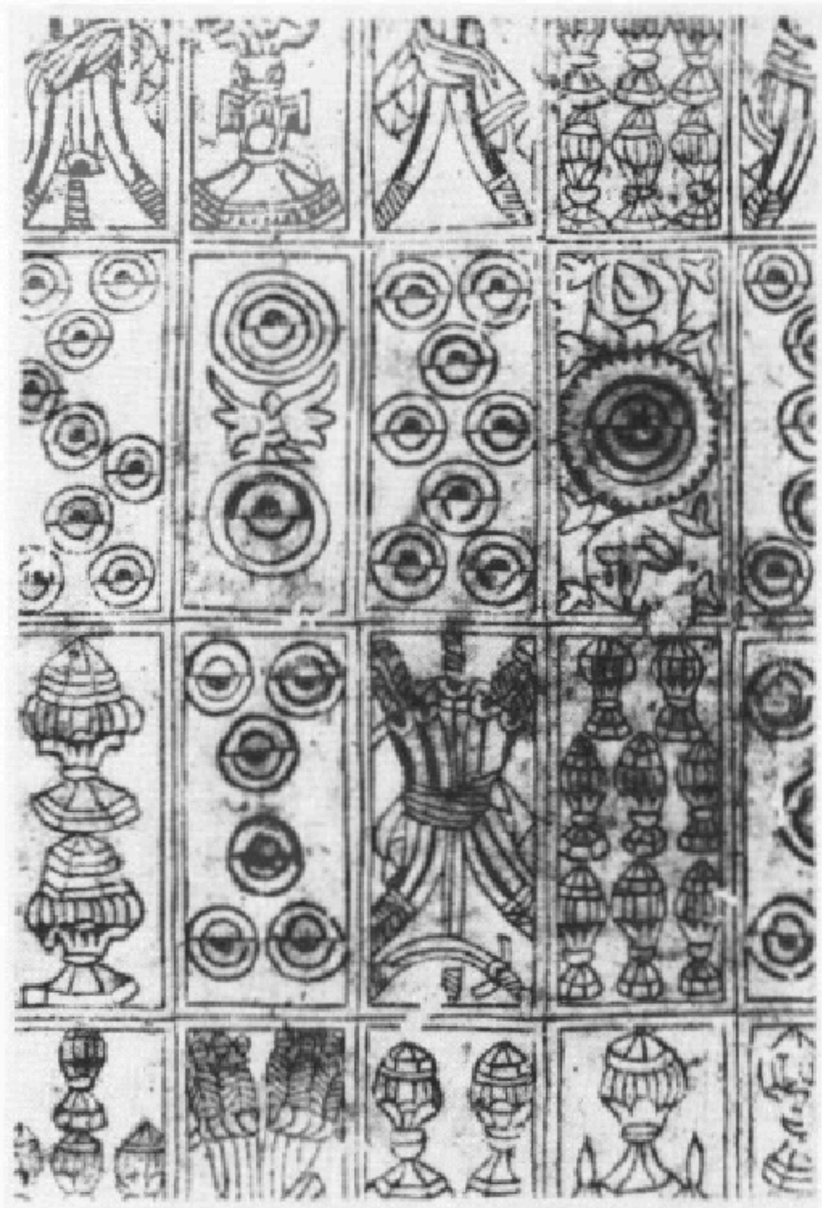
Italian Cards *(Group 4) Fragment of uncut sheet with duplicate horizontal fragment of bottom two rows.* TOP ROW: *Ace and three of swords, ace of cups, two of swords.* SECOND ROW: *Three, nine, two, eight of coins and vertical fragment of ace of coins.* THIRD ROW: *Six and two of cups, six of coins, six of swords and vertical fragment of eight of cups.* BOTTOM ROW: *Upper portion of four of coins, seven of cups, eight of swords and four of cups.*



Collection of Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest

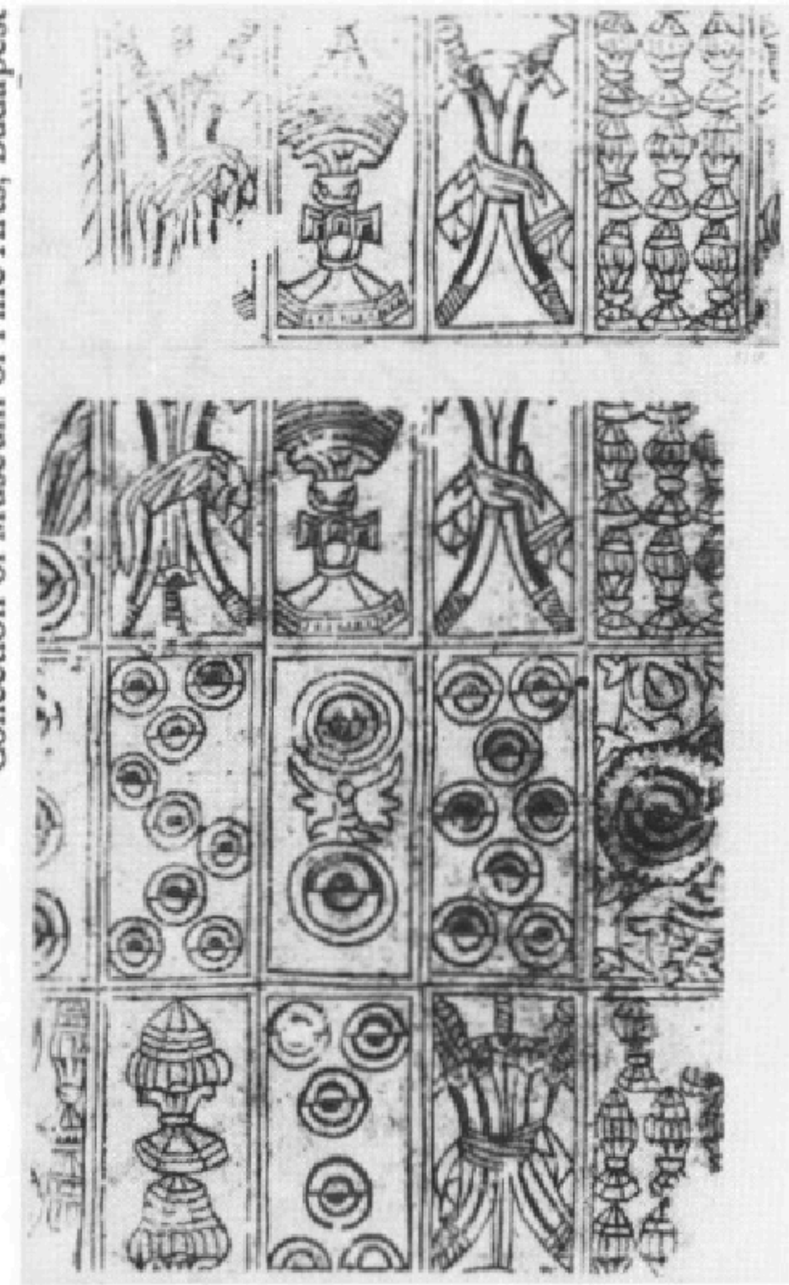
Italian Cards *(Group 4) Fragment of uncut sheet with top separated in the middle.* TOP ROW: *Ace of swords held by hand emanating from a cloud, three of swords, ace of cups, two of swords, vertical fragment of nine of cups.* SECOND ROW: *Three, nine, two and eight of coins, fragment of ace of coins.* THIRD ROW: *Six and two of cups, six of coins, six of swords and fragment of eight of cups.* BOTTOM ROW: *Upper portion of four of coins, seven of cups, eight of swords, four of cups and fragment of three of cups.*

Collection of Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest



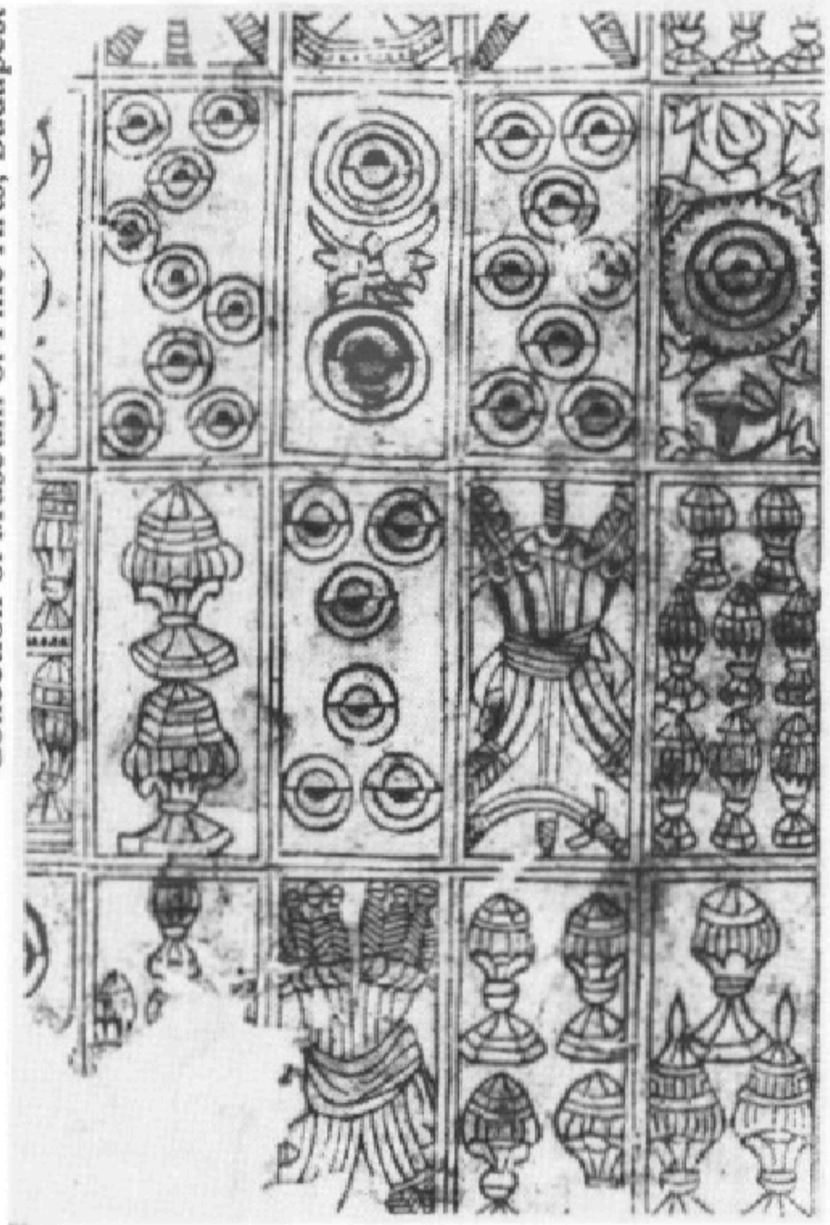
Italian Cards *(Group 4) Fragment of uncut sheet.* TOP ROW: *Three of swords, ace of cups, two of swords, nine of cups and fragment of unidentified card.* SECOND ROW: *Nine, two, eight and ace of coins and fragment of seven of coins.* THIRD ROW: *Two of cups, six of coins, six of swords, eight of cups and fragment of five of coins.* BOTTOM ROW: *Upper portion of seven of cups, eight of swords, four, three and five of cups.*

Collection of Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest



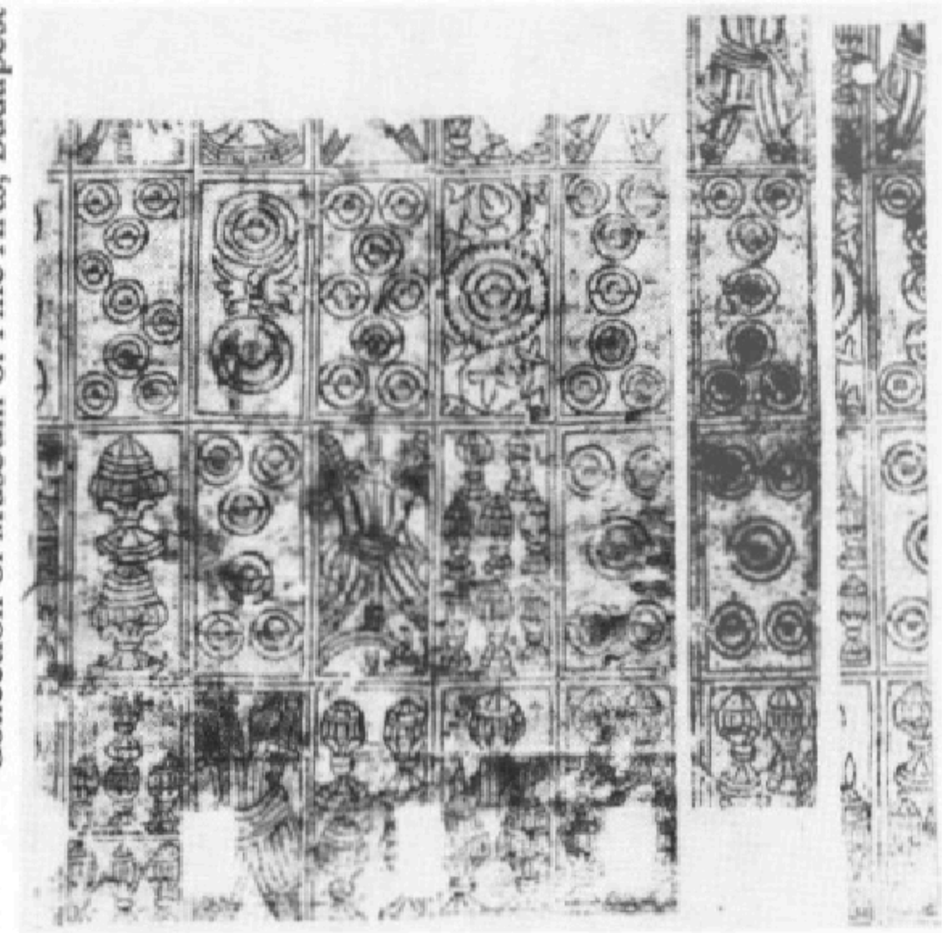
Italian Cards *(Group 4) Two uncut fragmentary sheets. The single row of horizontal cards and the top row of the larger sheet duplicate each other.* TOP ROW: *Fragment of an unidentifiable card in the suit of coins, three of swords, ace of cups, two of swords and nine of cups.* MIDDLE ROW: *Fragment of three of coins, nine, two, eight and ace of coins.* BOTTOM ROW: *Fragment of six of cups, two of cups, six of coins, six of swords and eight of cups.*

Collection of Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest

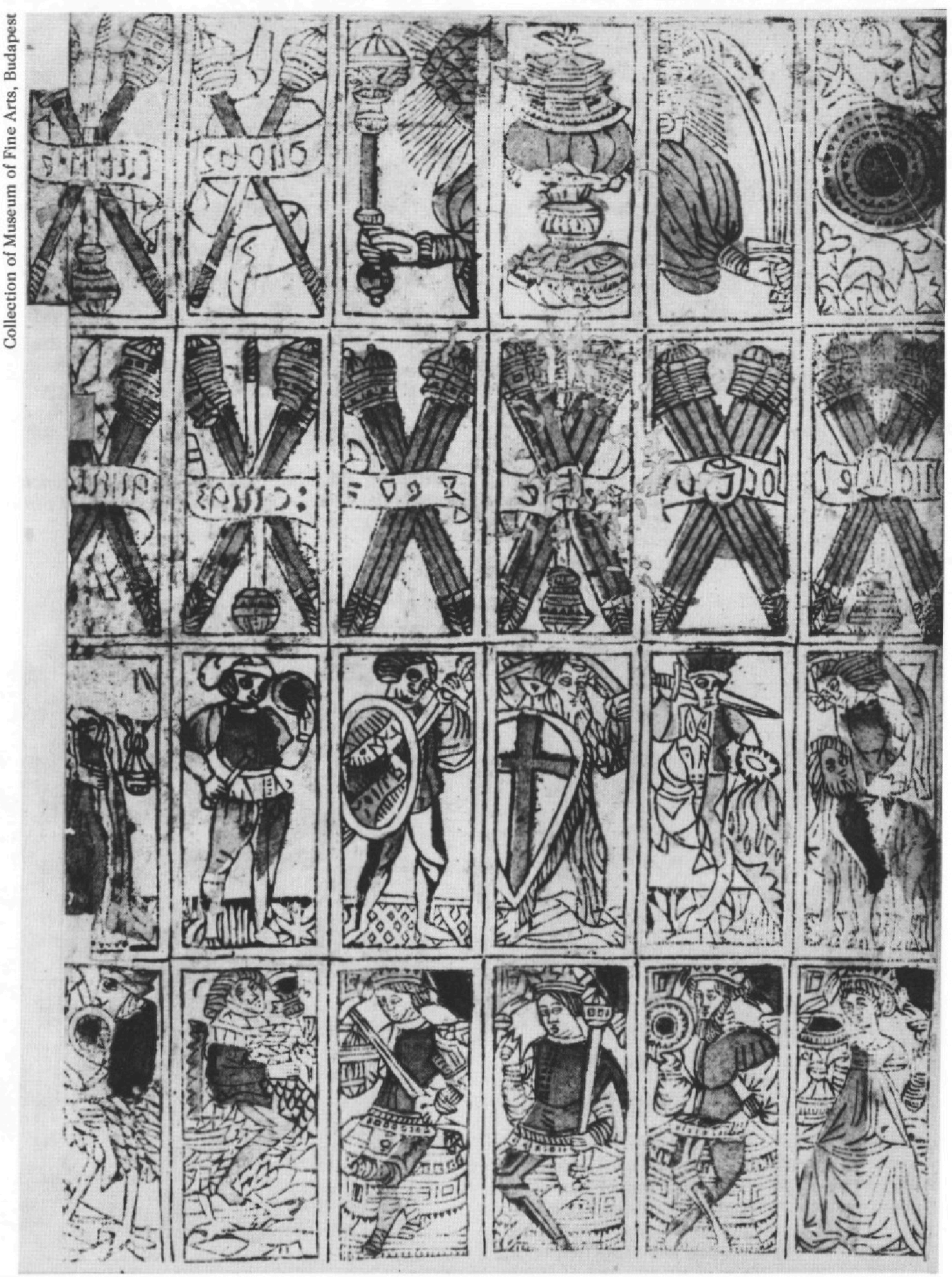


Italian Cards *(Group 4) Fragment of uncut sheet.* TOP ROW: *Lower portion of three of swords, ace of cups, two of swords and nine of cups.* SECOND ROW: *Vertical fragment of three of coins, nine, two, eight, ace of coins.* THIRD ROW: *Fragment of the six of cups, two of cups, six of coins, six of swords and eight of cups.* BOTTOM ROW: *Tiny fragment from the four of coins, fragment of seven of cups, eight of swords, four and three of cups.*

Collection of Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest

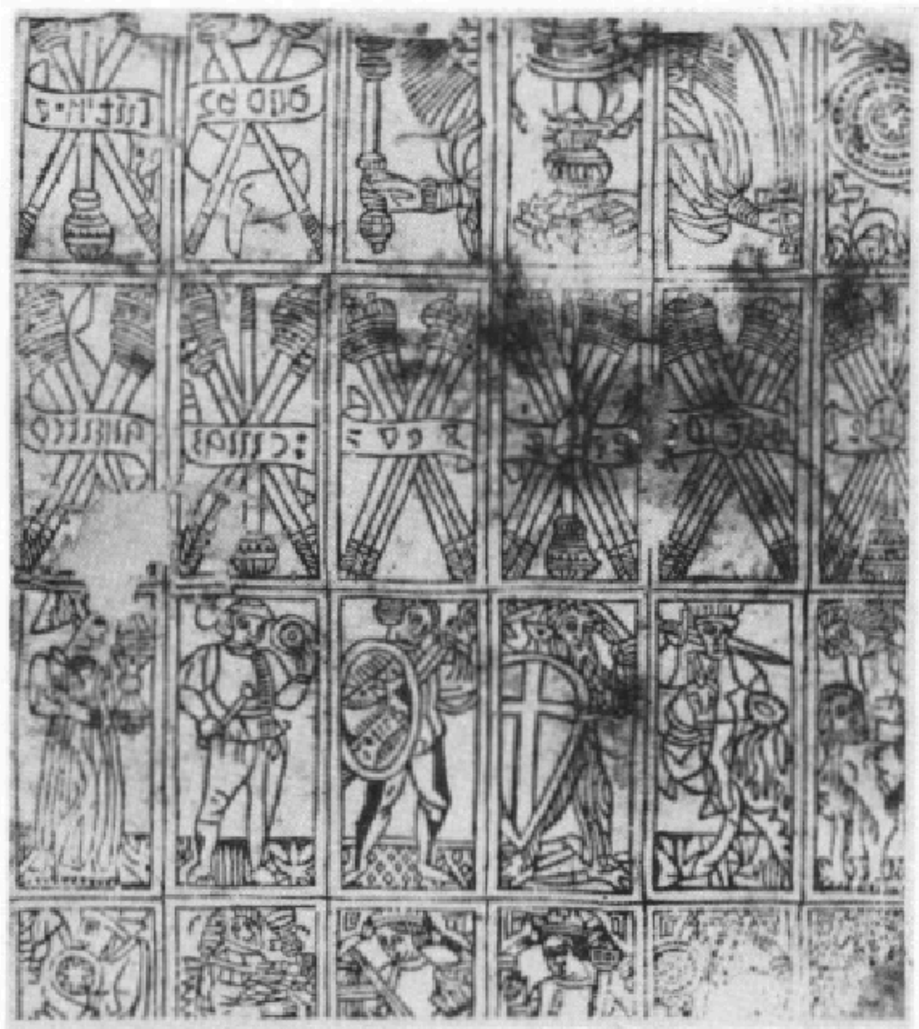


Italian Cards *(Group 4) Uncut sheet, possibly from a tarocchi pack.* TOP ROW: *Tiny fragment from lower right corner of ace of swords, lower portions of three of swords, ace of cups, two of swords, nine of cups and possibly four of swords.* SECOND ROW: *Vertical fragment of three of coins, nine, two, eight, ace and seven of coins.* THIRD ROW: *Vertical fragment of six of cups, two of cups, six of coins, six of swords with five swords upright and one sword curved horizontally across the bottom of the card, eight of cups and five of coins.* BOTTOM ROW: *Tiny vertical fragment from four of coins, seven of cups, eight of swords, four, three and five of cups. Two vertical fragments repeat some cards from the larger sheet.*



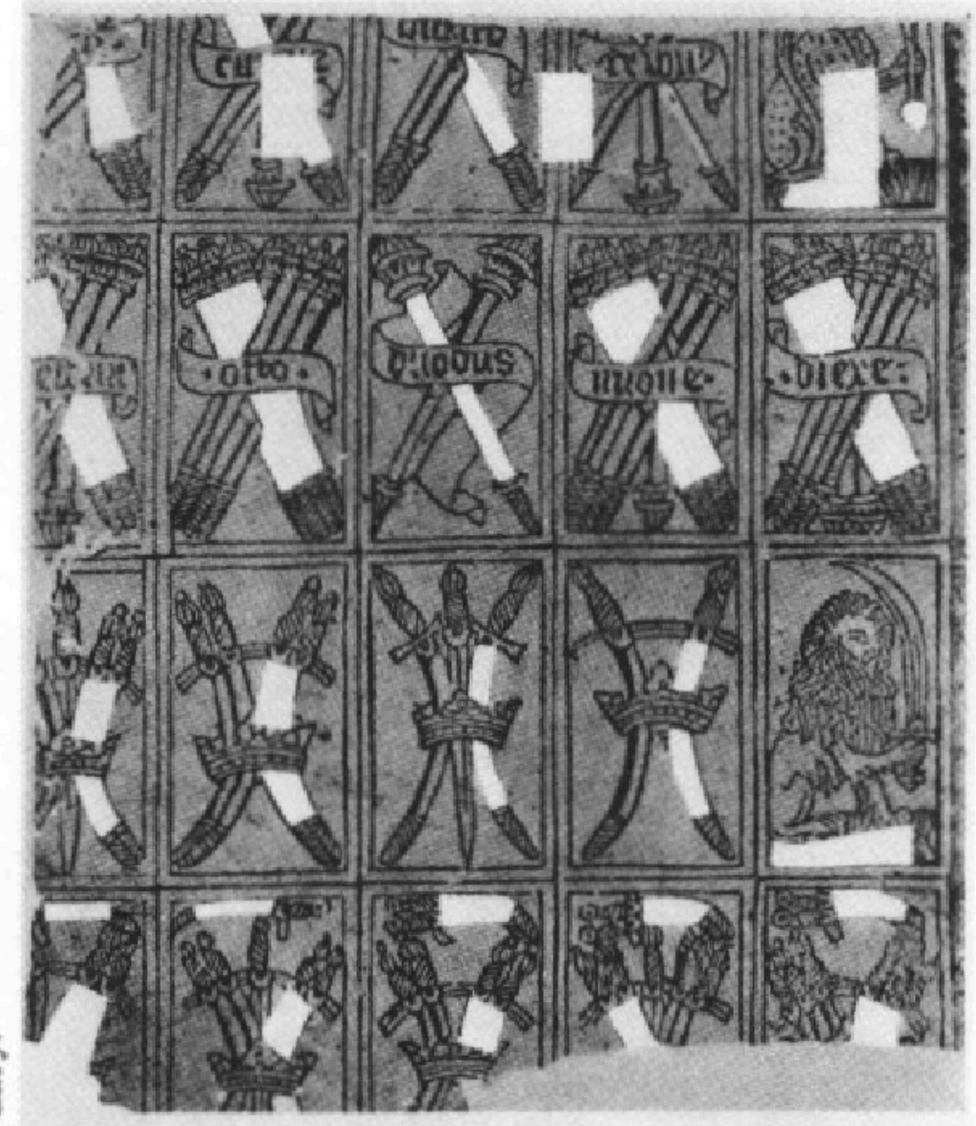
Collection of Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest

Italian Cards *(Group 5) Fragment of uncut sheet.* TOP ROW: *Three and two of staves with number in ribbon, ace of staves with scepter held by a hand emanating from the right, ace of cups with cup held in a hand, ace of swords held by a hand emanating from the left with billowing sleeve, ace of coins.* SECOND ROW: *Four through nine of staves with written numbers discernible on some cards.* THIRD ROW: *Female page of cups, male page of coins, male page of swords with shield, male page of staves with hairy, apelike body, holding a shield decorated with cross, knight of swords and knight of cups or staves riding a beast with human head.* BOTTOM ROW: *Knights of coins and cups or staves, both riding birds, kings of swords, staves and coins, queen of cups.*



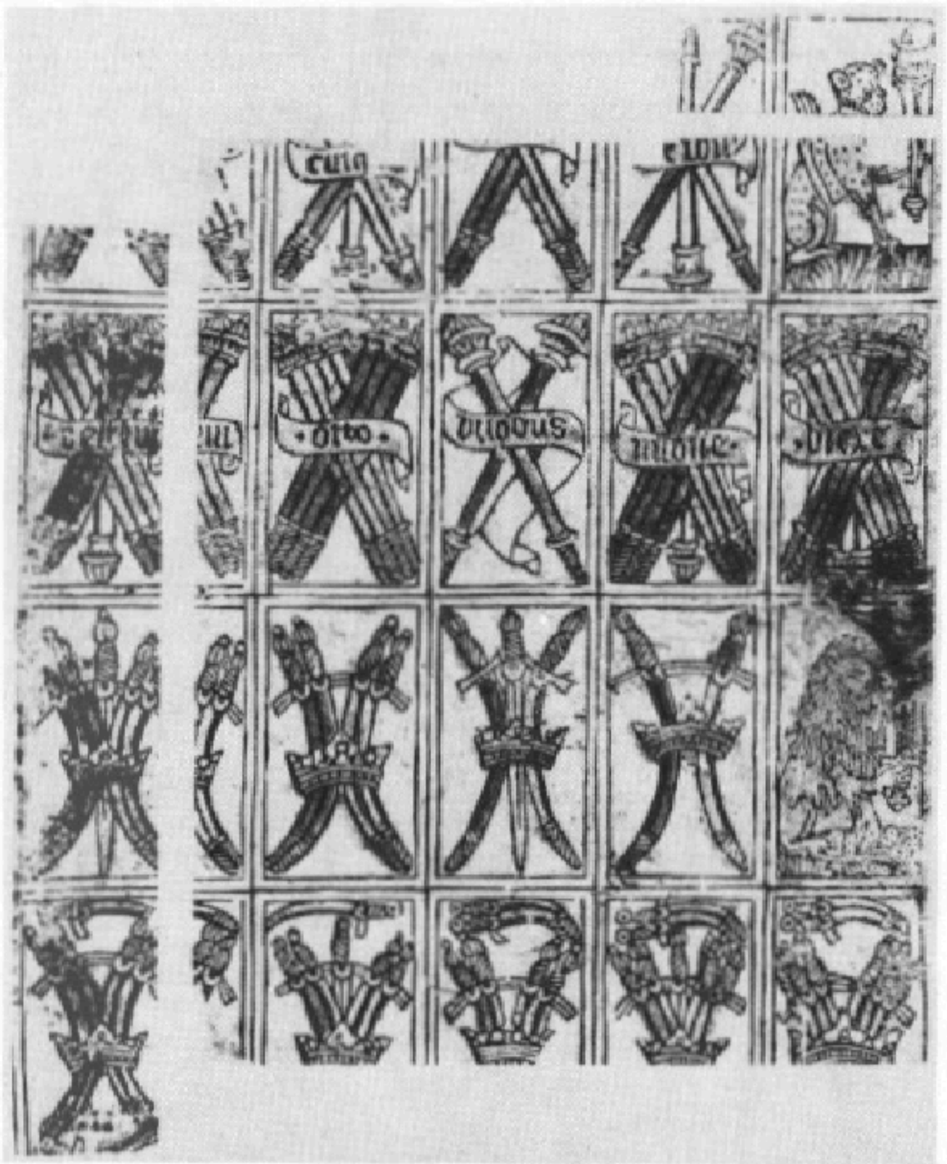
Collection of Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest

Italian Cards *(Group 5) Fragment of uncut sheet.* TOP ROW: *Three, two and ace of staves, aces of cups, swords and coins.* SECOND ROW: *Four, five, six, seven, eight and nine of staves.* THIRD ROW: *Female page of cups, male pages of coins, swords and staves, knights of swords and cups or staves.* BOTTOM ROW: *Upper portion of knights of coins and cups or staves, kings of swords, staves and coins, queen of cups.*



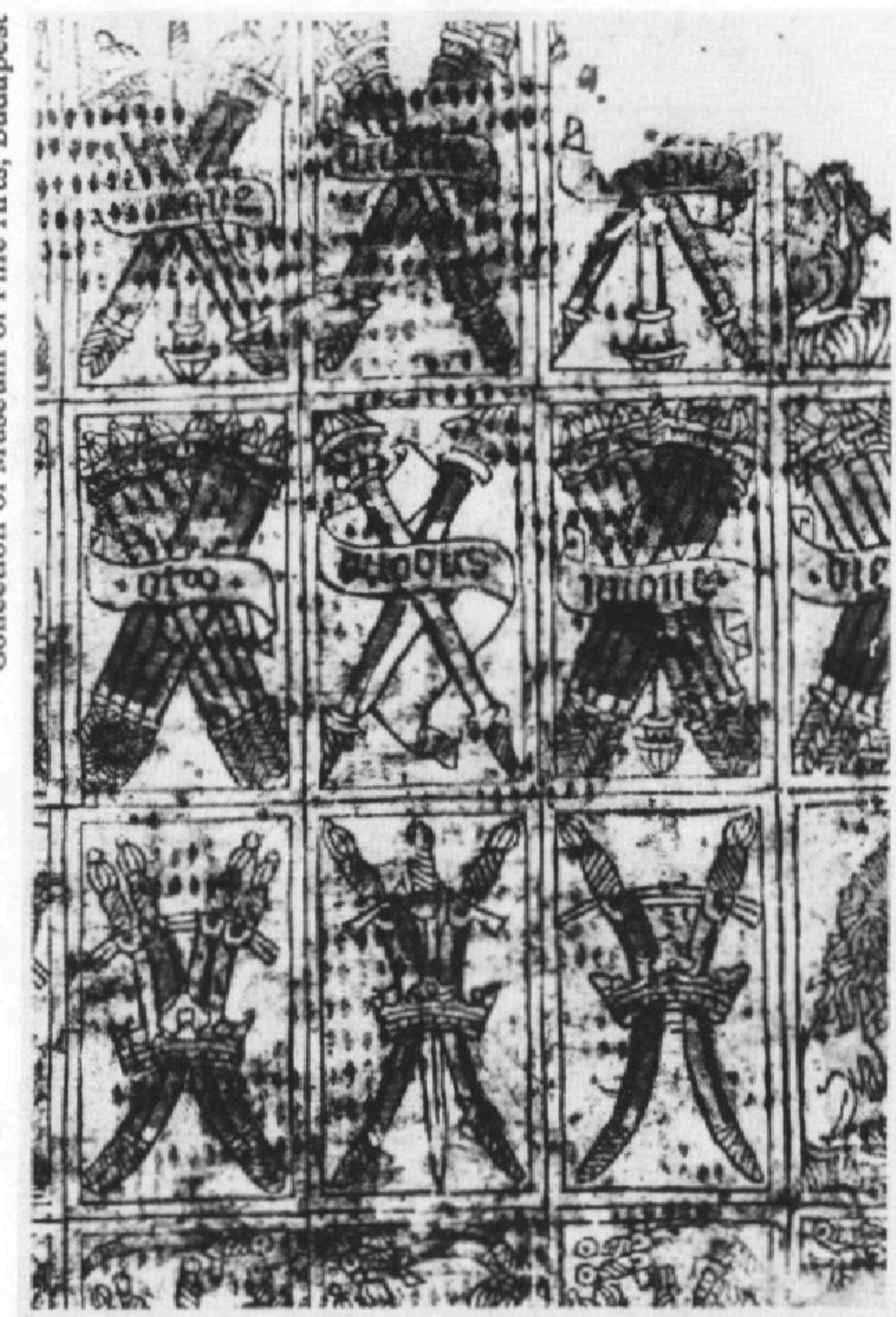
Reprinted from "A Stencil Sheet of Playing Cards of the Late 15th Century with Two Related Uncut Sheets of Cards," by Melbert B. Cary.

Stencil for Coloring Playing Cards *The stencil sheet depicts the same series of woodblock printed pip cards shown in group 6.*



Collection of Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest

Italian Cards *(Group 6) Fragment of an uncut, stencil colored sheet. The vertical fragment on the left duplicates fragmentary cards on the main sheet. The top two cards at the right are cut apart. Card values appear in Italian on ribbons on all the stave pip cards except for the ace.* TOP ROW: *Fragment of six of staves, lower portion of the five and four of staves, three of staves, ace of staves depicting a leopard holding a stave upright in its left paw.* SECOND ROW: *Seven, eight, two, nine and ten of staves.* THIRD ROW: *Five, four, three and two of swords, ace of swords depicting a lion holding a sword in its right paw.* BOTTOM ROW: *Fragment of six of swords, upper portion of the seven, eight, nine and ten of swords. All the sword pip cards, except the ace, have a crown at the center of the bundle.*

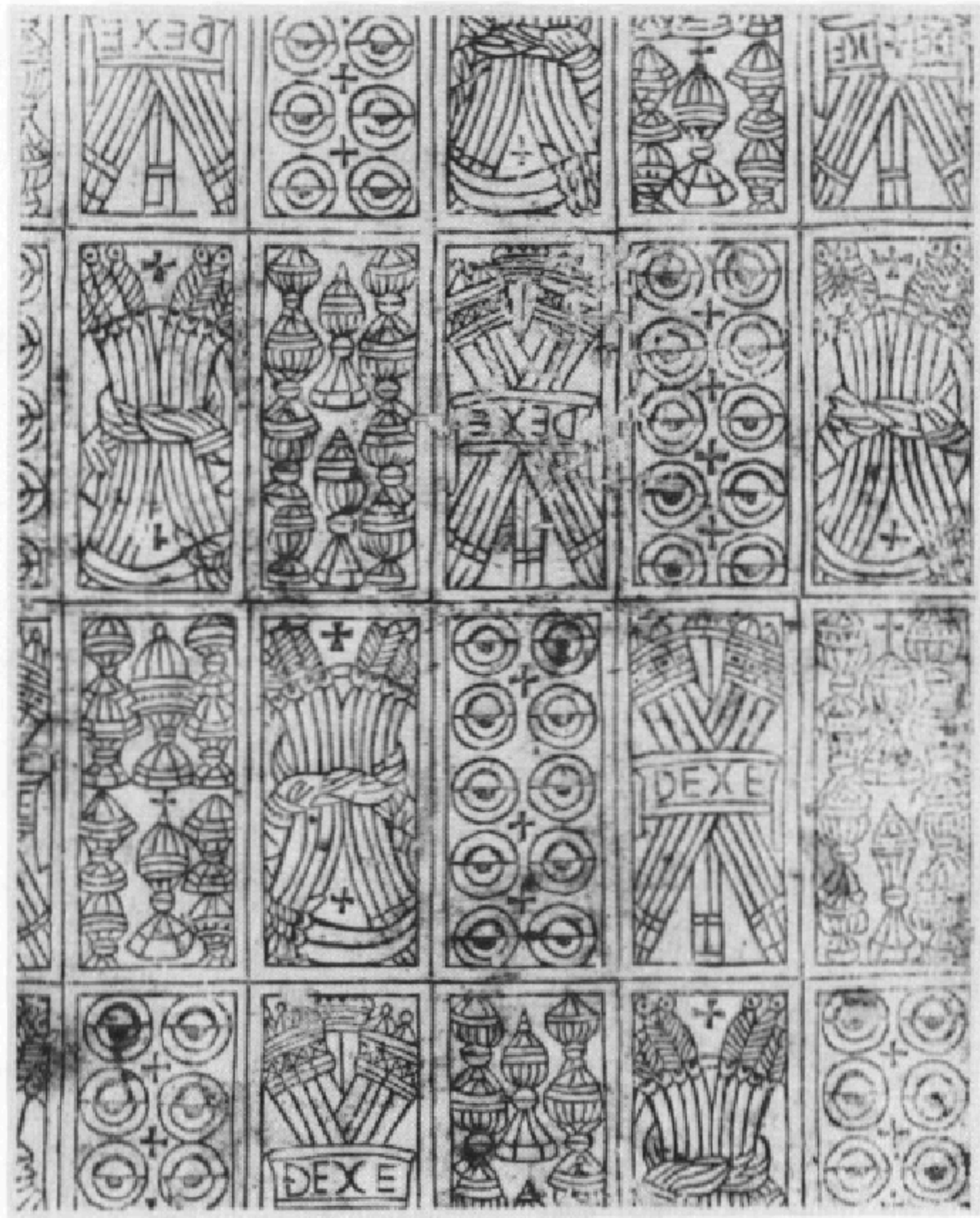


Collection of Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest

Italian Cards *(Group 6) Fragment of an uncut sheet.* TOP ROW: *Vertical fragment of possibly the six of staves, five, four and three of staves, fragment of ace of staves.* SECOND ROW: *Fragment of seven of staves, eight, two and nine of staves, fragment of ten of staves.* THIRD ROW: *Fragment of five of swords, four, three and two of swords, fragment of ace of swords.* BOTTOM ROW: *Tiny fragment of six of swords, upper portion of seven, eight and nine of swords and fragment of ten of swords.*

Italian Cards *(Group 7) Fragment of an uncut sheet, possibly from a tarocchi pack. The tens in the suit of staves have a ribbon bearing the word* DEXE. TOP ROW: *Fragment of a card from the suit of cups, probably the ten, lower portion of ten of staves, ten of coins, ten of swords with eight vertical and two horizontal swords, ten of cups and a repeat of the ten of staves.* SECOND ROW: *Vertical fragment of ten of coins, tens of swords, cups and staves and a repeat of the tens of coins and swords.* THIRD ROW: *Fragment of ten of staves, tens of cups, swords and coins and a repeat of the tens of staves and cups.* BOTTOM ROW: *Fragment of ten of swords, upper portion of tens of coins, staves and cups and a repeat of the tens of swords and coins.*

Collection of Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest

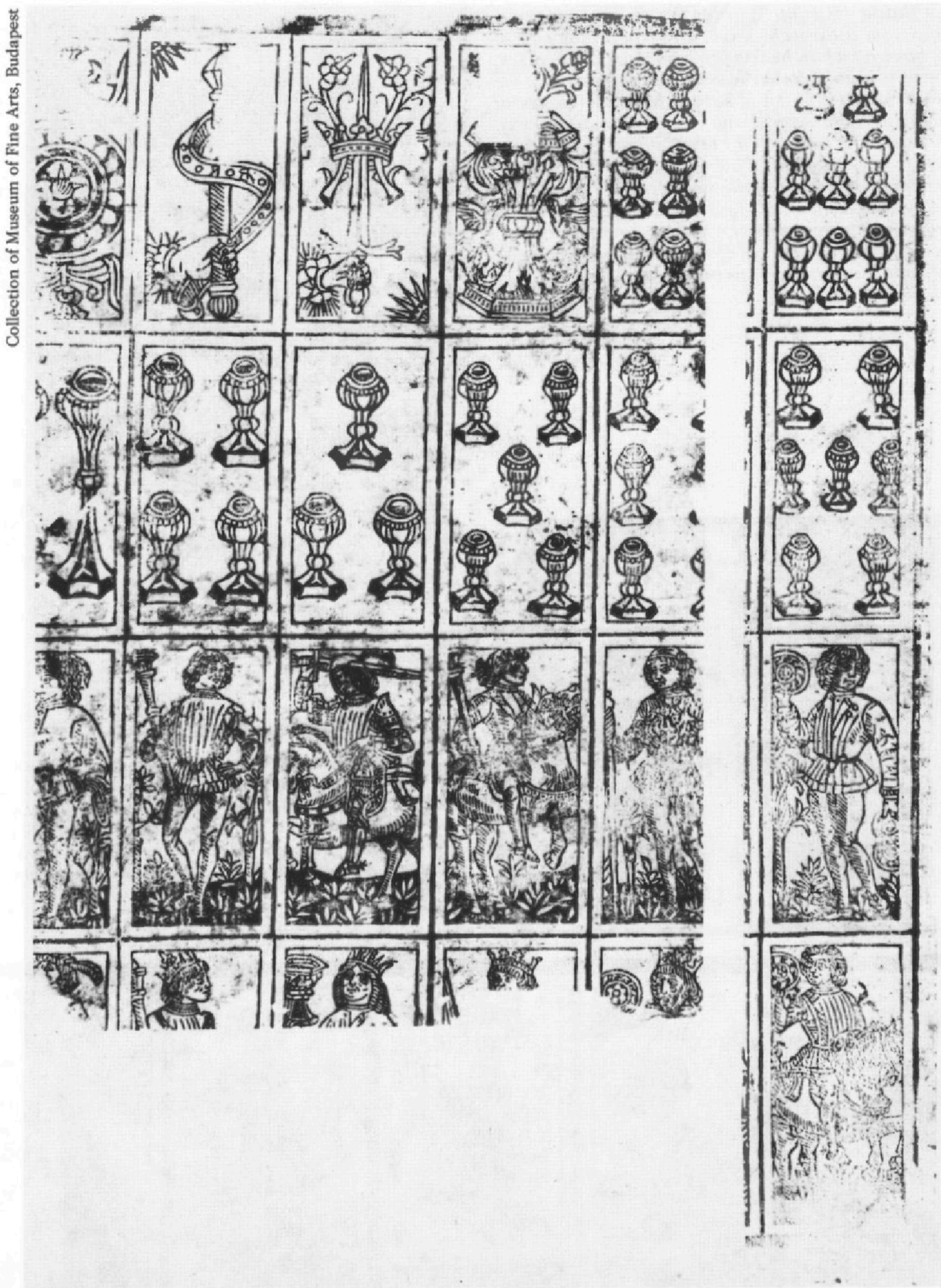


Collection of Theodore B. Donson, New York

THEODORE B. DONSON COLLECTION

The collection of Theodore B. Donson in New York includes seven woodblock printed cards, probably from sixteenth-century Italy. The set of two cards was made from the same woodblock as those on sheet 26.101.5 at the Metropolitan Museum in New York. The set of five cards matches cards from group 5 of the cards possessed by the Budapest Museum of Fine Arts.

Theodore B. Donson Cards TOP ROW: *Two cards made from the same woodblocks as those on sheet number 26.101.5 at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.* BOTTOM ROW: *Five cards that match group 5 of the cards at the Budapest Museum of Fine Arts. Knight of cups or batons, king of swords, king of batons, king of coins, queen of cups.*



Collection of Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest

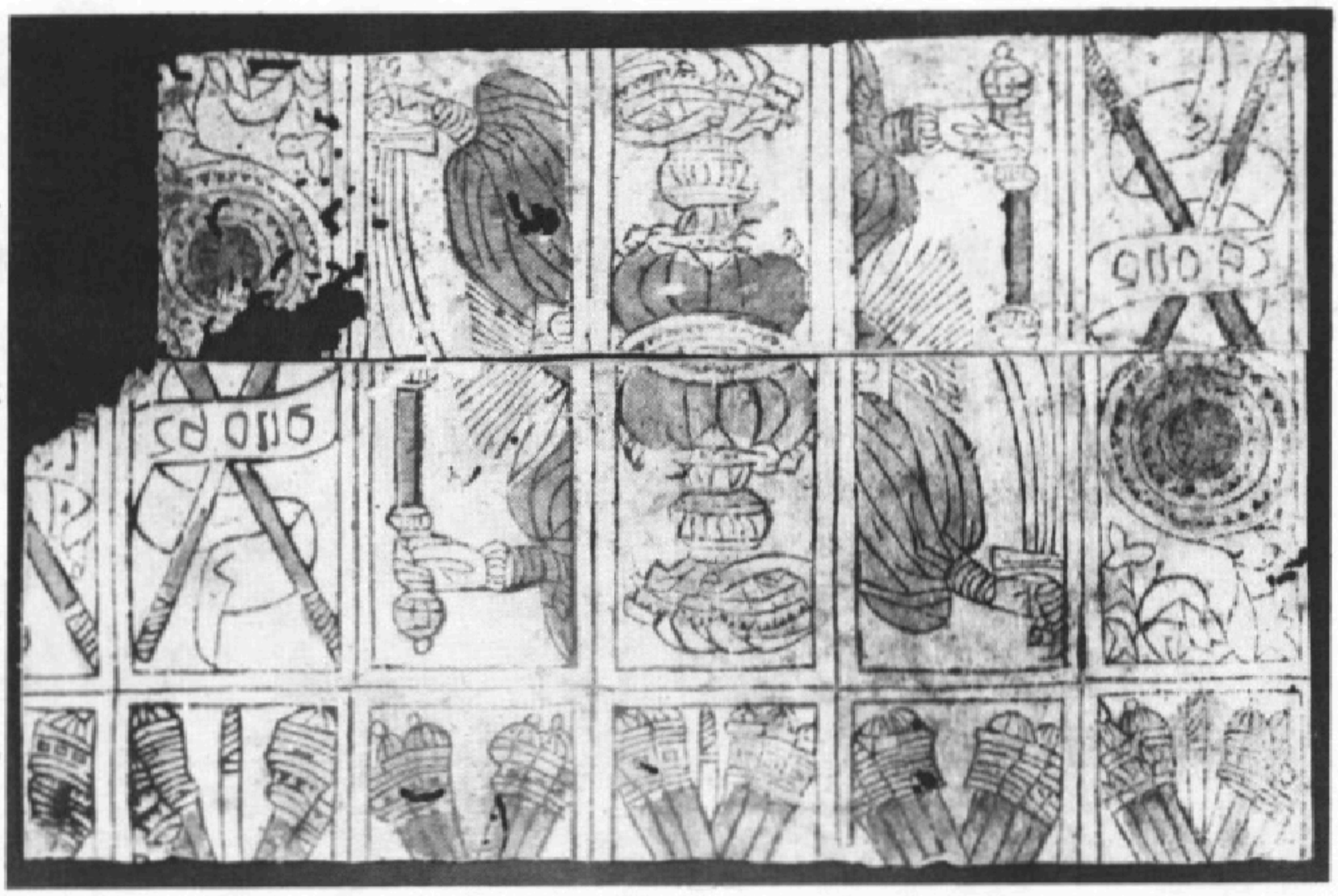
Italian Cards *(Group 8) Fragment of uncut sheet, possibly from a tarocchi pack. The sheet is separated along the vertical right side of cards.* TOP ROW: *Vertical fragment of the ace of coins, ace of staves held by a hand and depicting a ribbon banner rising around the shaft, ace of swords held by a hand and depicting the blade of the sword rising through a crown, ace of cups, nine and eight of cups.* SECOND ROW: *Fragment of two of cups, four, three, five, six and seven of cups.* THIRD ROW: *Fragment of a page, probably of cups, page of staves, knights of swords and staves, pages of swords and coins.* BOTTOM ROW: *Tiny fragment of unidentifiable card, possibly knight of cups, upper portion of kings of staves, cups, swords and coins, knight of coins.*

CARY COLLECTION OF PLAYING CARDS

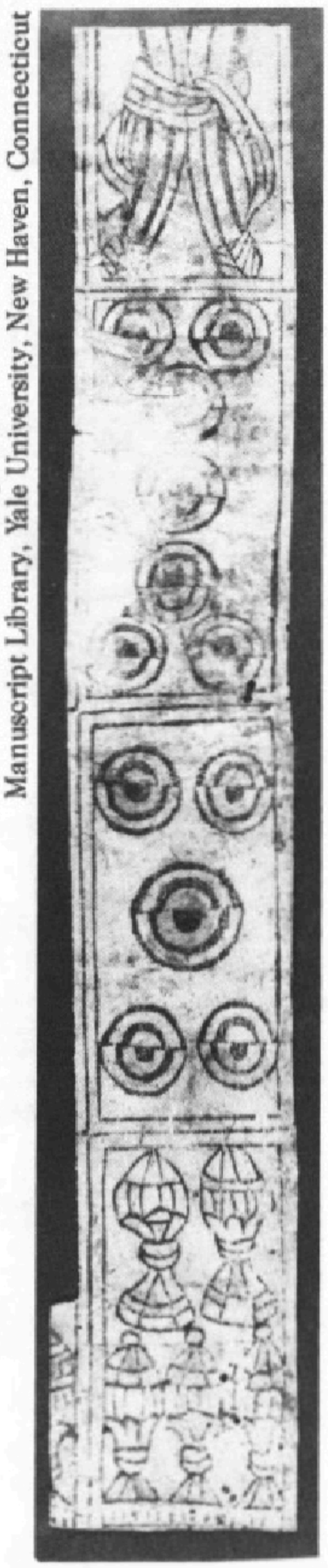
The Cary Collection of Playing Cards, housed at Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, includes three fragments of playing card sheets, possibly from tarocchi decks, and a fourth fragment of a sheet that shows Major Arcana from a tarot deck.

The two fragments that show four aces from each tarot suit are from the same woodblocks as group 5 of the Hungarian Museum of Fine Arts sheets. The vertical fragment, with three cards and two fragments of cards, is from the same woodblock as group 4 of the Hungarian museum's sheets.

The larger fragment is quite interesting in both its age and its designs. Several of the Major Arcana cards are similar to cards of the Tarot of Marseilles, making this mid-sixteenth-century Italian sheet one of the earliest examples of cards with Tarot of Marseilles designs. The engraving is fine and graceful, in contrast to many of the woodblock printed decks that were made around the same time.

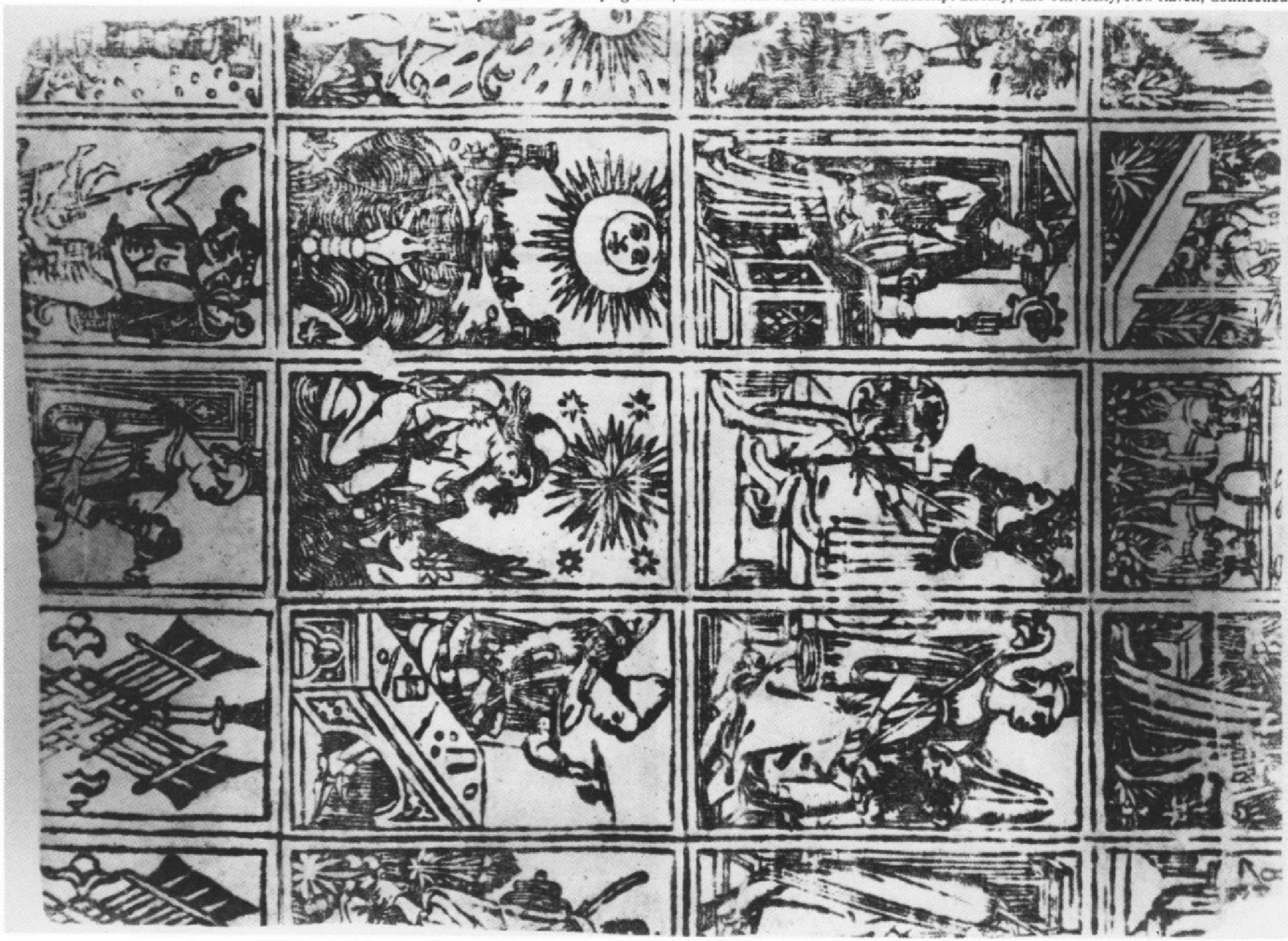


Cary Collection of Playing Cards, The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut



Italian Cards, Cary Collection *Two fragments of uncut sheets of playing cards, probably sixteenth century. (left)* TOP ROW AND SECOND ROW: *Three, two and ace of staves, aces of cups, swords and coins.* BOTTOM ROW: *Upper fragments of the four through nine of staves. (right) Vertical fragment contains the lower portion of probably the four of swords, seven and five of coins and five of cups. The tiny fragment to the left of the five of cups is the three of cups.*

Cary Collection of Playing Cards, The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut



MUSEO DELLE ARTI E DELLE TRADIZIONI POPOLARI

The Museo delle Arti e delle Tradizioni Popolari in Rome owns nine sixteenth-century tarot cards that were probably made in Ferrara or Venice. The cards were brought to the attention of members of the International Playing-Card Society by Vittoriano Facco, and Facco's discovery was followed up by Michael Dummett in the article, "Some 16th Century Tarot Cards Discovered by Vittoriano Facco," in the *Journal of the International Playing-Card Society* (vol. 11, no. 1).

The cards' designs are very gracefully rendered with woodblock printing. The back designs are printed on papers pasted over the card backs, with the edges of the papers folded over the margins of the faces of the cards. Eight of the cards are from one pack. Their matching back designs show nude, winged Orpheus or Cupid playing a viol, with a quiver of arrows on his back. He stands in a hilly landscape. This group comprises VIII The Lovers, XII The Hanged Man, XVI The Star (?), XVIIII The Sun (?), seven of swords, eight of batons, six of batons, nine of cups and eight of cups. Another seven of swords card has a different back design—according to Michael Dummett, two palm trees—although its face is identical with the seven of swords in the Orpheus/Cupid pack.

Card XVI, and possibly cards VIII and XVIIII, refers to *Orlando Furioso,* by the Italian poet Ariosto. (Group 4 of the Sforza Castle cards also shows a scene from *Orlando Furioso,* on its back designs.) The scene on card XVI is of the fight between Orlando and Rodomond, a pagan. Orlando, in a state of madness, has thrown away his armor and is naked. They wrestle on a bridge that Rodomond built in remorse for killing his beloved, Isabella. Rodomond challenges all knights to combat on the bridge, in honor of Isabella. The bridge is situated near Isabella's tomb, probably shown as a mausoleum on the right of the card's picture. Orlando overcomes Rodomond in the struggle when they both fall in the water and Rodomond is too encumbered by his armor.

Card XVIIII depicts a nude man uprooting a tree. In the background is a fountain with an ornament on top. Possibly this card depicts Orlando in a state of madness. In *Orlando Innamorato,* the epic poem to which *Orlando Furioso* is a sequel, there are two fountains, one whose waters evoke love in those who drink from it, and another whose waters evoke hatred. Possibly the fountain in the background is one of these.

Card VIII may show the wedding feast of Rogero, a Saracen knight who converts to Christianity, and Bradamant, the maiden warrior. The scene takes place indoors, on a tiled floor. Cupid is overhead, along with another figure whose identity is unclear. Two musicians, a man playing a cello and a woman playing a lute, are in the foreground. The lovers kiss in the background.

Card XII The Hanged Man probably does not relate to the epics of Orlando. The card depicts a man hanging by one foot on a gallows composed of a rough beam resting on two ornate columns. His face expresses great chagrin. Like the Hanged Man of the Tarot of Marseilles, one of his legs crosses behind the other and his hands are apparently bound behind his back. His clothes are of fifteenth-century fashion, with slashing on the breeches and sleeves.

The presence of at least one scene from *Orlando Furioso* in the group of cards favors attributing the cards to Ferrara, for the poem must have been especially favored there. According to Ariosto, Rogero and Bradamant were the ancestors of the noble d'Este family who ruled Ferrara.

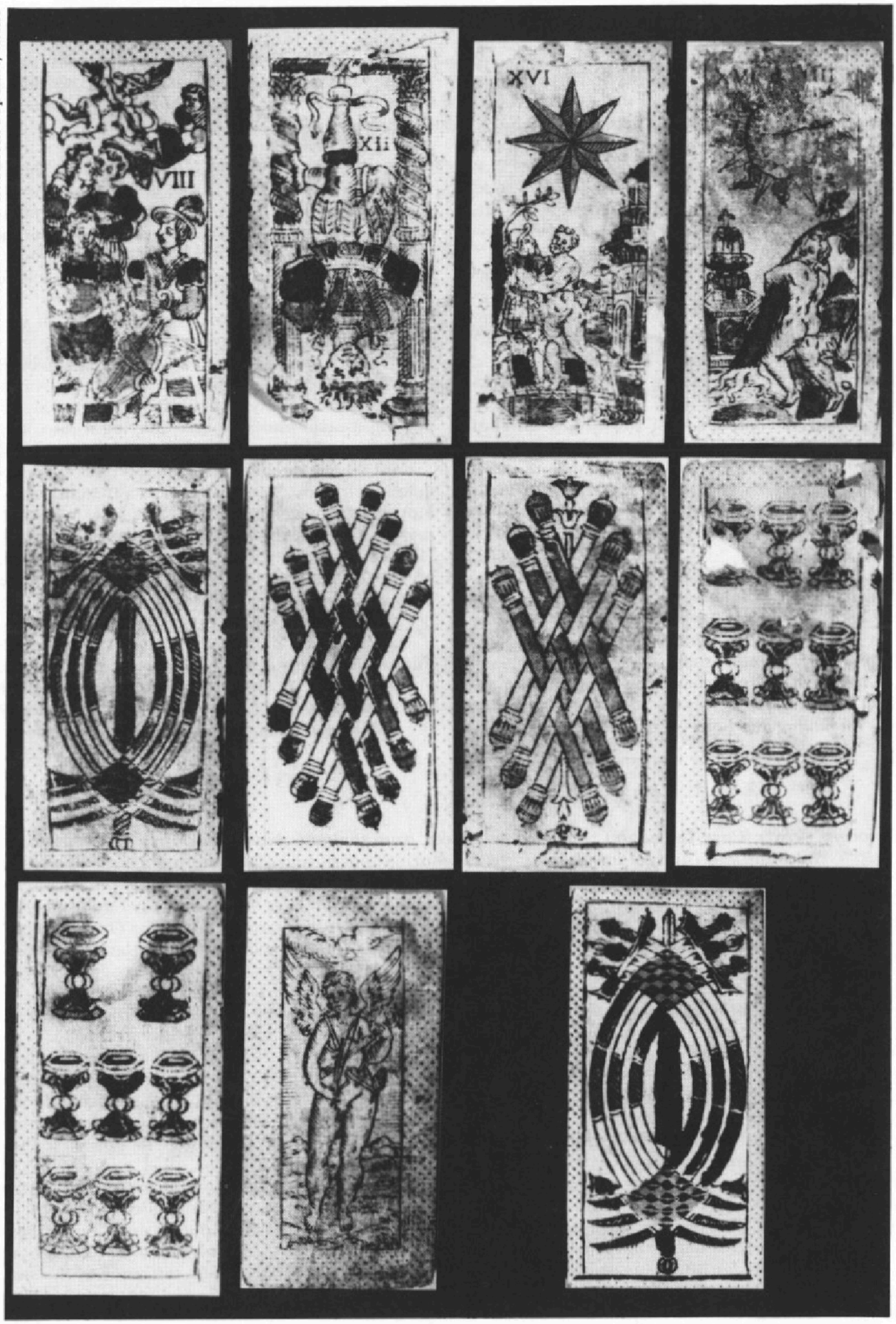
Italian Tarocchi Cards, Cary Collection *Fragmented sheet, from the mid-sixteenth century, of woodblock printed tarocchi cards. The uncut sheet consists of six complete and fourteen partial cards, all unnumbered and untitled. There are eighteen Major Arcana and two Minor Arcana.* TOP ROW: *Vertical fragment from the lower right hand corner of* ***The Hanged Man*** *card showing the side beam of the gibbet rising along the right edge of the card, plus a clump of hair from the person hanging upside down and possibly a sack held in the right hand. Lower portion of* ***The Wheel of Fortune*** *depicts the wooden base and two support legs of the Wheel. The head of a figure can be seen on the left of the card, and another figure clings to the bottom rim of the Wheel.* ***The Chariot*** *has a shield, but no initials are engraved on it.* ***The Lovers*** *depicts a figure wearing a long gown and another in a short tunic and hose. The image suggests The Lovers card in the hand-painted fifteenth-century Visconti and Visconti-Sforza tarocchi decks. Only a fragment remains of* ***Justice,*** *showing a platform along the bottom of the card and the partial outline of the arm of a chair or throne.*

SECOND ROW: *Vertical fragment from the card* ***Strength*** *shows a female figure with billowing hair and her left hand at the lion's mouth.* ***The Popess*** *or possibly* ***The Pope*** *wears a bishop's miter and holds a crosier while a servant or disciple kneels at his or her feet. The hand-painted Goldschmidt cards, from the mid-fifteenth century (see Volume I), also include a card that shows a bishop wearing a miter and holding a crosier.* ***The Emperor,*** *in profile, and* ***The Empress*** *both hold shields ornamented with the imperial eagle. Left vertical fragment of* ***The Pope*** *or* ***The Popess*** *with platform has high-backed throne and long robes clearly visible.*

THIRD ROW: *Vertical fragment of* ***The Sun*** *card has a seminude figure, probably representing one of the two youths that usually appear on the full card.* ***The Moon*** *is without the baying dogs of the Tarot of Marseilles, but has the rest of the design, including the crayfish and the two towers.* ***The Star*** *has four small stars surrounding one gigantic center star. Another star on the figure's shoulder may indicate that the figure is the personification of the zodiacal sign Aquarius. Traditional iconography for Aquarius shows a figure pouring water from a large jug, with one of the stars of the constellation on the shoulder.* ***The Magician,*** *wearing a conical cap and holding a cup in his right hand, is seated at an ornate desk. Ten objects resting on the desk top include a knife, a baton or rod, several coins and two cups; thus the objects on the table approximate the four suits of the tarot.* ***The Fool*** *carries a sack across his back and a long rod or branch over his shoulder, but apparently there is no dog barking at his back.*

BOTTOM ROW: *Vertical fragmented card of* ***The Tower*** *shows round debris in the sky, as usual for the Tarot of Marseilles design.* ***The Devil*** *pierces a small figure with a stick while other small figures wail in a long basket on his back.* ***Temperance*** *is a seated figure pouring liquid between an ornate vessel and a plain cup.* ***Seven of staves*** *has batons interlaced at the center, with spreading handles.* ***Eight*** *or possibly the* ***nine of staves.***

Collection of Museo delle Arti e delle Tradizioni Popolari, Rome



Museo delle Arti e delle Tradizioni Popolari TOP ROW: *VIII The Lovers, XII The Hanged Man, XVI The Star (?), XVIIII The Sun (?).* SECOND ROW: *Seven of swords, eight of batons, six of batons, nine of cups.* THIRD ROW: *Eight of cups, back design, seven of swords with back design (not shown) of two palm trees.*

THE SFORZA CASTLE

The cards and fragments found at the Sforza Castle at the turn of the twentieth century are presently housed in the playing card collection of Raccolta delle Stampe Achille Bertarelli at the Sforza Castle, Milan. In 1981, fifty-eight cards or fragments remained in the collection, although fifty-nine were counted in 1908 by Francesco Novati, so presumably one card or fragment is lost, or Novati miscounted. The cards are displayed in seven groups between pairs of glass and the groups are not entirely based on the designs of the cards.

The first article by Novati in 1908, entitled "Carte da giuoco dei secoli XV, XVI e XVII rinvenute nel Castello Sforzesco," appeared in *Bullettino dei Civici Musei Artistico ed Archeologico di Milano* (anno III) and was followed in the same year by a more involved description entitled "Per la storia delle carte da giuoco in Italia: Appunti" in the journal *Il Libro e la Stampa* (anno II). Novati's research remained virtually forgotten except for a brief mention by Gertrude Moakley in 1966 in *The Tarot Cards Painted by Bonifacio Bembo for the Visconti-Sforza Family*. In 1980 Novati's research was brought to the attention of playing card collectors by Michael Dummett's articles in the *Journal of the International Playing-Card Society* (vol. 9, no. 2; vol. 9, no. 3), which described the fifty-eight playing cards and fragments, and were followed up in May 1981 by another article in the same journal (vol. 9, no. 4).

Excluding the sixteen cards or fragments of cards, which have French suits of spades, clubs, hearts and diamonds, and which are obviously not tarots, there remain forty-two cards or fragments of cards that, based upon design and style, were probably parts of tarot packs. The forty-two cards and fragments comprise thirty pip cards, ten court cards and two Major Arcana cards: The Sun and The World.

The two Major Arcana cards and the court cards are similar to early French Tarot of Marseilles types, but generally, except for one group, the backs and faces of the cards are distinguished from their French contemporaries by the comparative elegance and grace of the art. Tentative identification of a few badly damaged court cards among the Proserpine classical cards is aided by comparison with cards of the Tarot of Marseilles deck. The partially destroyed pip cards can also be identified through comparison with the Tarot of Marseilles.

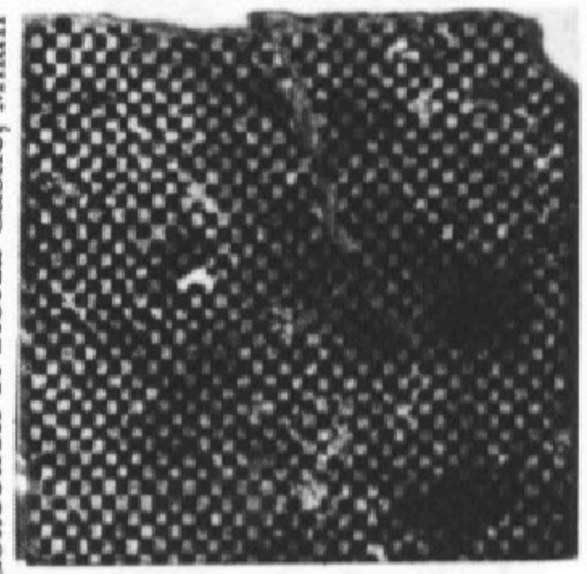
The cards and fragments came from many different decks, as evidenced by the variety of back designs. The forty-two possible tarot cards and fragments can thus be divided into eleven groups based on style, back design and size. Unless otherwise stated, the measurements are taken from the actual cards. The variance in size among cards in one group is probably due to wear or damage of the cards.

1. The two of coins bears the inscription PAVLINVS [DA] CAST[E]LETO FECIT 1499. The back is plain. The card measures 48 to 50 by 93 millimeters. Novati cited a document in the Milanese archives, dated January 10, 1513, and notarized by Giovanni Marco da Birago, which records a partnership between Paolino da Castelletto and Bartolomeo Pozzobonelli, to sell playing cards, paper and card stock. Further references to Paolino da Castelletto, dated 1508 and 1494, were discovered by Novati. If the card is from a tarot pack, it represents one of the earliest extant woodblock tarot cards. The form of the design—two coins embraced by a ribbon with the maker's name and date—is like that of the Tarot of Marseilles two of coins.

Collection of Sforza Castle, Milan

Group 1 *Two of coins*

2. King of cups has only the bottom half of the card remaining and measures 57 millimeters across. The seated figure, seen below the shoulders, rests his right arm on a chair or throne and his right leg is extended. He wears strapped shoes and his robe leaves his legs exposed from the knees down. The back design is a checkered pattern. Dummett dates this card to the fifteenth or early sixteenth century.



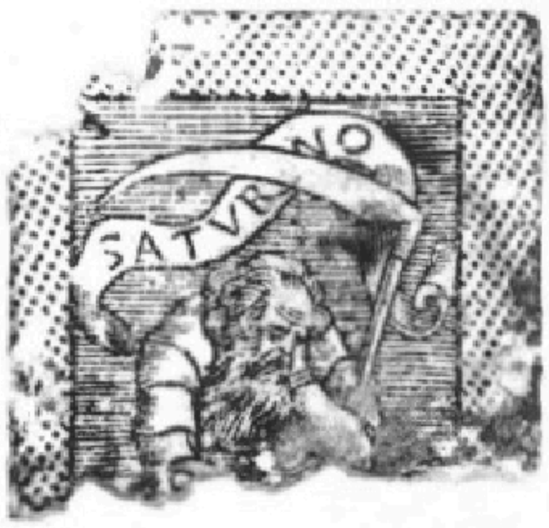
Collection of Sforza Castle, Milan

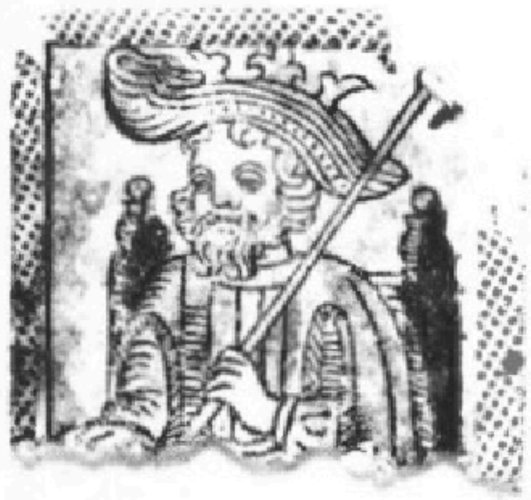
Group 2 *Back and face of king of cups*

3. The "classical" group comprises nineteen Minor Arcana cards—five court cards and fourteen pips—with measurements ranging from 55 to 59 millimeters wide and 101 to 103 millimeters high. The nineteen cards and card fragments apparently derive from nine different decks, as evidenced by nine different back designs featuring classical deities. The pips lack Roman numerals on the faces. The back designs are printed on sheets of paper glued on the backs of the cards, with edges wrapped around the fronts to form borders on the faces of the cards. The border panels are decorated with dark, repeating diamonds. The names of the deities on the backs appear in ribbons toward the tops of the cards. The unusual feature of the nineteen classical cards is the attractive back designs portraying classical deities. The features of the court figures are also pleasing, for example, the plump, youthful face of the page in the Proserpine set and the kind, dignified king of batons of the Saturn set. Novati dates the cards to sixteenth-century Venice; Michael Dummett feels strongly that the cards should be attributed to Milan, sixteenth or seventeenth century. The nine different back designs comprise the following groups.

SATVRNO (Saturn)
Saturn, who often symbolizes Time, is an old, dolorous hunchback carrying a sickle.

King of batons (top half, missing upper corner)



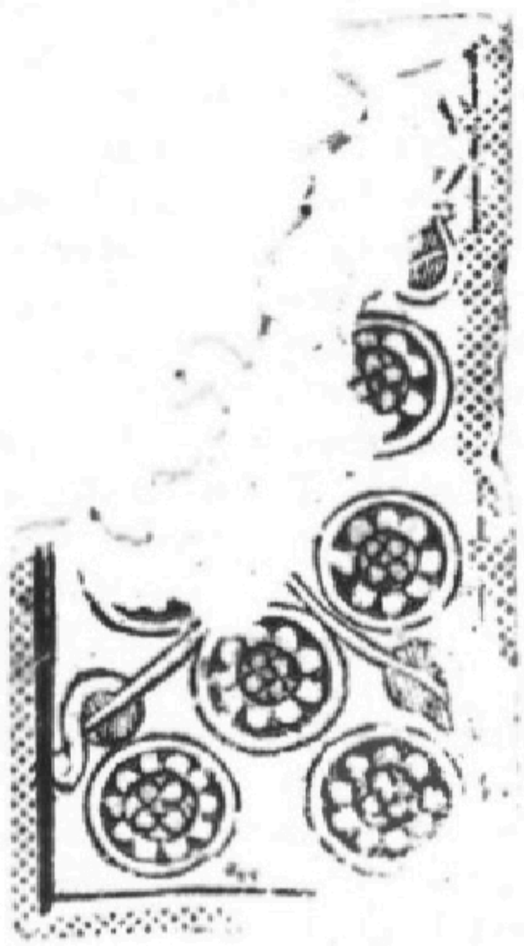


Collection of Sforza Castle, Milan

MARTE (Mars)
The god of war is in Roman armor. He holds a long pike, and below his knees are the faces of lions.

Nine of swords (upper corner missing), with ninth sword vertical; ten of coins (one third of card missing)

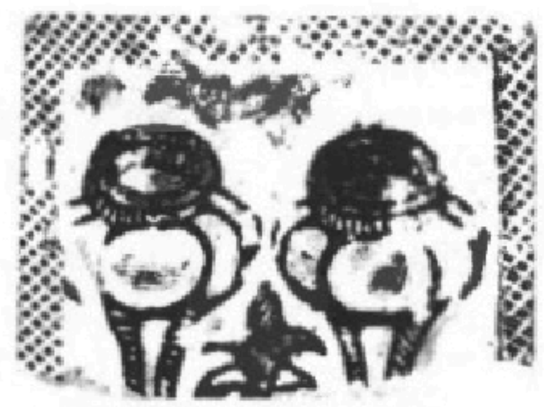
Collection of Sforza Castle, Milan

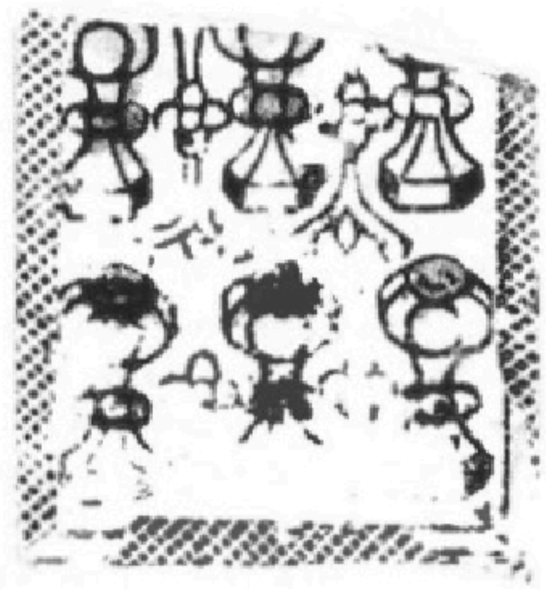


VERITAS (Truth)
The female deity stands on rocks at the edge of a lake, holding up an indistinct object in both hands.

Five of swords (less than half of bottom), with fifth sword vertical; ten or nine of cups (bottom half); four of cups (top half)

Collection of Sforza Castle, Milan





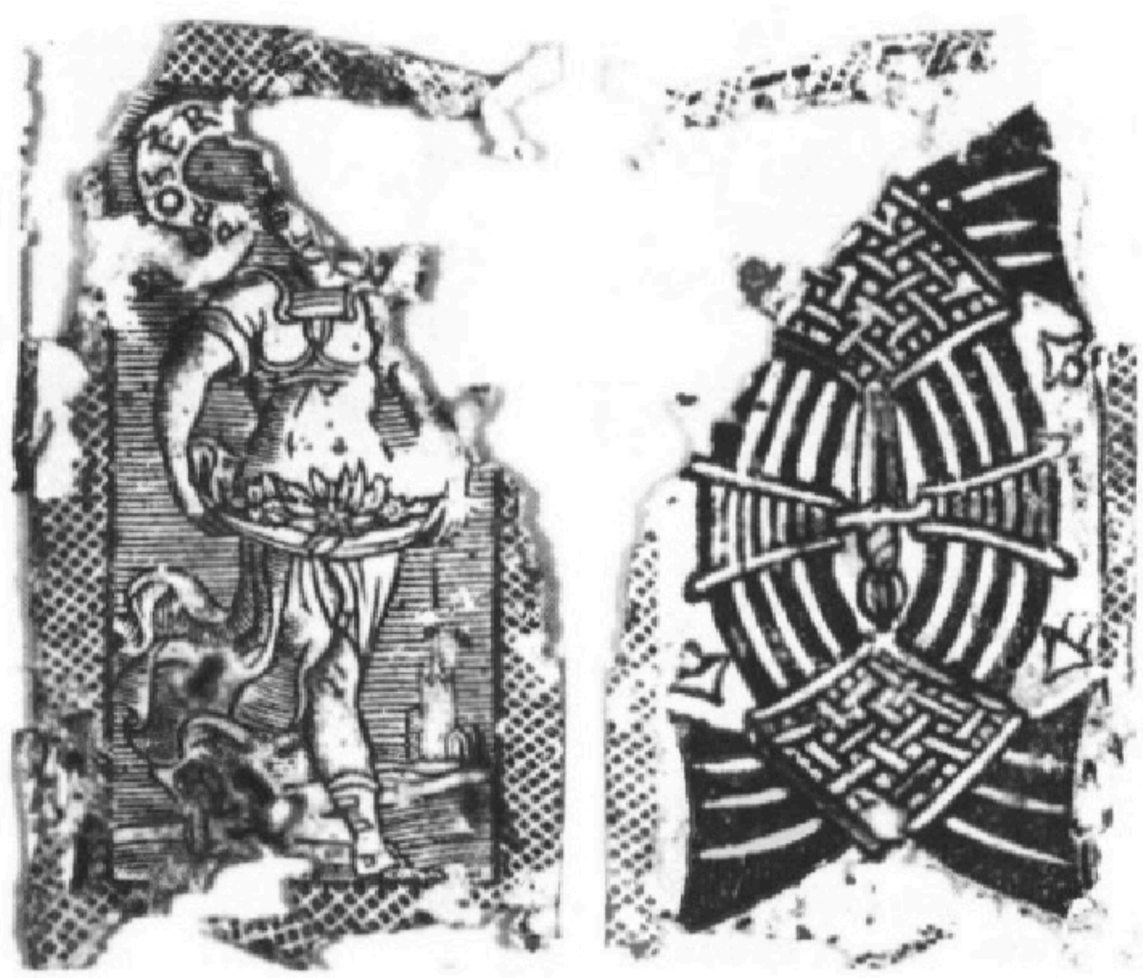
ERCVLE (Hercules)
Hercules wears a lion skin and holds a club.

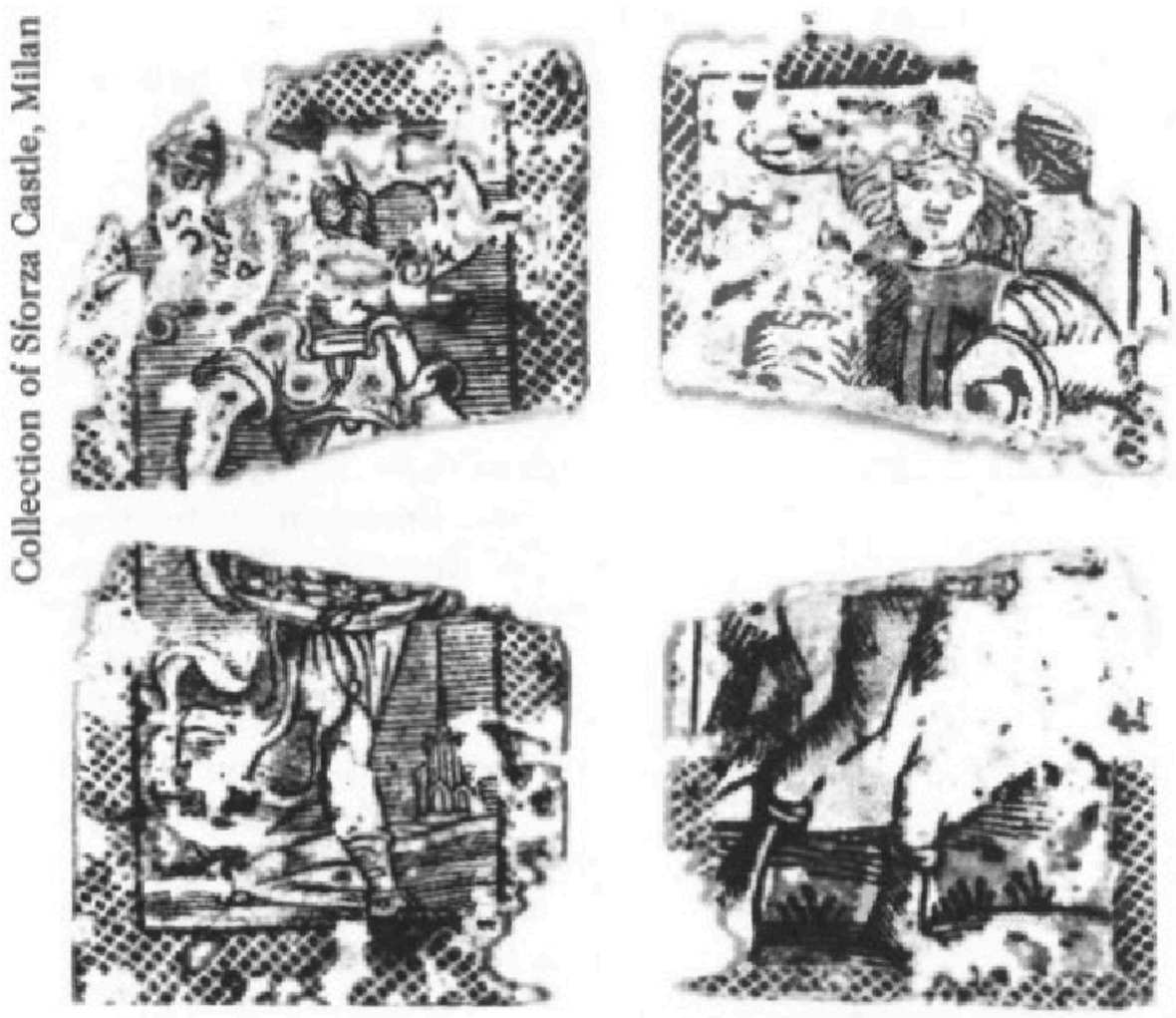
Seven of swords (top half), with seventh sword vertical

Collection of Sforza Castle, Milan

PROSER[PIN]A (Proserpine)
The goddess of spring holds flowers in her apron. A church with a tall spire is in the background.

Nine of swords (corner missing), ninth sword vertical; five of cups (bottom half); page of undetermined suit (less than top half), probably of swords or coins, since he is wearing the wide hat characteristic of pages in those suits in Tarot of Marseilles decks. By contrast pages of cups are usually bareheaded or wear wreathes, and pages of wands generally wear caps. Page of undetermined suit (bottom half), probably *not* of the suit of wands, since the page of wands usually rests the stick on the ground and no stick is visible here. The pose of the feet recalls the page of cups in other packs, as does the object in the hands, which could be the cup lid frequently held by the page of cups.

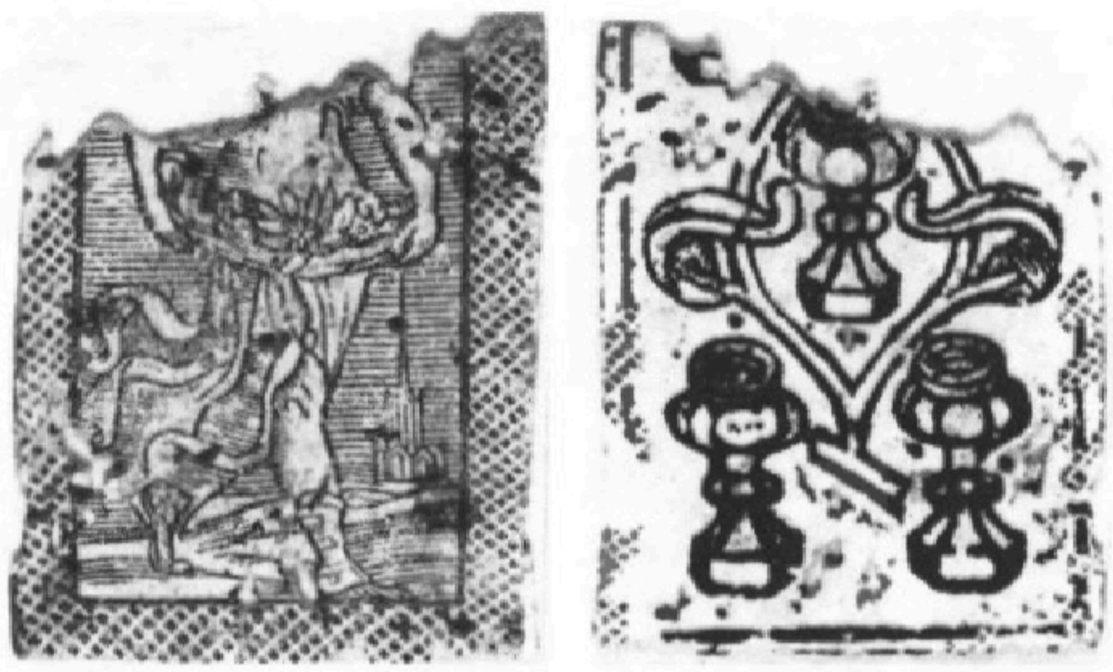



Collection of Sforza Castle, Milan

PLV[T]O (Pluto)
The bearded god of Death walks toward flames, leading his dog, the three-headed Cerberus. He rests a stick over his shoulder. The figure with dog and stick is strangely like the Fool of the Tarot of Marseilles.

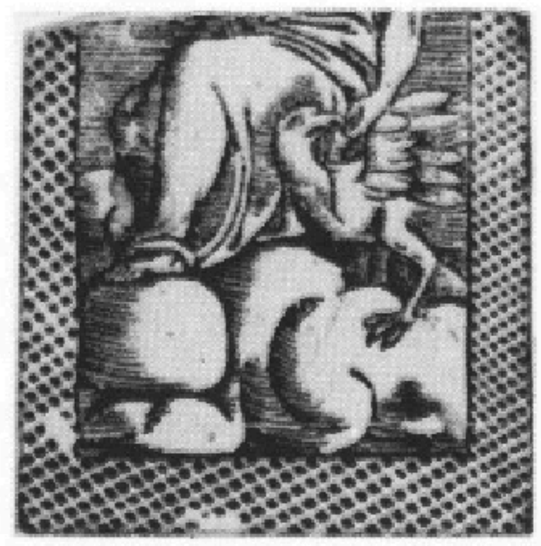
Seven of swords (bottom half), with seventh sword vertical; three of batons (badly damaged)

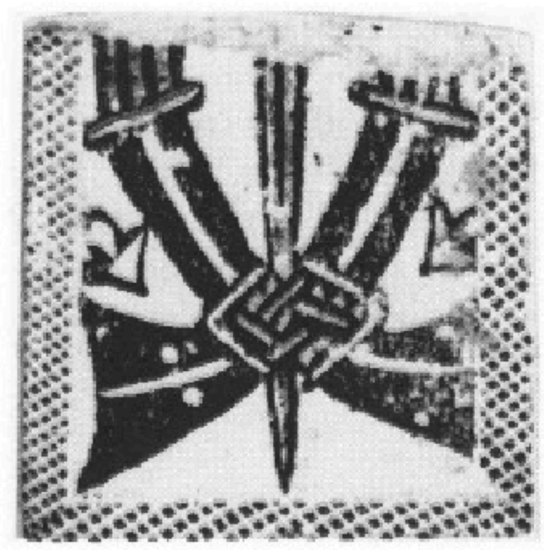
Collection of Sforza Castle, Milan

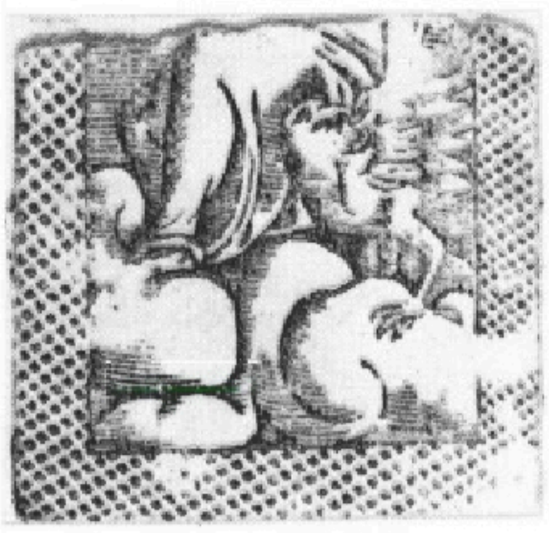


IOVE (Jove)
The deity sits in the clouds, cradling fire in his right arm and touching the beak of the eagle beside him with his left hand.

Eight of swords (virtually intact); five of swords (bottom half), the fifth sword vertical; knight of cups (top half); page of undetermined suit (lower half only). The page is probably not from the suit of wands or swords, since on both of these cards the sword or wand shows on the bottom half of the card. The page of cups is usually shown walking. Therefore, the card is possibly the page of coins. The page of coins seen in Grimaud's Tarot of Marseilles pack wears a pleated tunic, and he stands facing out. The background is hilly with a plant on the left.







Collection of Sforza Castle, Milan

MERCVRIO (Mercury)
Mercury flies among the clouds. His helmet and feet are winged and he holds a caduceus aloft.

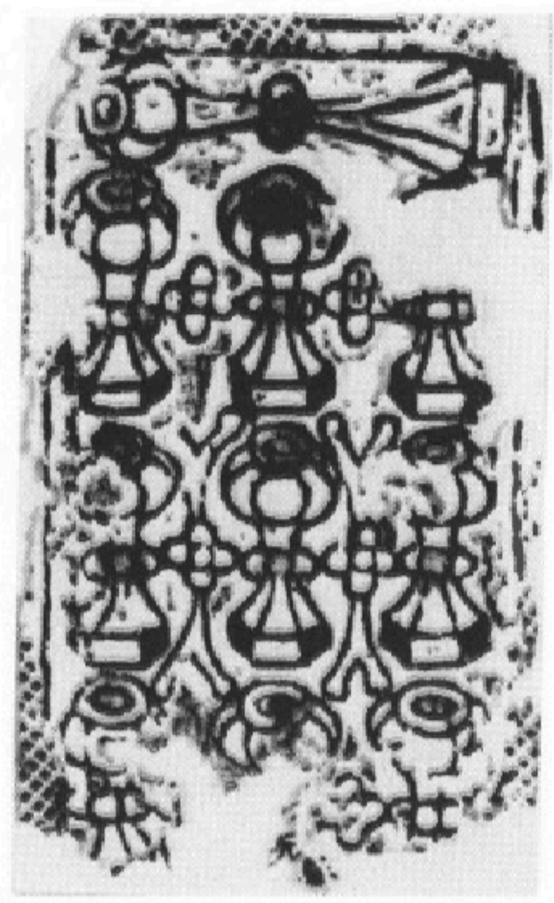
Seven of swords (only one third left), with seventh sword vertical

Collection of Sforza Castle, Milan

VENERE (Venus)
The goddess of Love playfully holds an arrow of her son, Cupid, who reaches up to embrace her.

Ten of cups (heavily damaged, with pieces missing from side and bottom)

Collection of Sforza Castle, Milan

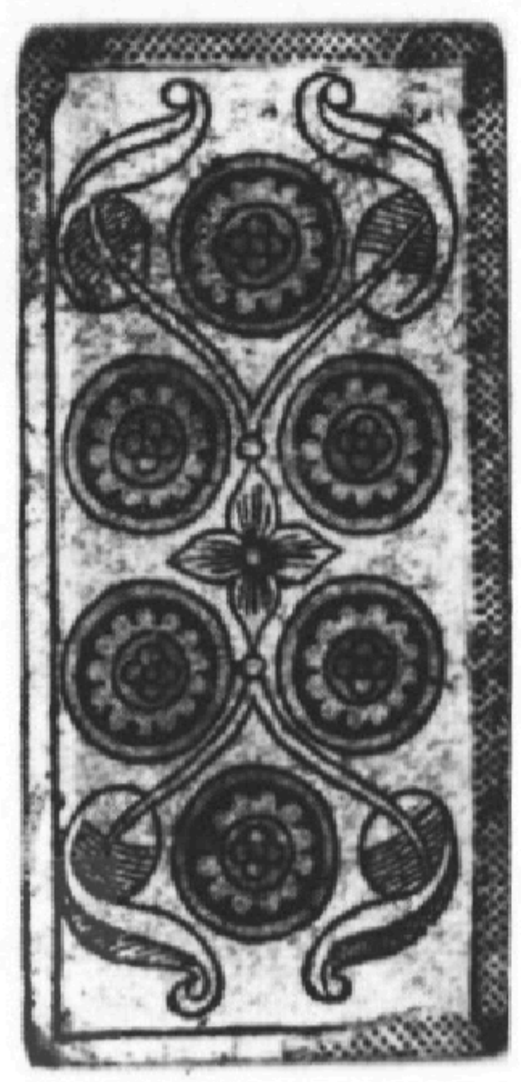


4. Six cards, measuring 68 to 69 millimeters wide by 135 millimeters high, comprise The World, the nine, seven and six of swords, the eight of batons and the six of coins. The World card, numbered XXI and untitled, has the Tarot of Marseilles design of a figure standing in the middle of an oval wreath, with the four symbols of the Evangelists in the corners: a man, an eagle, a bull and a lion, all winged. The figure in the center, with robe and leafy girdle, and perhaps a scepter in the left hand, strongly resembles the figures on The World cards in the decks by Vieville, from the mid-seventeenth century, and Heri, early eighteenth century. This resemblance would give weight to attributing the cards to seventeenth-century Milan or Ferrara, against Novati's dating to the late sixteenth century.

The back design on the seven and six of swords and on the six of coins reveals an ornate scene of Cupid above a warrior, whose sword and helmet are on the ground, and a naked woman. Novati identifies the warrior as Ruggiero and the woman as Angelico, both characters in Ariosto's chivalric epic poem *Orlando Furioso*, published in 1516. In the story, Ruggiero finds Angelica naked and chained to a rock, threatened by a monster. He frees her and carries her to safety on his hippogriff, a steed of medieval romance, with the body of a horse and the wings and head of a griffin. The hippogriff can be seen in the background of the card, between the two people. Expecting Angelica to give herself in gratitude for the rescue, Ruggiero struggles to remove his armor, but Angelica vanishes before he can free himself. The scene resembles The Lovers card of the tarot. The border design of small, dark diamonds is like that on the cards of group 3. Three cards lack back designs and front borders, since the sheet of paper glued to the back has fallen off.

Collection of Sforza Castle, Milan

***Group 4** (from top right) XXI The World, nine of swords, back and face of six of swords, (bottom row) seven of swords, eight of batons, back and face of six of coins.*



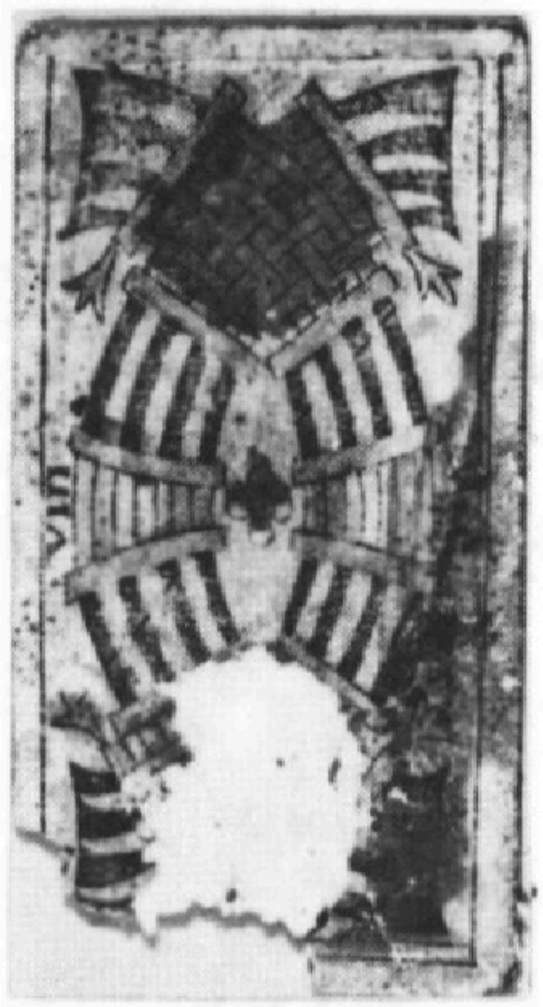
Collection of Sforza Castle, Milan

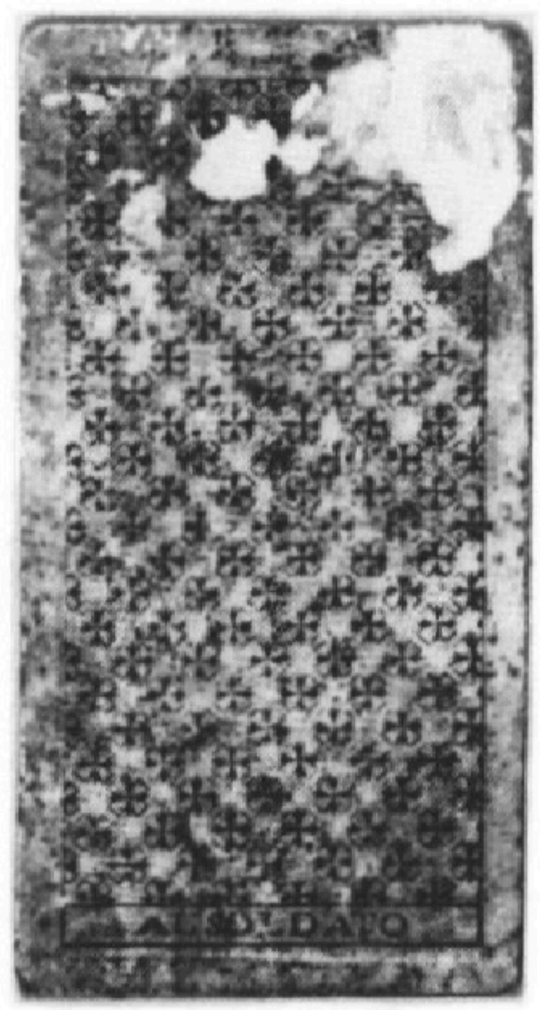
Group 5 *Knight (of wands?), five of batons, five of cups*

5. Three cards comprise one court and two pips. The single court is a knight of an undetermined suit—perhaps he holds a wand in his right hand. The face of the card is badly damaged at both top and bottom, even though the card itself is almost intact. This card measures 58 by 101 millimeters. The five of batons, also almost intact, but worn along the left side, measures 57 by 102 millimeters. The five of cups is missing about one third of the bottom. Its width is 48 millimeters. The backs on the three cards are plain.

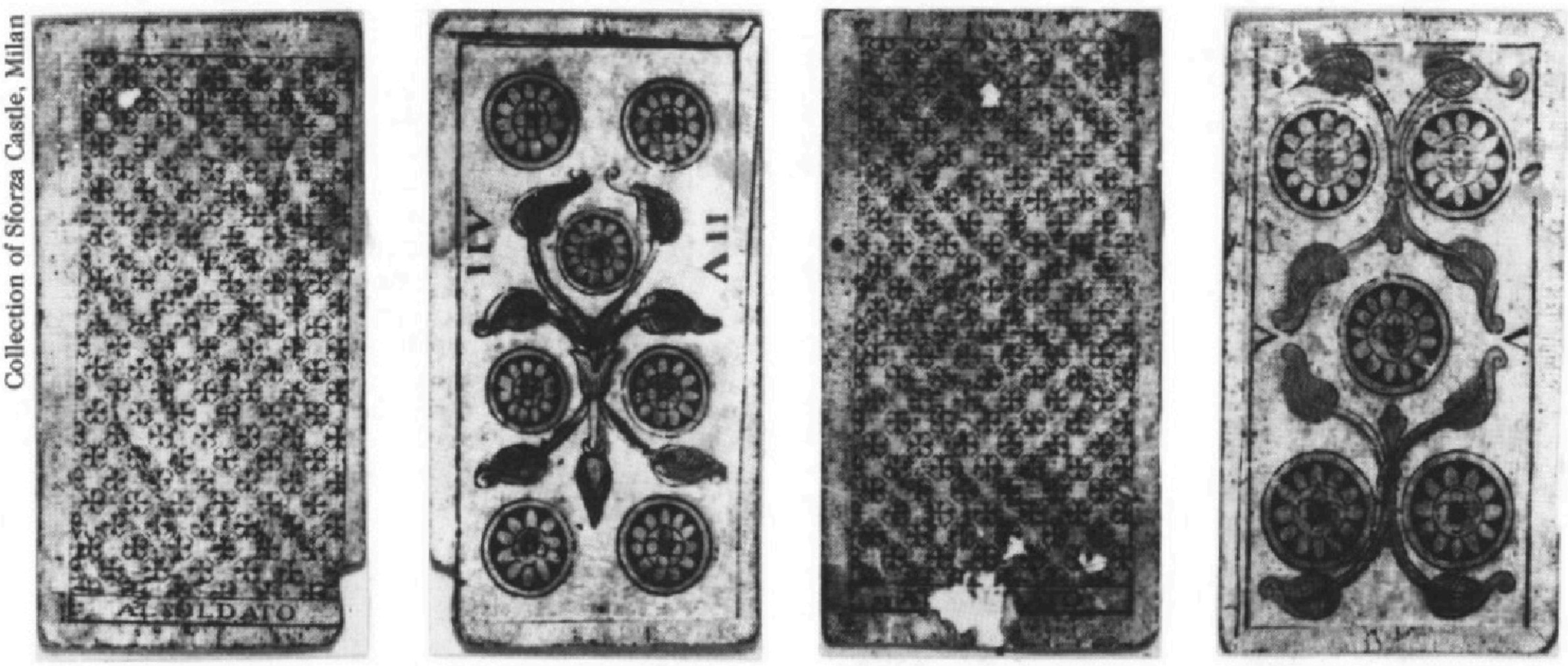
6. Five cards have the identification *AL SOLDATO* in a panel at the bottom of the back design, which is an encircled Maltese cross in a checkered pattern. These cards measure 64 by 117 millimeters. The cards are the knight of swords (torn at bottom); eight of swords with the Roman number VIII at both sides (bottom third badly damaged); six of swords with Roman numbers "IV" at the sides, instead of VI, a common error by artisans due to not reversing the number on the woodblocks so that it would print correctly on the card; seven of coins with the Roman number "IIV"; and five of coins, also Roman numbered. The knight of swords is like that on the Tarot of Marseilles, facing toward the left of the card wearing crescent face epaulets and a helmet with a studded border, and holding a sword up in his left hand. His horse's front legs are bent in a spirited gesture. The drawing of the figure is somewhat similar in style to the knight of batons in group 9. *AL SOLDATO* was likely a Bolognese cardmaker of the eighteenth century.

Collection of Sforza Castle, Milan





Group 6 *Knight of swords, eight of swords, back and face of six of swords*



Group 6 Back and face of seven of coins, back and face of five of coins

7. The five of cups has a back design of a symmetrical scroll design above a panel inscribed *AL MONDO,* the logo of a cardmaker of Bologna who worked in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century. This card measures 55 by 110 millimeters.

8. The ten of coins is badly damaged on its face. The back design features a flower, perhaps a poppy, and a panel inscribed *AL LEONE,* probably indicating a Bolognese or Milanese cardmaker of the eighteenth century. Bolognese cardmakers of the time frequently included such panels on their back designs, but Milanese cardmakers may have also used such labels. This card measures 55 by 110 millimeters.

Group 7 Back and face of five of cups

Group 8 Back and face of ten of coins

9. The knight of batons has its top border apparently cut off. The title of the card is visible, but illegible, at the bottom of the card; it appears to be in Italian. Back design is indistinguishable due to heavy damage. The card measures 55 by 98 millimeters.

Group 9 *Back and face of knight of batons*

10. Four of cups has less than the bottom half remaining. The back has no design, but the impression of the face shows through. This card measures 56 millimeters in width.

Group 10 *Four of cups*

11. XVIIII The Sun, knight of cups and four of swords make up the eleventh group. The Sun card, numbered but untitled, is similar to the traditional Tarot of Marseilles card, but shows a man and a woman instead of two boys. Interestingly, this card corresponds to The Sun in the undated Heri deck, as the Christ-like figure on The World in Sforza Castle group 4 corresponds to the World of the undated Heri deck. (The 1718 Heri deck shows two boys on The Sun, and, on The World, the more traditional female figure with the scarf draped over her.) The similarity of the Sforza Castle cards to the undated Heri deck indicates these cards can be tentatively dated early eighteenth century. Sylvia Mann, according to Michael Dummett, dated the cards circa 1700 due to the back designs, which are borderless and do not fold over the fronts of the cards. The back design is a repeating diamond shape containing a cross, the ends of whose arms are pierced by black arrows pointing in to the center, where there is a dot encircled. The knight of cups is almost completely intact and it follows the Tarot of Marseilles pattern. The figure is bareheaded and holds the cup in his right hand. The horse poses with the right foreleg raised, and the direction in which the horse and rider face conform to the Tarot of Marseilles type. The rider has very long hair. The four of batons is slightly damaged at the upper side. Card dimensions are 61 by 107 to 112 millimeters.

Group 11 *Back and face of XVIIII (The Sun), four of swords, knights of cups*

A. HEBREO CARD

The British Museum holds a card made by Agnolo Hebreo and attributed to sixteenth-century Bologna by Michael Dummett. The image on the card is of the Devil, devouring sinners and carrying them to hell. There is neither number nor title on the card.

A. Hebreo Card *The Devil, front and back, made by A. Hebreo in the sixteenth century. The face shows a hideous devil, with horns and bird claws, devouring his victims. The back portrays a man standing outdoors with the motto* CHA PE RSE SE GRATA EL CVL LO *in a ribbon above him, and the maker's name appears at the bottom. Apparently, the back was printed on a separate sheet of paper whose edges wrapped around the front of the card.*

SOLA-BUSCA TAROCCHI DECK

In *Early Italian Engravings* (1938), A. M. Hind wrote of a complete pack of tarocchi cards dating from the late fifteenth century. The cards were owned by the Sola-Busca family of Milan, but are presently accessible only through photographs given to Hind by the Sola family for the British Museum, and through Hind's book, which illustrates the deck. Hind was given the privilege of examining the actual cards in 1934. Unfortunately, the Sola-Busca family and their cards can no longer be found.

Several cards made from the same metal engraving plates are owned by various museums, including the Albertina Collection of Vienna, which owns twenty-three of the "Sola-Busca" cards, as they are collectively called. The Albertina's Sola-Busca cards are illustrated in Volume I of *The Encyclopedia of Tarot.*

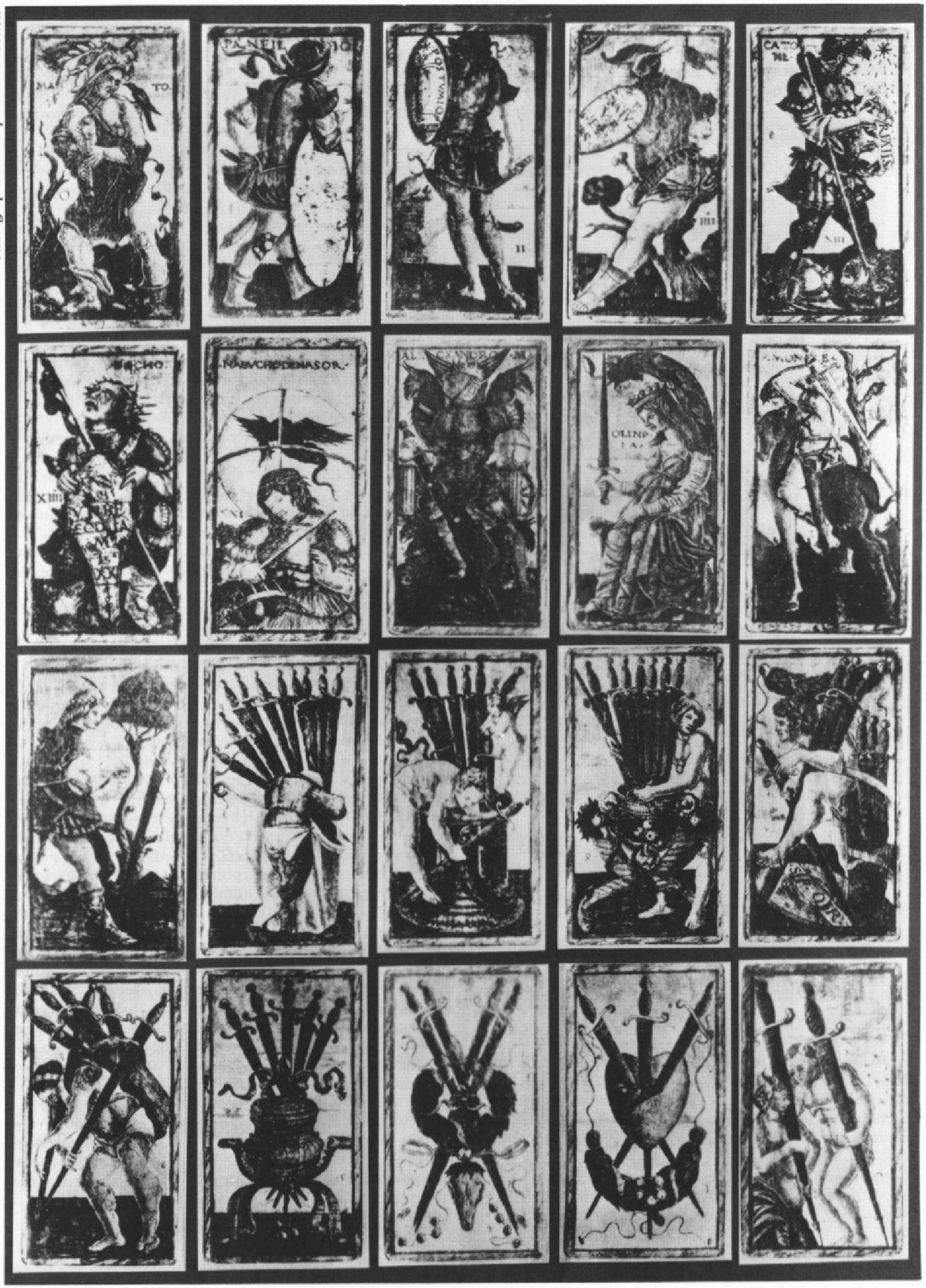
The original cards owned by the Sola-Busca family and photographed for A. M. Hind on behalf of the British Museum were prints from metal engravings which were subsequently illuminated. Hind believed that the style of the engravings indicated origin in Ferrara, but that the illuminations were probably done shortly after the engravings in Venice. He compared the engraving, "with its clear-cut outlines and regular shading in close parallels and cross-hatching" to that of the E series of the Mantegna tarocchi. Comparison with the extant cards in the Albertina Collection, which have no illumination, show that the painter added some details to the original engravings. The initials on the aces, "S.M.," are probably those of the illuminator.

A possible reason for attribution of the deck to fifteenth-century Milan is found on the king of coins. The dedication "A FILIPPO" appears on the throne, possibly referring to Filippo Maria Visconti, who ruled Milan from 1412 to 1447. The sovereign on the card holds a banner inscribed PAX. Filippo's father, Giangaleazzo Visconti, had formed a league to expell foreign opportunists from Italy, and the league had taken a blue banner inscribed *PAX* as its emblem.

The seventy-eight-card Sola-Busca deck comprises twenty-two Major Arcana and fifty-six Minor Arcana. The Major Arcana portray warriors, except for card XXI NABVCHODENASOR (Nebuchadnezzar) and XX NEN-BROTO (Nimrod). *Matto* (Fool) is numbered 0. The Minor Arcana are divided into suits of swords, batons, cups and coins, with the court cards portraying classical figures. The Minor Arcana are Arabic numbered in each suit, one (ace) through 11 (page), 12 (knight), 13 (queen) and 14 (king), but the numbers were probably added by the illuminator.

The most intriguing feature of the Sola-Busca cards is the full scenes that appear on the pip cards of the Minor Arcana. Other early decks show configurations of the suit symbols, and generally the decorations are kept to floral or abstract arabesques. The Sola-Busca pip cards show the suit signs placed in settings, often with figures of people and animals assisting in the scene. It was not until much later, in the nineteenth- and twentieth-century occult tarot decks, that the Minor Arcana departed again from the traditional symmetrical arrangement of suit signs. Several of the Minor Arcana cards of the Sola-Busca Tarocchi were used as models for the Rider-Waite Tarot deck, which was made in the early twentieth century by Pamela Colman Smith and is now one of the most popular tarot decks published.

Photographs from a private collection



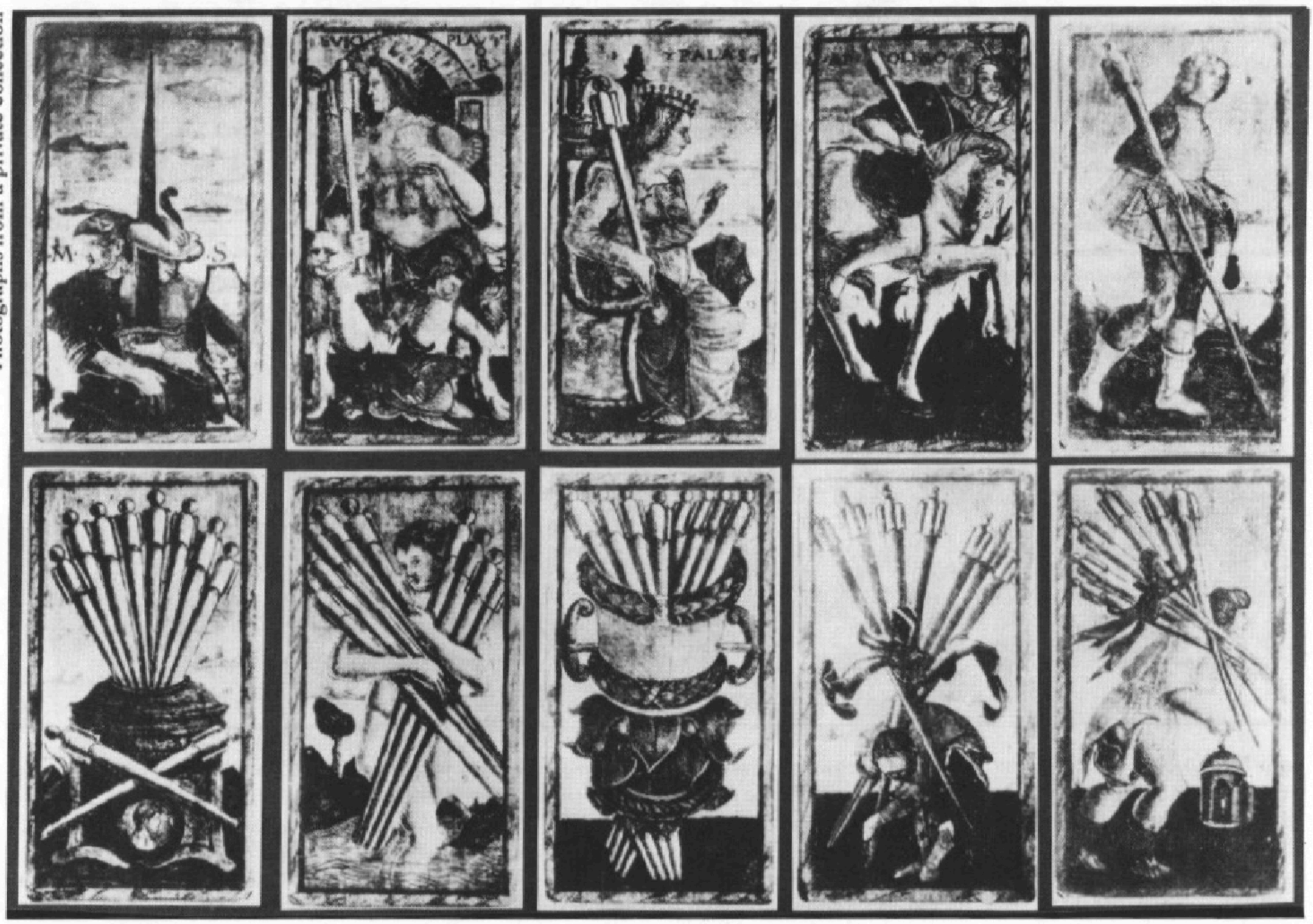
***Sola-Busca Tarocchi** (facing page)* TOP ROW: ***0 MATTO** (Fool) wears a ragged costume, with feathers and leaves drooping from his headdress. He plays bagpipes and on his shoulder is a crow. **I PANFILIO** carries a shield under his right arm. The illuminator of this set of cards painted over the shield, effacing the design and title on the original engraving, and added the title to the top of the card. **II POSTVMIO** holds a torch and shield while contemplating a skull on a brick pedestal. **IIII** shows **MARIO** as can be seen on the original engraving. The title, which was at the bottom of the card, is concealed by the painted foliage. The shield reads* SENATUS VENETUS, *an inscription added by the illuminator. **XIII CATONE** studies a scroll to which the illuminator has added:* ORFATIS *(?). The star was also painted on, as was the gore dripping from the eye of the head pierced by the warrior's arrow.*

SECOND ROW: ***XIIII BOCHO** kneels, holding a shield on which the illuminator inscribed* ANNO AB URBE CONDITA MLXX. ***XXI NABVCHODENASOR*** (Nebuchadnezzar) *was the conqueror who carried the Jews to captivity in ancient times. His symbol of dominion is drawn over with a dragon. The globe split into three parts is often seen on XXI The World in traditional tarot decks. **ALEXANDRO** is the king of swords; **OLINPIA** is the queen of swords, and **AMONE** (?) is the knight of swords.*

THIRD ROW: ***Page of swords** is untitled. **Ten of swords** shows a man carrying a sack filled with giant swords, while peering into its bottom. On the **nine of swords** a naked youth puts swords into a container with the assistance of a putto. **Eight of swords** portrays a young man with a cauldron of seven swords; the eighth sword is in his hand. **Seven of swords** shows a youth running along, seemingly unencumbered by the three swords in his left arm, a sword in his right hand and three more swords in a quiver on his back.*

BOTTOM ROW: ***Six of swords** depicts a man burdened by four swords in a sack on his back and two swords in his arms. **Five of swords** shows an urn containing five swords. **Four of swords** is a wreath embracing four crossed swords, with an animal skull below. **Three of swords** shows a heart pierced with three swords, with a bunch of foliage below. **Two of swords** shows a youth and a faun with two swords.*

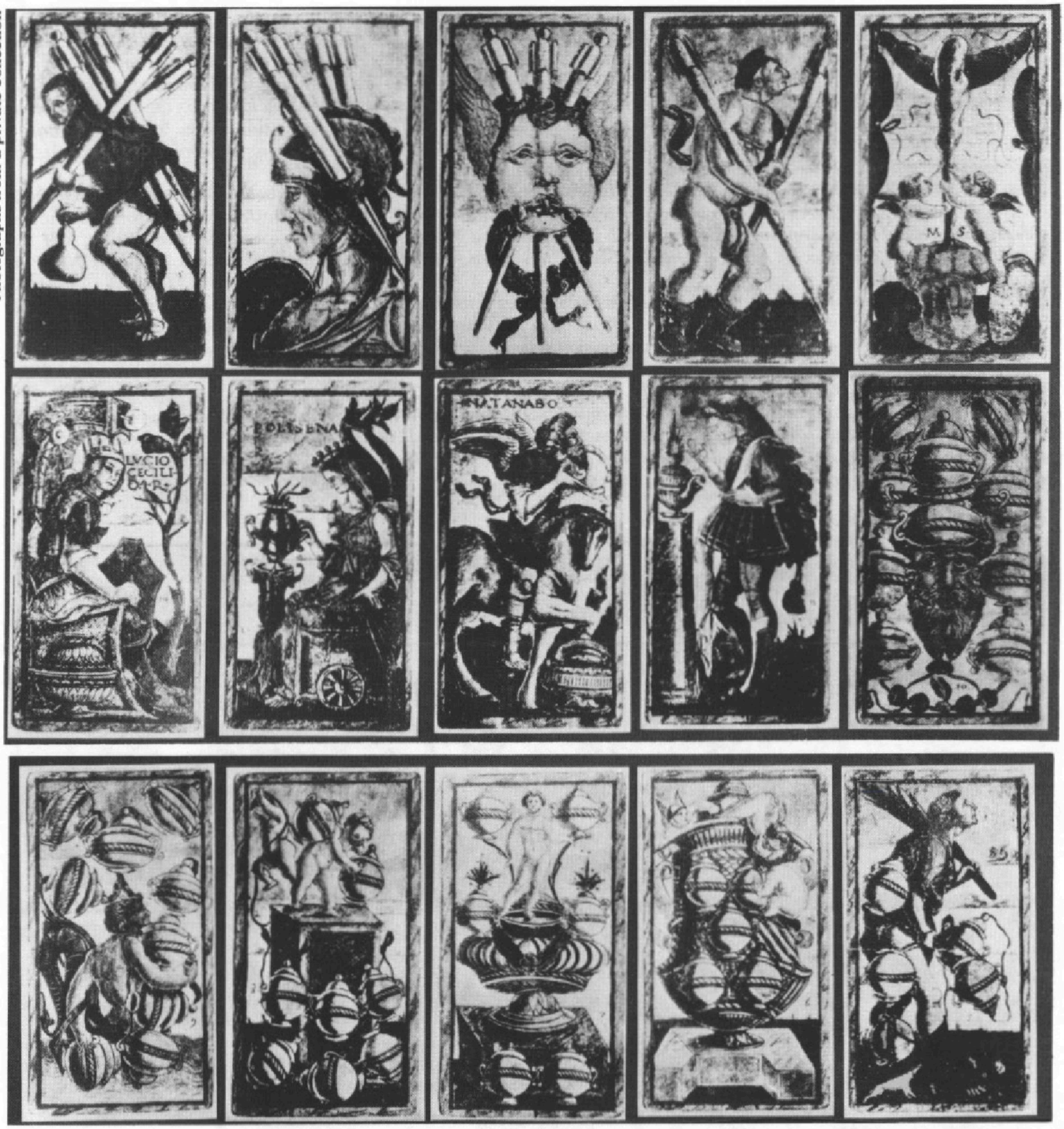
Photographs from a private collection



Sola-Busca Tarocchi TOP ROW: ***Ace of swords** has two men bearing a sword and a shield. The initials "M.S." on each side of the card are probably those of the illuminator. **EVIO PLAVOR** (king of batons) sits on a throne whose seat is in the form of a lion. **PALAS** (queen of batons) sits placidly on her throne. **APOLINO** (knight of batons) rides a horse that looks behind itself. **Page of batons** is untitled. A youth walks outdoors, carrying a pouch and a large wand. A dagger hangs at his side.*

SECOND ROW: ***Ten of swords** is an urn containing eight swords with two swords crossed in front. **Nine of batons** portrays a boy standing knee-deep in water and holding nine batons. **Eight of batons** shows eight batons in a planter. **Seven of batons** is a man stooped under seven batons. **Six of batons** shows a man carrying six batons and a lantern. He is seemingly oblivious of his torn breeches.*

Photographs from a private collection

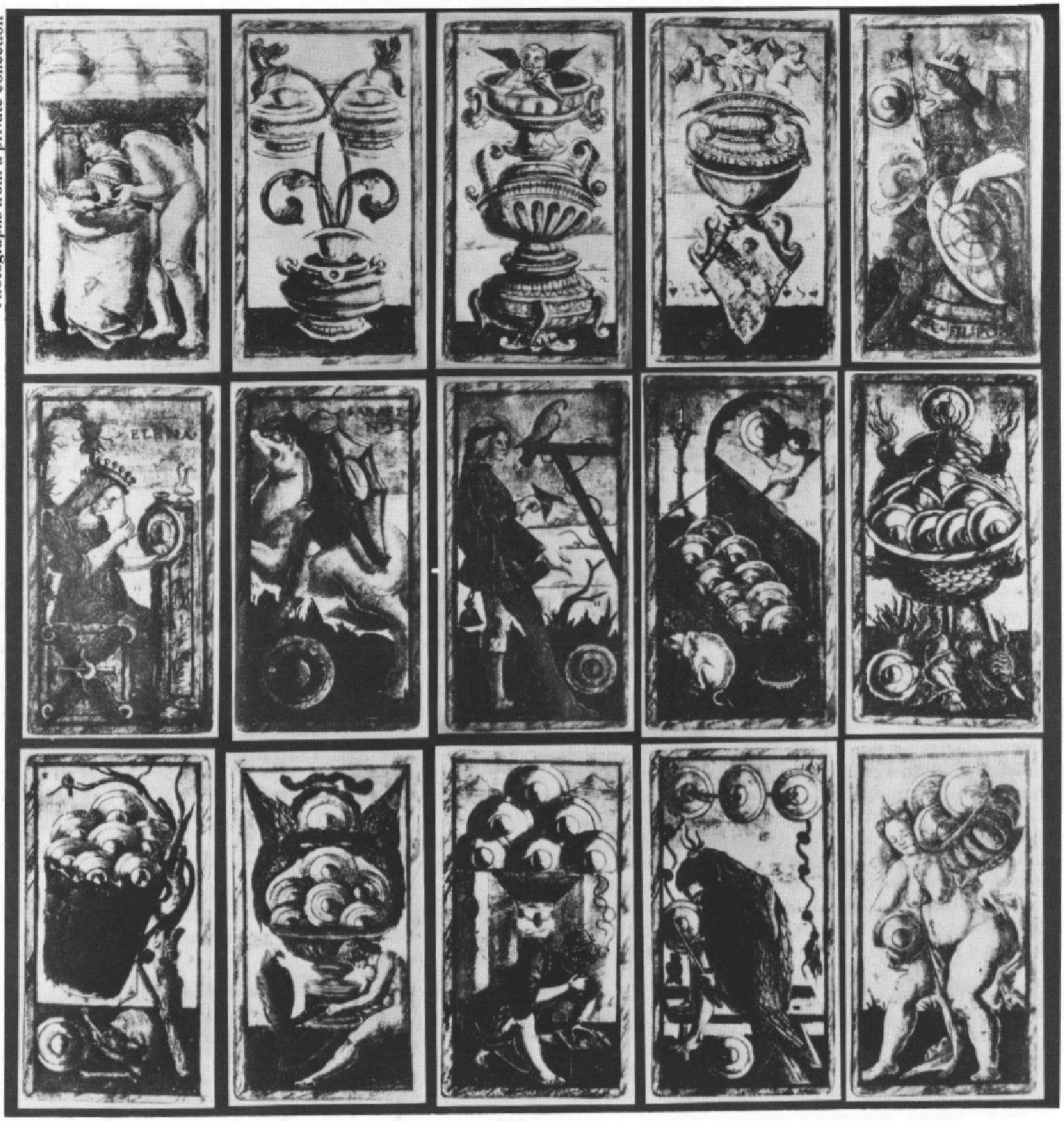


Sola Busca Tarocchi TOP ROW: ***Five of batons*** *shows a man carrying five batons and a gourd.* ***Four of batons*** *portrays a warrior whose headdress bears four batons.* ***Three of batons*** *has the uncomfortable image of a cherub's head impaled by three batons, with a ring in the mouth and a wreath behind.* ***Two of batons*** *shows an older man with two batons.* ***Ace of batons*** *depicts two putti supporting a club. The initials "M.S." figure on the spaces between the club and the putti.*

SECOND ROW: ***LVCIO CECILIOR*** *(king of cups) sits on a throne, a large, covered bowl beside him.* ***POLISENA*** *(queen of cups) studies a flaming urn as she sits on her wheeled throne.* **NATANABO** *(knight of cups) is winged and carries a wreath. A large covered bowl is beside his high-stepping horse.* ***Page of cups*** *gazes at an oil lamp. On the* ***ten of cups****, ten vessels surround a bearded man's face.*

BOTTOM ROW: ***Nine of cups*** *portrays a creature half man, half sea serpent, smiling out at the sea, as nine cups surround him.* ***Eight of cups*** *shows putti playing with eight vessels. On the* ***seven of cups*** *seven small vessels are on the sides, and in the center is a large vessel on which a youth stands.* ***Six of cups*** *shows a large urn mounted with five small vessels while three putti play on the urn.* ***Five of cups*** *depicts a man carrying five vessels and a club, while a small dog follows at his heels.*

Photographs from a private collection

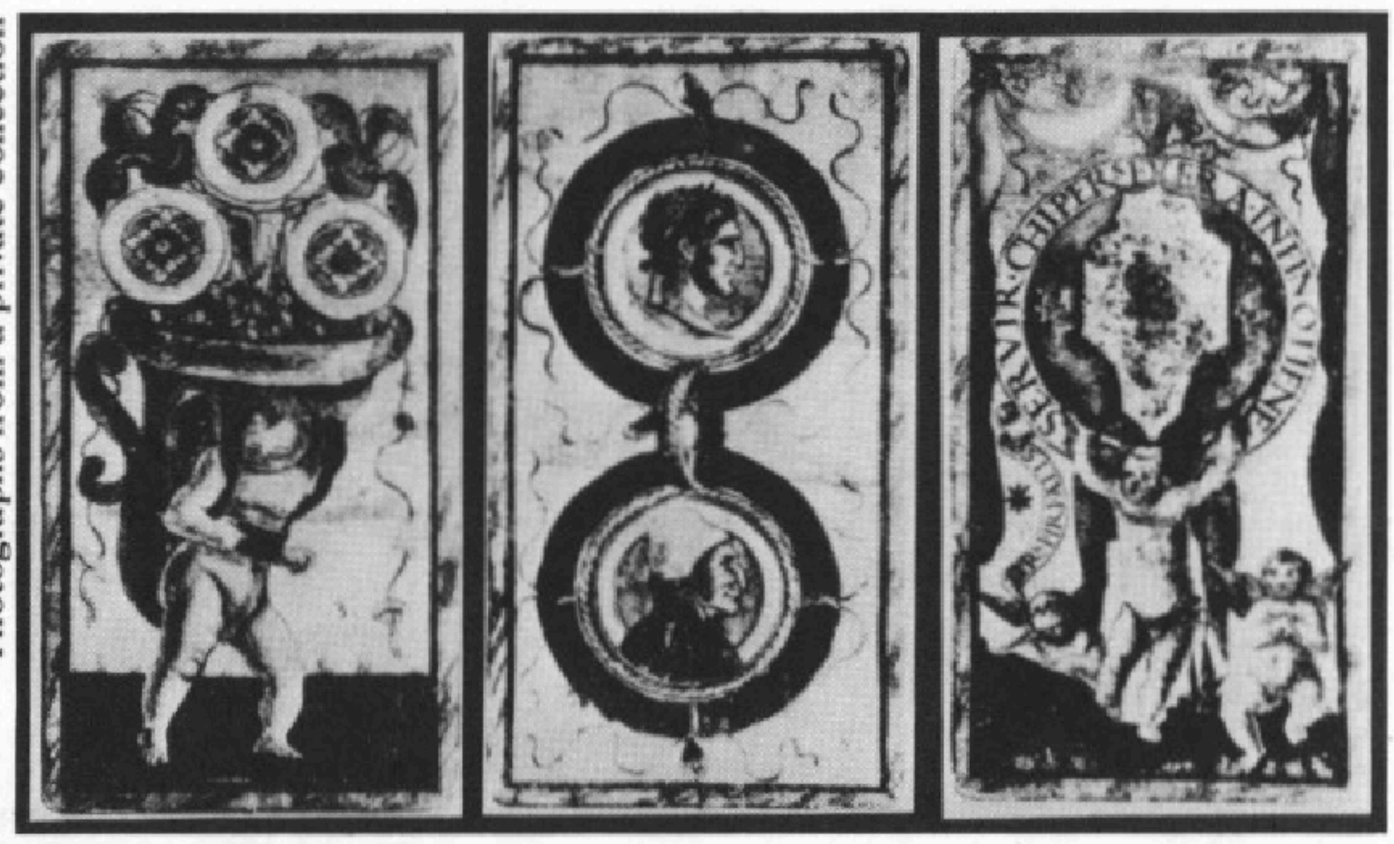


Sola Busca Tarocchi TOP ROW: *On the **four of cups** a man is putting a vessel into a sack with the help of a putto. Three more vessels are on a shelf above them. **Three of cups** has a symmetrical arrangement of three vessels. **Two of cups** is one smaller cup on a large cup, with a putto playing a stringed instrument on the small cup. **Ace of cups** depicts two putti playing instruments while another pours water from the top of a large cup. Under the cup is a shield on either side of which are the letters "M.S." **A FILIPO** (king of coins) sits on a throne, a shield in his left hand and a snail-shaped helmet on his right knee. He bears a banner that reads PAX.*

SECOND ROW: ***ELENA** (queen of coins) gazes at a disk while holding a rod to her forehead. **SARAFINO** (knight of coins) rides a spirited horse. **Page of coins** is a falconer. **Ten of coins** shows a coffer full of nine disks, as a putto stands on the lid with another disk. A dog squats in the foreground. **Nine of coins** shows a basket of seven coins, with a coin on its top and another on the ground. Under the stand that supports the basket, a knight crawls on his hands and knees.*

BOTTOM ROW: *On the **eight of coins** a basket hangs on a dead tree, on which a bird perches. On the ground is a disk, a skull and bones. **Seven of coins** portrays a youth with a large eagle. In the background is a cup filled with seven coins. **Six of coins** shows a man working, while over the door behind him are six coins. **Five of coins** is a sinister image of a hunched over creature with the body of a bird and the head and legs of a man. **Four of coins** portrays a nude woman who carries three coins in a basket over her shoulder, with another coin in her right hand.*

Photographs from a private collection



Sola-Busca Tarocchi ***Three of coins*** *depicts a putto carrying three coins in a long basket.* ***Two of coins*** *shows medallion portraits of a classical figure and a figure in medieval clothes.* ***Ace of coins*** *shows three putti, the central one bearing a large medallion with a shield in the center and writing around the edge:* TRAHRFATIS (?) SERVIR CHIPERSEVER A INFINOTIENE.

CATELIN GEOFROY TAROT

A nonstandard tarot pack was made by Catelin Geofroy of Lyon in 1557. The date and name of the cardmaker can be seen on the ace of lions and the ace of parrots. The maker's initials appear on most of the pip cards and on the page of lions. The other extant suit is peacocks, and possibly the deck originally had another suit, monkeys, since the deck from which the Minor Arcana were modeled, one by the German cardmaker Virgil Solis, had suits of parrots, peacocks, lions and monkeys. The extant Major Arcana are numbered in order of Tarot of Marseilles packs, although the pictures are unique. The suit signs on the Minor Arcana are arranged symmetrically, but the poses and interactions of the creatures add humor and interest. Although the engraved original version of the suit cards by Solis is more elegantly drawn, Geofroy captured the liveliness of the animals with his woodcuts. The other eight Major Arcana and the ace of parrots, not shown here, are illustrated in Volume I of *The Encyclopedia of Tarot.*

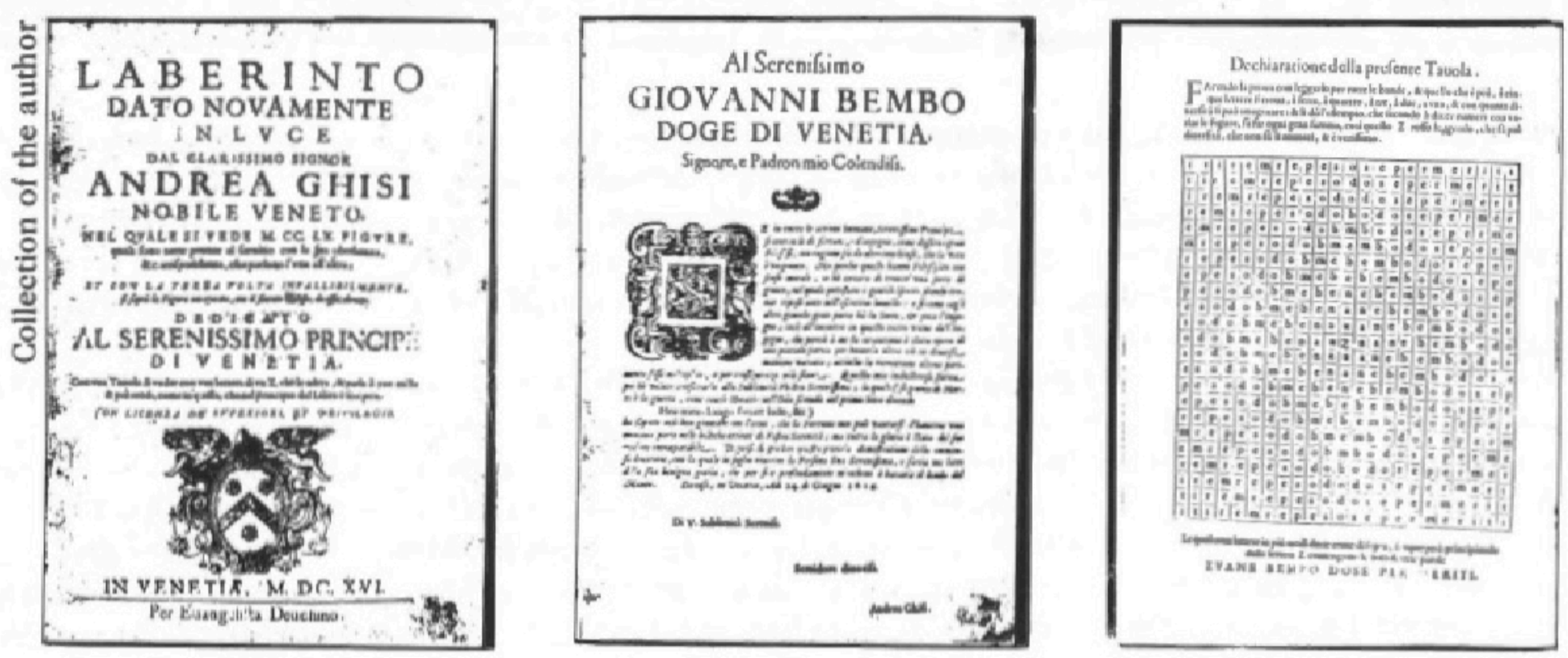
LABYRINTH GAME BY ANDREA GHISI

In 1616, the Venetian nobleman Andrea Ghisi invented a game with figures very like tarocchi cards, especially the Tarocchi of Mantegna. Unfortunately, in his flowery tribute to Giovanni Bembo, the doge of Venice, the author does not give the game rules. However, he does mention that the outcome of the game depends entirely on the "genius" of the player, comparing his game to the military victories of the doge, of which, he says, "all the glory has been of your incomparable valor." The translation of the title piece reads:

> LABYRINTH
>
> Newly published by the distinguished Andrea Ghisi, nobleman of Venice, in which are seen 1260 figures, all ready for service, each conforming and corresponding, speaking to one another, and infallibly, on the third turn, the imagined figure will be known, with its secret presented.

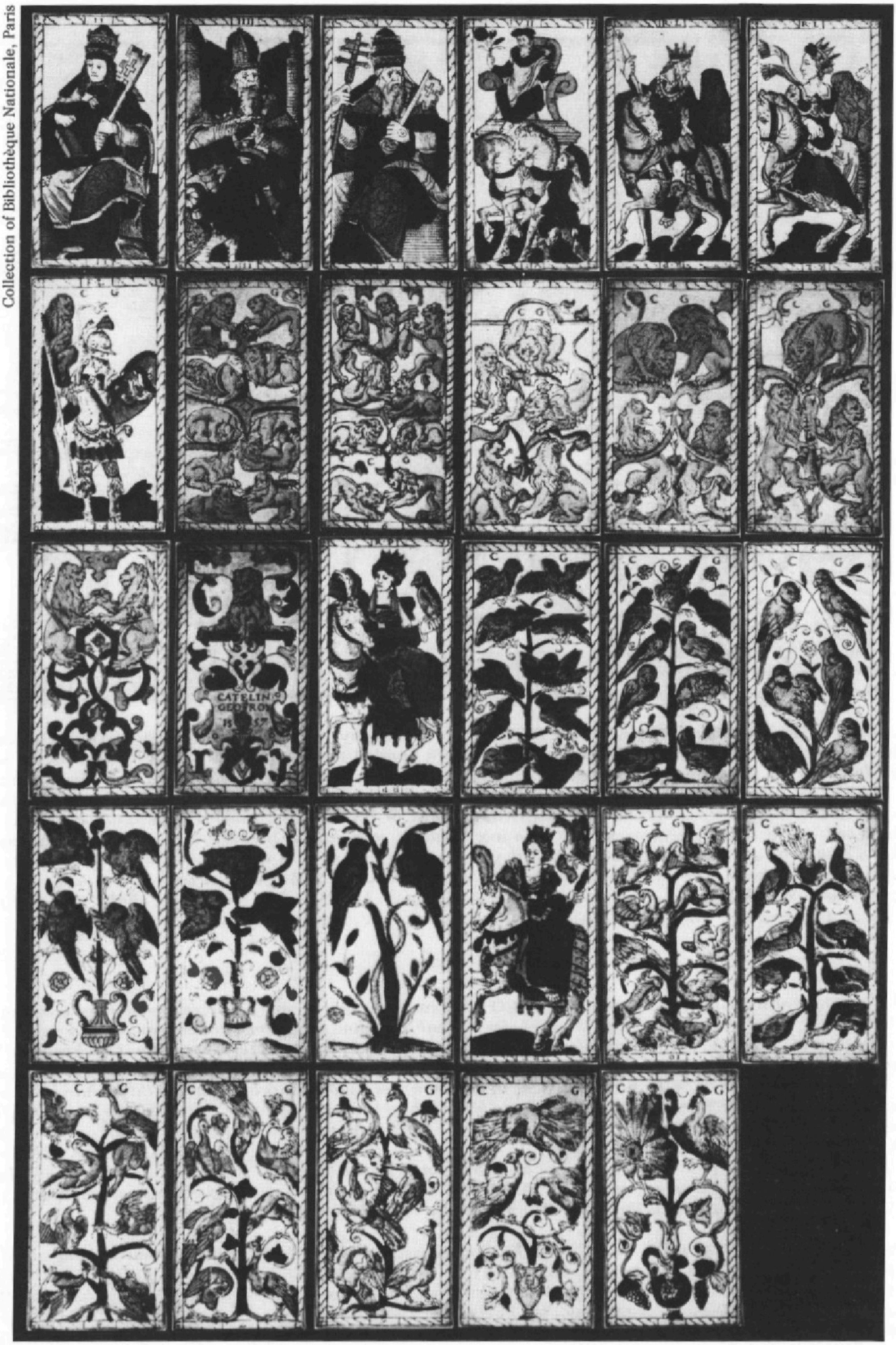
The book consists of forty-four pages of illustrations, each page having two sets of fifteen square pictures. The pictures repeat themselves, with their order changing.

Collection of the author



Laberinto, ***by Andrea Ghisi*** *Title page, dedication page and table with letters radiating from the center "Z" to form the words:* ZVANE BEMBO DOSE PER MERITI.

Collection of Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



Catelin Geofroy Tarot TOP ROW: *II (The Popess), IIII (The Emperor), V (The Pope). VII (The Chariot) shows an old man holding flowers as he sits on a throne drawn by two horses and an assistant. RL (king of lions), RL (queen of lions).* SECOND ROW: *Page, ten, nine, five, four and three of lions.* THIRD ROW: *Two of lions, ace of lions, queen, ten, nine and six of parrots.* FOURTH ROW: *Four, three and two of parrots, queen, ten and nine of peacocks.* BOTTOM ROW: *Eight, seven, six, three and two of peacocks.*

Collection of the author

Labyrinth by Andrea Ghisi, 1616 TOP ROW: **FILOSOFIA** *(Philosophy) is an armed female figure.* **IVSTITIA** *(Justice) holds a sword up in her right hand, and a scale in her left hand. A stork is in front of her.* **PRVDENTIA** *(Prudence) regards herself in a mirror. A griffin is on the ground.* **CHIROMANTIA** *(Palmistry) shows a person reading a giant palm.* **MERCVRIO** *(Mercury) holds a caduceus in one hand while playing a wind instrument with the other hand. His hat is winged. A rooster is at his feet.* SECOND ROW: **CRONICO** *(Cronus, or Time) holds a dragon eating its tail.* **LOGICA** *(Logic) holds a veiled bird.* **HIDRA** *(Hydra), a beast with several heads, was slain by Hercules.* **MATEMATICA** *(Mathematics) holds a globe and compass. Her head is winged.* **GALIA** *(Galley).* BOTTOM ROW: **LVNA** *(Moon) shows a woman in a chariot drawn by two horses. She holds a crescent in her right hand.* **POLIMNIA** *(Polyhymnia) was the Greek muse of sacred music.* **MARTE** *(Mars) sits on a throne, a dog at his feet.* **ASTROLOGIA** *(Astrology) shows a winged person gazing at a starry globe.* **TEOLOGIA** *(Theology) is a being with the faces of a man and a woman.*

Labyrinth by Andrea Ghisi, 1616 TOP ROW: **BACO** *(Bacchus), the god of wine, squeezes grape juice into two cups.* **VRANIA** *is the muse of astrology.* **SOL** *(Sun) shows a youth tumbling from a chariot controlled by a winged figure holding the sun. A scorpion is above the four horses that draw the vehicle.* **CLO** *(Clio?) was the Greek muse of heroic poetry and history. She stands on the back of a bird.* **MVSICA** *(Music) has a lute at her side as she plays a wind instrument.* SECOND ROW: **ZANE IN BANCO** *(Niche in the Bank) seems to be part of a play, as three characters enact a scene on a platform.* **FORTEZZA** *(Strength) depicts a female figure breaking a column. A lion is nearby.* **POESIA** *(Poetry) shows the muse pouring water from a pitcher as she plays a flute. A fountain is behind her and a starry sphere is in front of her.* **APOLLO** *sits on two swans, resting his feet on a sphere. He holds a palm branch.* **FILOSOFIA** *(Philosophy).* BOTTOM ROW: **EVTERPE** *is the Greek muse of harmony and lyric poetry, and the patroness of joy and pleasure.* **MELPOMENE** *is the Greek muse of tragedy.* **TALIA** *(Thalia) is the Greek muse of comedy and pastoral poetry.* **POLIMNIA. IVPITER** *(Jupiter) is the ruling Roman god. He holds lightning bolts and a spear.*

Labyrinth by Andrea Ghisi, 1616 TOP ROW: **RE** *(King) holds a scepter.* **ZINTILOMO** *depicts a man holding a bird. A dog is at his side, and a youth follows him.* **MATEMATICA. PRIMO MOBILE** *(First Sphere).* **FEDE** *(Faith) holds the communion cup and wafer up in the right hand, while holding a cross with the other hand.* SECOND ROW: **MISERO** *(Miserable One) is an old man in ragged clothes. He leans on a stick and a dog jumps on his leg.* **FAMIGLIO** *(Valet) is a servant bearing a cup.* **MERCANTE** *(Merchant) depicts a man wearing a long gown, reading a paper.* **ARTEGIANO** *(Artisan) shows metalworkers.* **CAVALIER** *(Knight) shows a man with a youth.* BOTTOM ROW: **DOSE** *(Doge) is the ruler of the Venetian realm.* **IMPERATOR** *(Emperor) holds an orb and a scepter. An eagle is at his feet.* **PAPA** *(Pope) makes a gesture of benediction, holding a three-barred cross in his left hand.* **LOGICA. HIDRA.**

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JACQUES VIEVILLE [JAQVES VIEVIL] TAROT

A rare and valuable deck with seventy-eight cards was made in the mid-seventeenth century by Parisian *cartier* Jacques Vieville, who is known to have lived at least between the years 1643 and 1664. In 1664 Vieville is cited in a document along with Jean Noblet. The cards were printed by woodblock and colored by stencil, and they measure about 65 by 125 millimeters. None of the Major or Minor Arcana cards are titled and only the Major Arcana are numbered. The titles of eighteen of the Major Arcana can be surmised by the inscription on the two of cups and the ace of coins which reads: (on ace of coins) *PERE SAINCT FAIT/MOY YVSTICE* [Justice] *DE CE/VIELART* [Old Man, or Hermit] *MA* [Fool] *E BAGA* [Juggler]/ *AMOVREVX* [Lovers] *DE/CESTE DAME* [Temperance] *QVY/SOIT CRYE A SON DE/TROMPE* [Judgment] *PAR TOVT/LE MONDE* [The World] *DE PAR/LE PAPE* [The Pope] *LA PAPESSE* [The Popess]/*LANPERVR* [The Emperor] *LINPERATR/YCE* [The Empress] *LE SOLEIL* [The Sun] (continuing on two of cups) *LA LVNE* [The Moon] *LES ETOILLES* [The Stars]/*LA FOVDRE* [Lightning, or The Tower] *PRINS/A FORCE* [Strength] *QVY SOIT/PENDVE* [The Hanged Man] *TRANNAY/AV DYABLE* [The Devil].

At first glance, the phrase looks like a riddle or cryptogram, but in reality the words provide a running commentary about twenty of the Major Arcana cards without regard to traditional sequence. The loosely translated text and the cards as identified read:

> Holy Father, render me Justice [VII] by this Old Man [XI The Hermit], The Fool, and The Juggler [I], The Lovers [VI] of this lady [XIIII Temperance] who would shout at the sound of the trumpet [XX Judgment] for all the World [XXI] in the name of The Pope [V], The Popess [II], The Emperor [IV], The Empress [III], The Sun [XIX], (continuing on the two of cups) The Moon [XVIII], The Star [XVII] and Lightning [XVI] to take by Force [IX] The Hanged Man [XII] to drag him [VIII The Chariot?] to The Devil [XV].

The two Major Arcana cards not included in the description are X The Wheel of Fortune, which is possibly represented in the overall concept and development of the story, and XIII Death, which is implied in the commentary. D'Allemagne read the word *TRANNAY* as "tyranny" rather than as *trainer*, "to drag," but also matched it with the Chariot.

Many of the Major Arcana cards in the deck—the unnumbered Fool, I, III, VI, VII (Justice), IX (Strength), X and XII through XIX—resemble the corresponding cards in the Belgian tarots. The rest of the Major Arcana closely follow those of the Tarot of Marseilles deck, except for XI (The Hermit), which blends elements from both types.

In addition to the misspellings on the two of cups and the ace of coins, XII (The Hanged Man) is misprinted, with the number near the Hanged Man's feet and the picture inverted. *FAMA SOL,* on XIIII (Temperance), is printed backward.

The order of a few of the cards varies from the Tarot of Marseilles order: The Chariot is numbered VIII and Justice is numbered VII; Strength is numbered IX while The Hermit is numbered XI. A ribbon on the two of coins is labeled with the name and city of the maker: *IAQVE[S] VIEVIL A PARIS.*

JEAN NOBLET TAROT

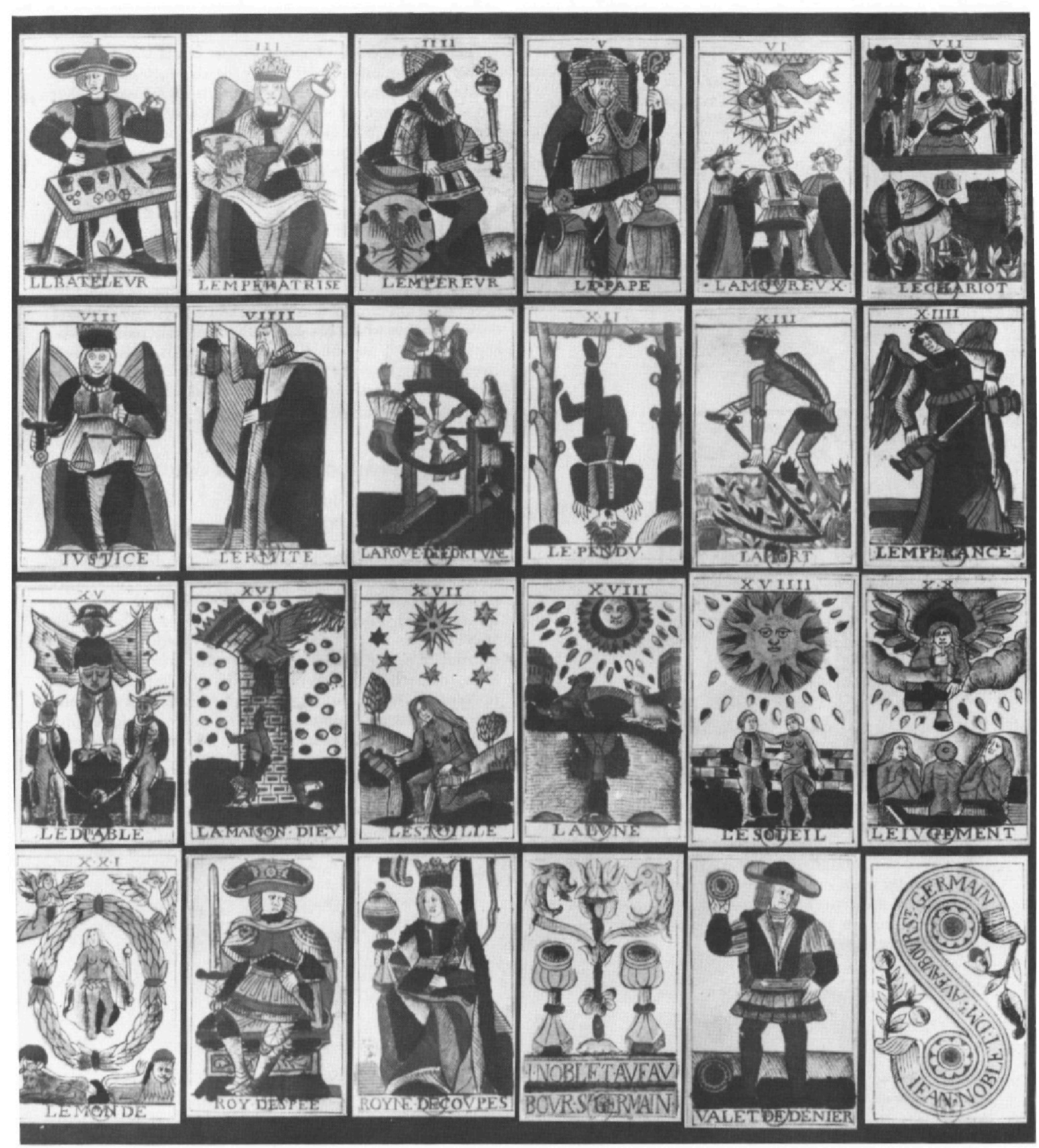
Seventy-three out of seventy-eight cards remain in the woodblock printed and stencil colored deck made by Jean Noblet of Paris. The deck was formerly thought to be from the eighteenth century, but new evidence indicates that it is actually from the seventeenth century. Two documents of 1659 cite Jean Noblet, *maitre-cartier* (master cardmaker), living at *Saint-Germain-des-Prés, rue Sainte Marguerite, paroisse* (parish) *Saint-Sulpice* in Paris. D'Allemagne indicated that Noblet's name is to be found on a list of cardmakers in 1664, and Jacques Vieville's name is on the same list. Yet D'Allemagne dated these cards to the eighteenth century, although no recorded trace of a cardmaker Jean Noblet can be found in the eighteenth century. The new dating puts the Noblet deck as one of the first known examples of Tarot of Marseilles decks, excluding the loose cards found at the Sforza Castle in Milan. The backs are the same as those of the seventeenth-century deck of the Parisian *cartier,* Jacques Vieville. A shield on the front of VII *LE CHARIOT* bears the initials "I.N.," probably for Jean Noblet. The two of cups bears in a panel at the bottom: *I. NOBLET AV FAV/BOVR ST GERMAIN;* and on a ribbon on the two of coins: *IEAN NOBLET DMT AV FAVBOVR ST GERMAIN.* XIII *La Mort* is titled and numbered, in contrast to many other decks in which the Death card is superstitiously left with no title or number. The stamps at the bottoms of the cards identify them as being part of the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Labyrinth by Andrea Ghisi, 1616 TOP ROW: **DIO D'AMOR** *(God of Love) shows Cupid, blindfolded and winged, bearing a bow and arrow.* **ADAMO EVA** *(Adam and Eve) stand by the Tree of Knowledge, with the fruit in their hands. A serpent is wrapped around the trunk of the tree.* **TEMPERANZA** *(Temperance) depicts a woman who pours water between two vessels. An animal is near her.* **IVPITER. IMPERATOR.** SECOND ROW: **MVSICA. POESIA. FILOSOFIA. MARTE. ZINTILOMO.** THIRD ROW: **PRVDENTIA. CRONICO. VRANIA. CAVALIER. OTAVA SFERA** *(Eighth Sphere).*

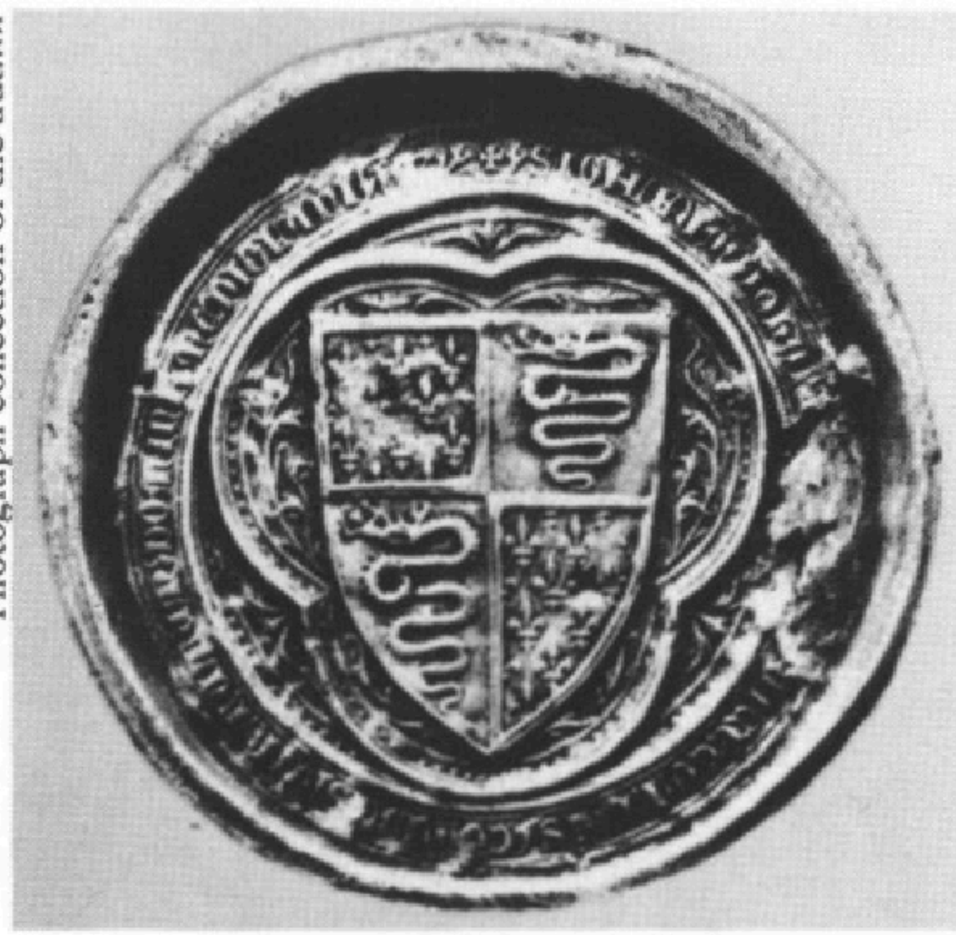
Labyrinth by Andrea Ghisi, 1616 TOP ROW: **CRONICO. VENERE** *(Love) shows men and women in a pastoral setting, with Cupid posed on a rock.* **SPERANZA** *(Hope) depicts a woman standing in the sunlight. Behind her is a phoenix being consumed by flame so that it might regenerate itself miraculously.* **ILIACO** *depicts a youth regarding a sunny face.* **TEMPERANZA.** SECOND ROW: **MERCVRIO. PRVDENTIA. FELICITA** *(Happiness) depicts an enthroned woman holding a caduceus and a cornucopia.* **IVSTITIA. CARITA** *(Charity) shows a woman emptying her purse.* BOTTOM ROW: **FEDE. ROMA** *(Rome).* **MARTE. LOGICA. HIDRA.**

Collection of Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

Jacques Vieville Tarot TOP ROW: *(The Fool), I (The Juggler), III (The Empress), V (The Pope), VI (The Lovers), VII (Justice)*. SECOND ROW: *VIII (The Chariot), IX (Strength), XI (The Hermit), IIX [sic] (The Hanged Man), XIII (Death), XIIII (Temperance)*. THIRD ROW: *XV (The Devil), XVI (Lightning), XVII (The Star), XVIII (The Moon), XIX (The Sun), XXI (The World)*. BOTTOM ROW: *Knight of swords, queen of cups, knight of cups, two of cups, two of coins, ace of coins.*



Jean Noblet Tarot TOP ROW: ***I*** LL BATELEVR, ***III*** LEMPERATRISE, ***IIII*** LEMPEREVR, ***V*** LE PAPE, ***VI*** LAMOVREVX, ***VII*** LE CHARIOT. SECOND ROW: ***VIII*** IVSTICE, ***VIIII*** LERMITE, ***X*** LA ROVE DE FORTVNE, ***XII*** LE PENDV, ***XIII*** LA MORT, ***XIIII*** LEMPERANCE. THIRD ROW: ***XV*** LE DIABLE, ***XVI*** LA MAISON DIEV, ***XVII*** LESTOILLE, ***XVIII*** LA LVNE, ***XVIIII*** LE SOLEIL, ***XX*** LE IVGEMENT. BOTTOM ROW: ***XXI*** LE MONDE, ROY DESPEE, ROYNE DE COVPES, *two of cups*, VALET DE DENIER, *two of coins*.



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Arms of Giangaleazzo Visconti *(top) The coin shows the arms of Giangaleazzo Visconti with fleurs-de-lis in top left and lower right quarters, and the serpent of the Visconti in the top right and lower left quarters. (bottom) The top right coin on the four of coins of the Parisian Tarot shows the arms of Giangaleazzo Visconti with the serpent facing in the wrong direction; the Visconti serpent is supposed to face left.*

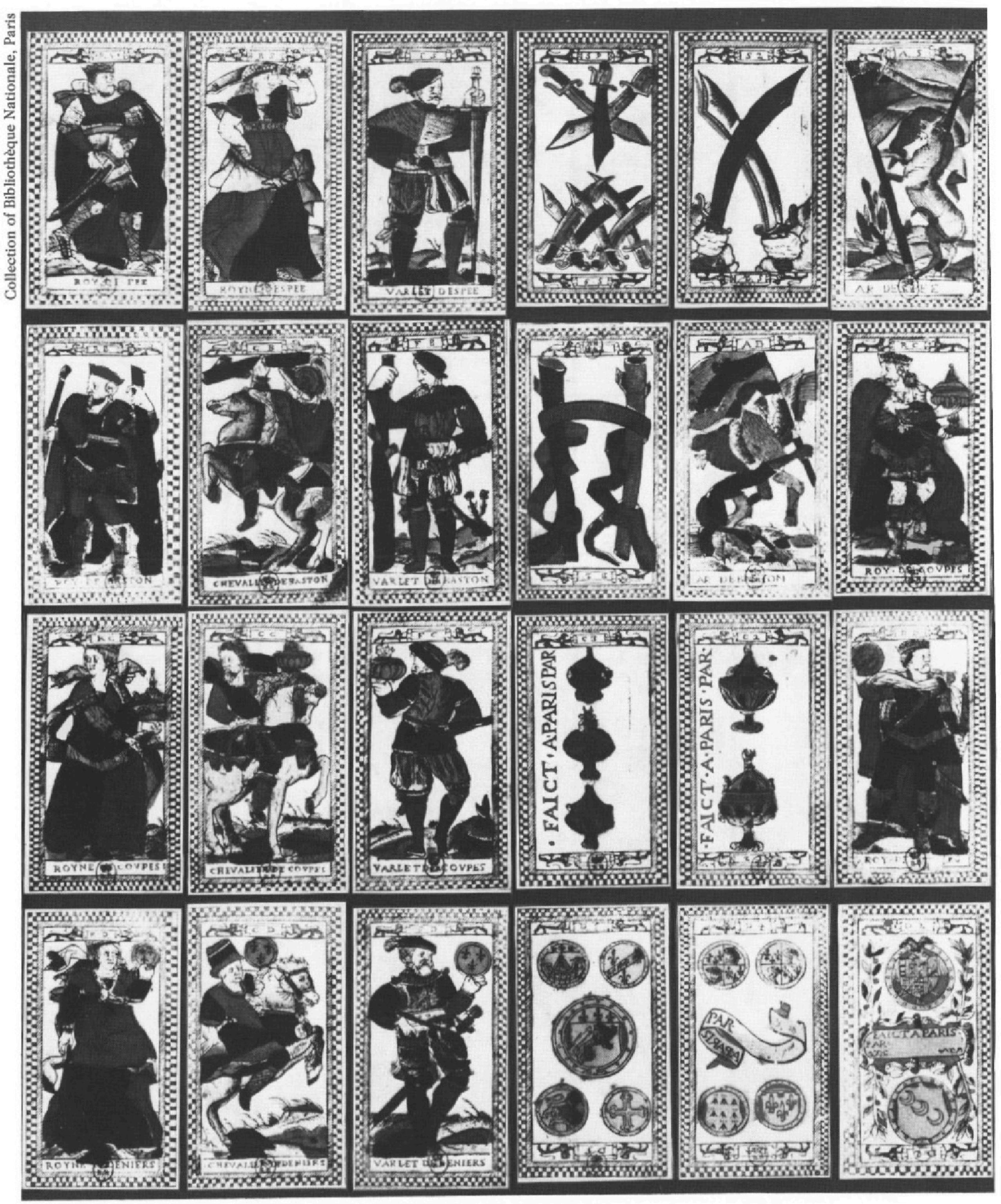
PARISIAN TAROT

The Parisian pack of seventy-eight cards was formerly thought to be incomplete. The cards were woodblock printed and stencil colored by an unknown Parisian maker in the first half of the seventeenth century. Unfortunately, the name of the maker was effaced from the three of cups, the two of cups, the four of coins and the two of coins, but the name of the city remains. On some of the court cards, initials in the top cartouche indicate the Italian title for the card; for example, for *VARLET DESPEE,* the initials at the top are FS, for *fante di spade.* Values of the numbered cards are shown in cartouches at top and bottom. The individualistic expressions on the figures, and even on the horses, make this deck especially interesting, and a highly decorative effect comes from the checkered borders and the cartouches which are each supported by a pair of lions. Michel Popoff, in the Bibliothèque Nationale catalog, *Tarot, Jeu et Magie* (1984), identified most of the blazons, some of which are Italian, on the coins. All of the Major Arcana cards are illustrated in Volume I of *The Encyclopedia of Tarot.*

FRANÇOIS CHOSSON TAROT

A French pack dating from 1672 was made by François Chosson. The deck is complete, with seventy-eight cards. The maker's name and the date appear on a banner that embraces the coins on the two of coins. The deck is an early example of a Tarot of Marseilles pack. The Major Arcana are numbered and titled except for The Fool, which is unnumbered, and Death, which is untitled. The initials "GS" appear in a cartouche on The Chariot and at the bottom of the two of cups. The number on The Hanged Man, the card that often presented a problem to the card-makers, is printed backward. The backs show a diamond pattern, with each diamond composed of a circled dot surrounded on each of its sides with a four-petaled flower.

Parisian Tarot TOP ROW: **ROY DE PEE** *wears full armor and bears a sword;* **ROYNE DESPEE** *wields a sword with her muscular arm;* **VARLET DESPEE;** ***9 of swords*** *shows six interlaced swords below and three crossed above;* ***2 of swords*** *depicts two swords crossed by hands emerging from clouds;* **AR DESPEE** *(ace of swords) is symbolized by a unicorn and the symbol of the suit is toward the top of the picture.* SECOND ROW: **ROY DE BASTON; CHEVALIER DE BASTON; VARLET DE BASTON;** ***two of batons*** *shows two dark hands grasping clubs;* **AR DE BASTON** *shows a bizarre creature, possibly the mythological manticora, which had the body and claws of a lion, a man's head, and a sting in its tail;* **ROY DE COVPES.** THIRD ROW: **ROYNE DE COVPES; CHEVALIER DE COVPES; VARLET DE COVPES;** ***three of cups*** *reads* FAICT A PARIS PAR *with the rest of the message removed from the block;* ***two of cups*** *also reads* FAICT A PARIS PAR; **ROY DE [Deniers.]** BOTTOM ROW: **ROYNE DE DENIERS, CHEVALIER DE DENIERS; VARLET DE DENIERS;** ***five of coins*** *has the arms of Paris and Vendome-La Marche (top), Lyon (center), Normandy and Toulouse (bottom);* ***four of coins*** *bears the arms of the Dauphin of Vienna and of Giangaleazzo Visconti, showing the Visconti viper quartered with the French fleur-de-lis (top), Brittany and possibly a poor interpretation of the arms of Artois (bottom), along with the words* A PARIS *(backward)* PAR; ***two of coins*** *has the arms of the Gonzaga of Mantua and of the Strozzi, with the words* FAICT A PARIS PAR.



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François Chosson Tarot TOP ROW: LE MAT, *I* LE BATELEVR, *II* LA PAPESSE, *V* LE PAPE, *VI* LAMOVREVX. SECOND ROW: *VII* LE CHARIOR, *X* LA ROVE DE FORTVNE, *IIX* LE PENDV, *XIII (Death)*, *XV* LE DIABLE. THIRD ROW: *XVI* LA MAISON DIEV, *XVIII* LA LVNE, *XVIIII* LE SOLEIL, *XX* LE JVGEMENT, *XXI* LE MONDE. BOTTOM ROW: CAVALIER DE SPEE, *VI of batons*, VALET DE COVPES, *II of cups, two of coins.*

XV

EIGHTEENTH- AND NINETEENTH-CENTURY TAROT CARDS

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY bore witness to an increasing variety of tarot cards, mostly produced in France, Italy, Belgium and Switzerland. By the nineteenth century, the production of tarot packs became widespread to meet popular demand. The most well-known style of tarot deck, the Tarot of Marseilles, became firmly established in the eighteenth century.

It is interesting to study the variations among decks from different regions. The illustrations in this chapter depict cards from over seventy different decks. More than thirteen hundred cards are reproduced and most have either French or Italian titles. Many of the cards were printed from crude woodblocks and stencil colored. A few packs were engraved in great detail and carefully colored by hand.

Many of the titles on the tarot cards are misspelled due to the fact that woodblock carvers were often illiterate. Spellings of many words have changed since the time the decks were made; for example, *ATRENPANCE* on card XIIII in the Adam C. de Hautot deck is an archaic medieval French spelling for *temperance*. Lettering style has also changed, and on the old decks "U" often appeared as "V" and "I" was often used for "J." Thus the spelling of the German cardmaker "IOIA" could be Joia, Joja, Ioja or Ioia.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, tax stamps printed in ink began to appear more frequently on tarot decks. Since legislation of tax stamps can be found in the official archives of some countries and since many of the stamps show their date of issue, the stamps provide a fairly reliable way to date decks.

The nineteenth century marked an important turning point in tarot with the appearance of "occult" decks, which have come to dominate the tarot market in the twentieth century. Among these were the "Etteilla" decks, which were named after the occultist Alliette, who used his name spelled backward as a pseudonym. Several Etteilla decks are illustrated at the end of the chapter.

The tarot packs illustrated in this chapter contain dates of publication when known or approximate dating where only estimates are possible.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Pierre Madenié Tarot, 1709
Jean-Pierre Payen Tarot, ca 1760 reprint of 1713 deck
François Heri Tarot, 1718
François Heri Tarot, first third of eighteenth century
Claude Thomasset Tarot, 1731
Jean-Pierre Payen Tarot, ca 1735
F. F. Solesio Tarot, eighteenth century
Adam C. de Hautot Tarot, ca 1723–1748
Sebastian Ioia Tarot, ca 1720–1785
Joannes Pelagius Mayer Tarot, ca 1720–1750
Rochus I Schär (Schaer) Tarot, 1750
Claude Burdel Tarot, 1751
Antoine Jar Tarot, eighteenth century
Martin Dupont Tarot, second half of eighteenth century
Conrad Iseli Tarot, late eighteenth century
Charles Madigne Sheet, 1777
Charles Madigne Tarot, 1777
A. Paiche Tarot, ca 1780
C. F. Carrajat Tarot, ca 1780
Grandprêtre Tarot, late eighteenth century
Bernard Schaer Tarot, 1784
Cosmo Antonio Toso Tarot, ca 1770
Gaetano Provasi Tarocchini of Bologna, late eighteenth century

NINETEENTH CENTURY

Jean Jerger Tarot, ca 1800
Jacques Burdel Tarot, 1813
F. Gumppenberg Tarot, ca 1807–1815
J. B. Benois Tarot, ca 1818
F. Gumppenberg Neoclassical Tarot, ca 1807–1816
F. Gumppenberg Neoclassical Tarot, ca 1807/reprint 1980 by Edizioni del Solleone
F. Gumppenberg Tarocchini of Bologna, ca 1807–1815
Giacomo Draghi Tarot, early nineteenth century
Renault Tarot, early nineteenth century
Stefano Vergnano Tarot, early nineteenth century
Cartomanzia Italiana, early nineteenth century/reprint 1983 by Edizioni del Solleone
Rivero Tarot, nineteenth century
Joseph Henri Rochias Tarot, 1816
Giacomo Recchi Tarot, ca 1820
F. Gumppenberg Tarot, ca 1823–1840

Pietro Milesi Tarot, ca 1823-1840
F. Gumppenberg Lombardy Tarot, ca 1823-1840
F. Gumppenberg Lombardy Tarot, ca 1889/reprint by R. Bordoni reprinted 1981 by Edizioni del Solleone
Johann Georg Rauch Tarot, ca 1831-1838
Giro. Montalenti Tarot, mid-nineteenth century
F. Teodoro Dotti Tarots, mid-nineteenth century
Lattanzio Lamperti Tarot, ca 1848-1861
1JJ Swiss Tarot, ca 1865
Edoardo Dotti woodblocks, ca 1862
Edoardo Dotti Tarots, ca 1862-1865
Francesco Fantini Tarot, ca 1862-1874
Oletto Tarot, ca 1862-1874
P. Negri Tarot, ca 1862-1874
F. Fantini Tarot, ca 1862-1874
A. Rossi Ligurian Piedmontese Tarocco, ca 1874-1879/ reprint 1979 by Edizioni del Solleone
Pietro Masenghini Tarot, ca 1879
Mühlemann & Walther Tarot, ca 1885-1887
Amedeo Candiani Tarot, late nineteenth century
Fratelli Armanino Tarot, ca 1885
Tarot Classic, late nineteenth century
Bordoni tarots, ca 1891, 1890 and 1887
B. P. Grimaud Tarot, ca 1890-1917
Alessandro Viassone Tarot, ca 1890

OCCULT TAROTS

Oswald Wirth Tarot, 1889
Falconnier Tarot, 1896
Pen and Ink tarot designs, ca 1901
Etteilla illustrations, 1783 and 1785
Etteilla Tarot, ca 1800
German Etteilla Tarot, mid-nineteenth century
Etteilla Tarot, mid- to late nineteenth century
Z. Lismon Etteilla Tarot, late nineteenth century
Etteilla prints, late nineteenth century
Delarue Etteilla Tarot, ca 1890-1900
B. P. Grimaud Etteilla Tarot, contemporary
Etteilla Illustrations by Dumont, 1875

Pierre Madenié Tarot, 1709 Published in Dijon in 1709, the tarot pack by Pierre Madenié is an early example of the Tarot of Marseilles. The maker's name and the date of production are on the two of coins: *PIERRE MADENIE CARTIER DU PRINCE 1709.* The Major Arcana cards contain Roman numerals at the top of each card except for *LE MAT,* which is unnumbered. Card titles in French appear on all the Major Arcana, except Death, and on all the court cards. The four suits are *ESPEE* [sic], *BASTON, COUPE* and *DENIER,* representing swords, batons, cups and coins, respectively. The pip cards nine through two, except in the suit of coins, are Roman numbered on each side at the center. The deck is accompanied by the original paper wrapper which announces, *CARTES FINES EN TAROTS/ Faites par Pierre Madenié, demeurant proche/le Cimetiere Nôtre-Dame, A DIJON./Cartier ordinaire de Monseigneur le Duc,/Gouverneur de la Province de Bourgogne* (Fine tarot cards, made by Pierre Madenié, working near the cemetary of Notre Dame, at Dijon. Cardmaker for the lord duke, governor of the province of Burgundy). A similar Pierre Madenié pack that lacks all Major Arcana is owned by the British Museum in London.

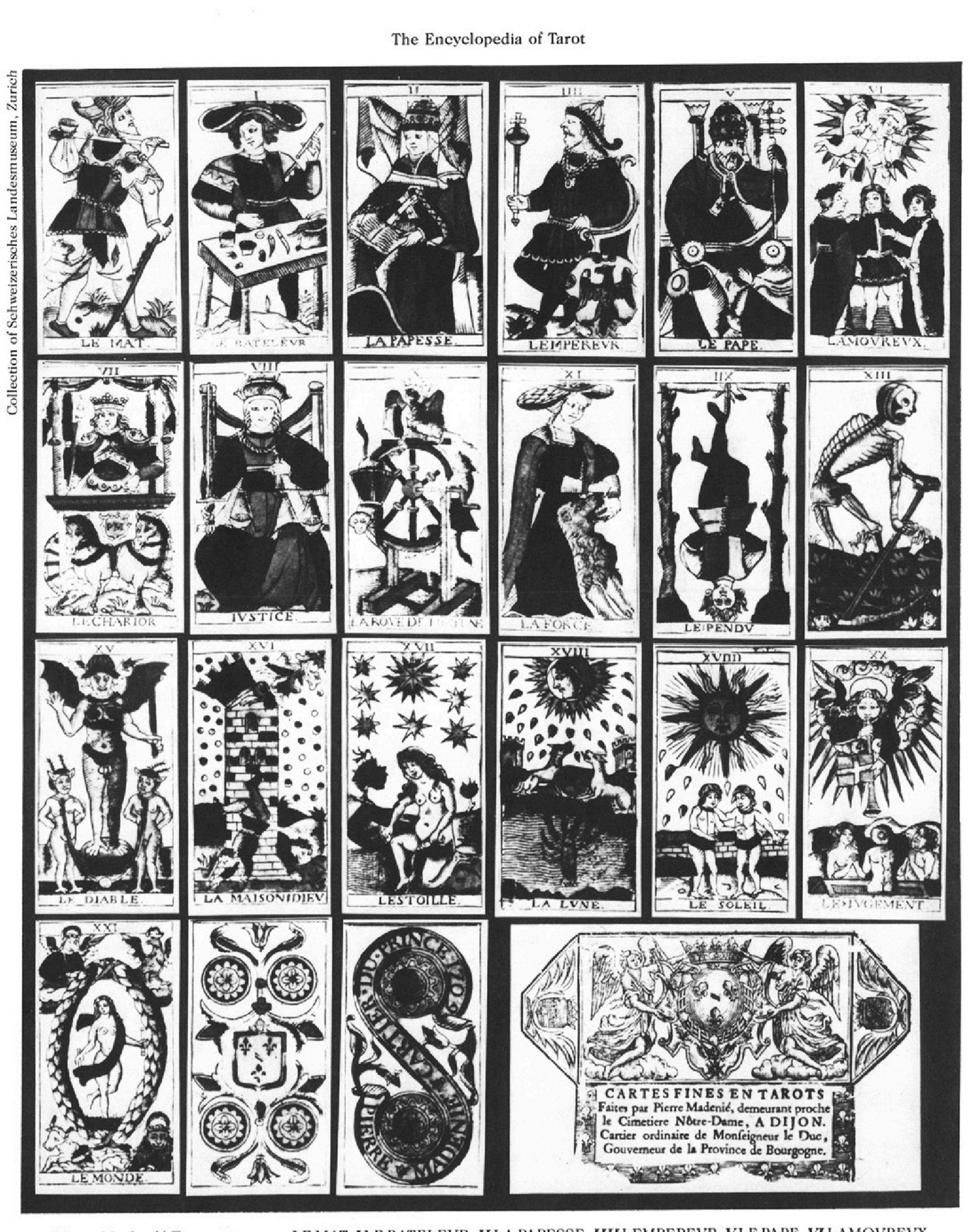
Jean-Pierre Payen, circa 1760 reprint of 1713 deck A tarot deck by J.-P. Payen was originally made in 1713. According to William B. Keller, the deck was reprinted around 1760. Born in Marseilles in 1683, Payen established himself in Avignon in 1710, where he died in 1757. The cards are an early example of Tarot of Marseilles designs, except for The World, which shows a figure in cape and leaf girdle, holding a scepter, but framed within the Tarot of Marseilles wreath with angel, eagle, lion and bull in the four corners. The two of cups identifies the maker of the deck: *I.P/IER/RE P/AYEN,* and the two of coins also gives the date in a banner around the coins: *IEAN PIERRE PAYEN ANO 1713.*

François Heri Tarot, 1718 A tarot pack from François Heri was published in 1718 at Soleure (Solothurn), Switzerland, and is an early Tarot of Marseilles pack. Seventy-six cards remain from the original seventy-eight-card pack. The Major Arcana are Roman numbered and are titled in French. The cardmaker's name and city and the date of publication appear on the two of coins: *FRANCOIS HERI DE SOLEURE 1718.* The pip cards in the suits of swords, staves and cups are Roman numbered at each side, but the numbering does not appear on the pips of the suit of coins, or on the aces. This pack retains the traditional Popess and Pope cards while a different pack by Heri, also illustrated in this chapter, substitutes II *JUNON* and V *JUPITER* for II *LA PAPESSE* and V *LE PAPE.* The initials of the cardmaker, "FH," appear on the shield at the front of the chariot in card VII. The four of coins features three fleurs-de-lis.

François Heri Tarot, first third of eighteenth century Published at Soleure (Solothurn), Switzerland, by François Heri, this tarot pack replaces II *LA PAPESSE* and V *LE PAPE* with II *JUNON* and V *JUPITER,* respectively. Possibly it was made after Heri's 1718 deck, which still has II *LA PAPESSE* and V *LE PAPE.* Several other differences exist between Heri's two extant decks. Some of the most obvious are in the orientation of the Emperor on card IIII, the lack of title for the Death card in the 1718 pack, the correct reverse carving on the woodblock for the numbering of XII *LE PENDV* in this pack, and the figures on XVIIII *LE SOLEIL* and XXI *LE MONDE.* In the 1718 pack, two boys are shown on XVIIII *LE SOLEIL,* whereas this pack shows a man and a woman. The figure of a semi-nude woman appears on XXI *LE MONDE* in the 1718 pack, but in this pack a figure wearing a cape and carrying a scepter stands in the wreath. The Devil and his slaves on card XV of this deck are more animalistic. The initials on the chariot of card VII are "HB," indicating that a different engraver carved the woodblocks for this deck. The two of cups reads: *TAROS FIN DE/ FRANCOIS HERI/A SOLEURE,* and the two of coins also identifies the cardmaker, but gives no date: *FRANCOIS HERI CARTIER A SOLEURE.*

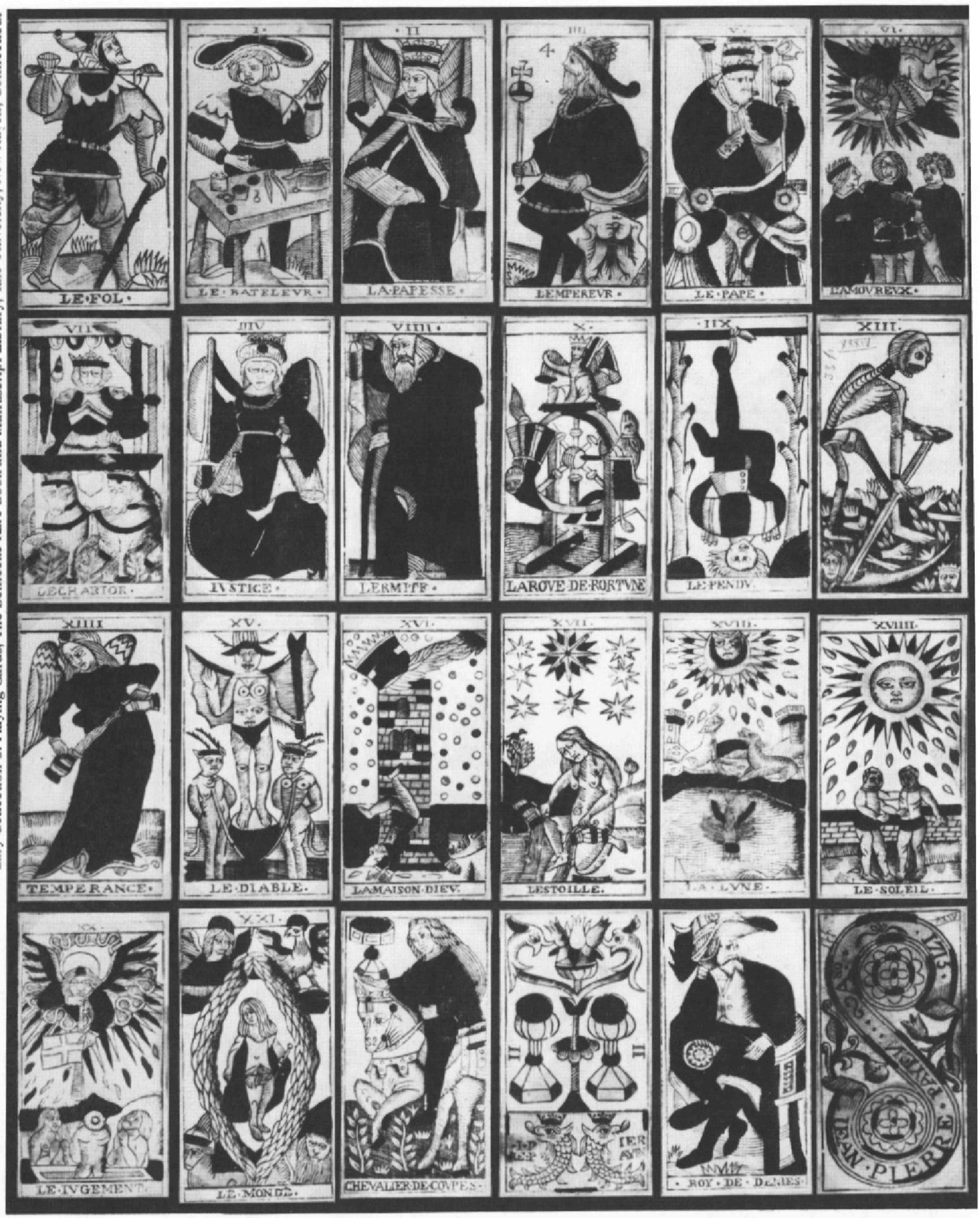
Claude Thomasset Tarot, 1731 Seventy-seven cards survive of the Tarot of Marseilles deck made by Claude Thomasset in 1731. Thomasset lived in Murten, on Lake Morat in the Swiss canton of Fribourg. His name and location appear on the two of cups: *GRAND TAROS FIN DE CLAVDE THOMASSET A MORAT,* and on the two of coins: *FAIT PAR CLAUDE THOMASSET A MORAT 1731.* Titles are in French. It is possible that Claude Thomasset emigrated to Switzerland from France to escape French tax laws, as there were no taxes on playing cards in Switzerland until 1799. Among the objects on the table of I *LE BATELEUR* is a pack of playing cards, with the ace of diamonds as the top card.

Collection of Schweizerisches Landesmuseum, Zurich



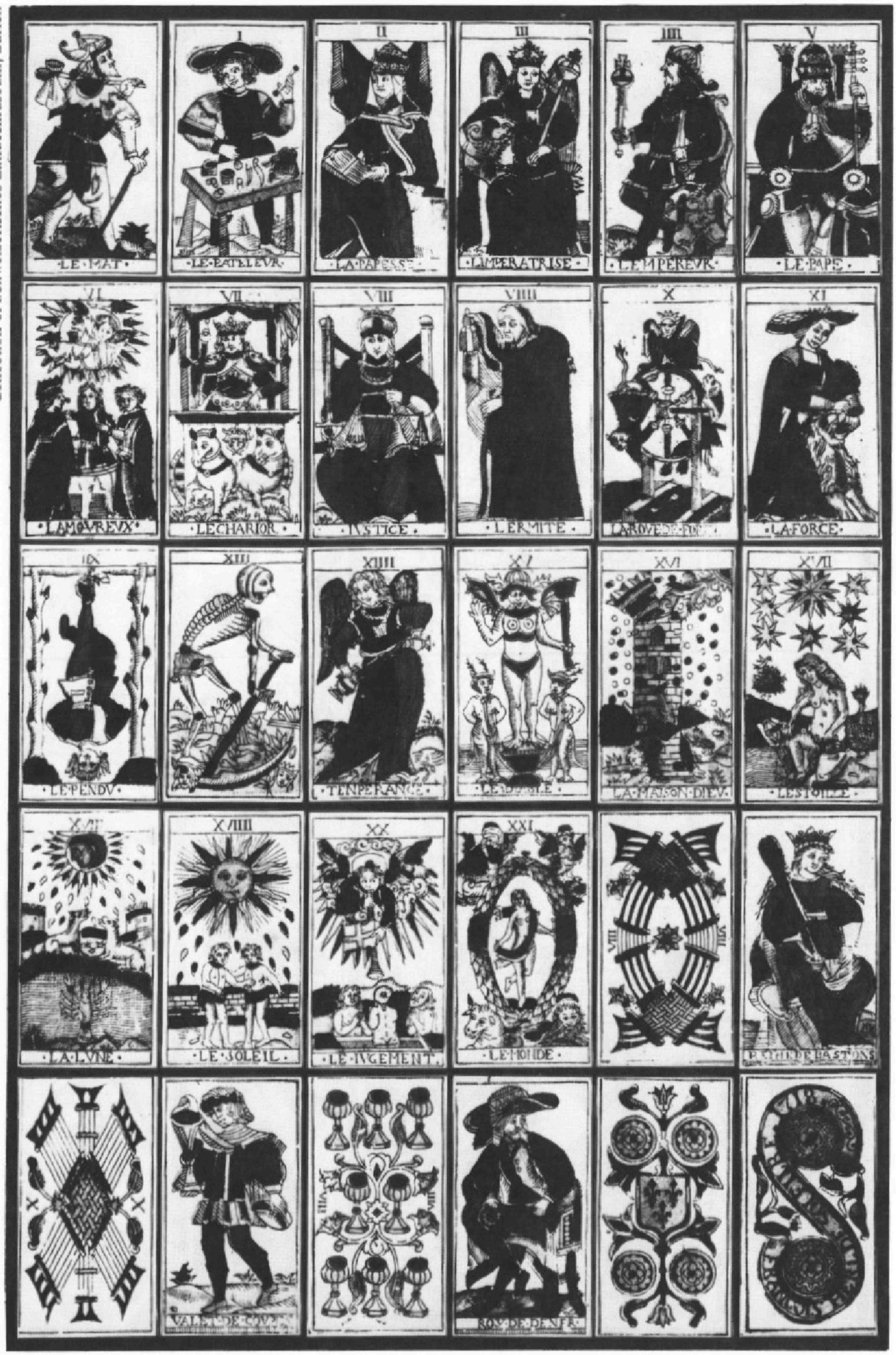
Pierre Madenié Tarot TOP ROW: LE MAT, *I* LE BATELEVR, *II* LA PAPESSE, *IIII* LEMPEREVR, *V* LE PAPE, *VI* LAMOVREVX. SECOND ROW: *VII* LE CHARIOR, *VIII* IVSTICE, *X* LA ROVE DE FORTUNE, *XI* LA FORCE, *IIX* LE PENDV *(with number printed backward)*, *XIII (Death)*. THIRD ROW: *XV* LE DIABLE, *XVI* LA MAISON DIEV, *XVII* LESTOILLE, *XVIII* LA LVNE, *XVIIII* LE SOLEIL, *XX* LE IVGEMENT. BOTTOM ROW: *XXI* LE MONDE, *four of coins, two of coins, wrapper.*

Cary Collection of Playing Cards, The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut



Jean-Pierre Payen Tarot, ca 1760 TOP ROW: LE FOL, *I* LE BATELEVR, *II* LA PAPESSE, *IIII* L'EMPEREVR, *V* LE PAPE, *VI* L'AMOVREVX. SECOND ROW: *VII* LE CHARIOR, *IIIV* IVSTICE *with number mistakenly printed backward, VIIII* L'ERMITE, *X* LA ROVE DE RORTVNE *[sic] IIX* LE PENDV *with number printed backward, XIII (Death).* THIRD ROW: *XIIII* TEMPERANCE, *XV* LE DIABLE, *XVI* LA MAISON DIEV, *XVII* L'ESTOILLE, *XVIII* LA LVNE, *XVIIII* LE SOLEIL. BOTTOM ROW: *XX* LE IVGEMENT, *XXI* LE MONDE, CHEVALIER DE COVPES, *two of cups,* ROY DE DENIES, *two of coins.*

Collection of Schweizerisches Landesmuseum, Zurich

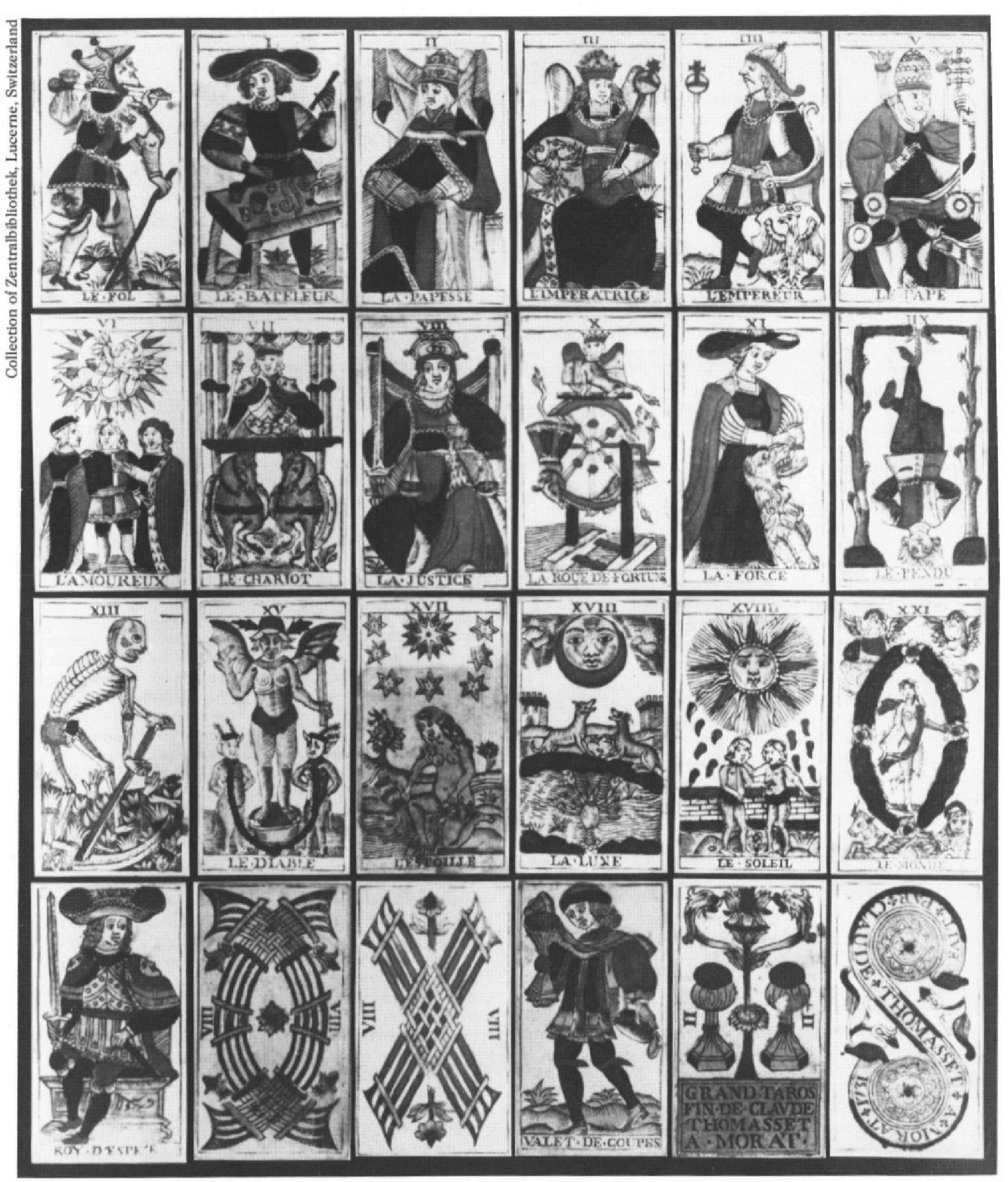


François Heri Tarot, 1718 TOP ROW: LE MAT, *I* LE BATELEVR, *II* LA PAPESSE, *III* LIMPERATRISE, *IIII* LEMPEREVR, *V* LE PAPE. SECOND ROW: *VI* LAMOVREVX, *VII* LE CHARIOR, *VIII* IVSTICE, *VIIII* LERMITE, *X* LA ROVE DE FORTUNE, *XI* LA FORCE. THIRD ROW: *IIX* LE PENDV, *XIII (Death)*, *XIIII* TENPERANCE, *XV* LE DIABLE, *XVI* LA MAISON DIEV, *XVII* LESTOILLE. FOURTH ROW: *XVIII* LA LVNE, *XVIIII* LE SOLEIL, *XX* LE IVGEMENT, *XXI* LE MONDE, *VIII of swords*, REINE DE BASTONS. BOTTOM ROW: *X of batons*, VALET DE COVPES, *VIII of cups*, ROY DE DENER, *four of coins, two of coins.*

Collection of the Schweizerisches Landesmuseum, Zurich

François Heri Tarot, early eighteenth century TOP ROW: LE FOL, ***I*** LE BATELEUR, ***II*** IVNON, ***III*** LIMPERATRICE, ***IIII*** LEMPEREVR. SECOND ROW: ***V*** IVPITER, ***VI*** LAMOVREUX, ***VII*** LE CHARIOT, ***VIII*** LA IVSTICE, ***VIIII*** L'ERMITE. THIRD ROW: ***X*** LA ROVE DE FORTVNE, ***XII*** LE PENDV, ***XIII*** LA MORT, ***XV*** LE DIABLE, ***XVII*** LE TOILLE. FOURTH ROW: ***XVIII*** LA LVNE, ***XVIIII*** LE SOLEIL, ***XXI*** LE MONDE, VALET DESPER, *II of swords*. BOTTOM ROW: *IIIIV of batons with number printed backward*, ROY DE CUPES, *two of cups*, REINE DE DENIERS, *two of coins*.

Collection of Zentralbibliothek, Lucerne, Switzerland



Claude Thomasset Tarot TOP ROW: LE FOL *(The Fool)*, ***I*** LE BATELEUR *(The Juggler)*, ***II*** LA PAPESSE *(The Popess)*, ***III*** L'IMPERATRICE *(The Empress)*, ***IIII*** L'EMPEREUR *(The Emperor)*, ***V*** LE PAPE *(The Pope)*. SECOND ROW: ***VI*** L'AMOUREUX *(The Lovers)*, ***VII*** LE CHARIOT *(The Chariot)*, ***VIII*** LA JUSTICE *(Justice)*, ***X*** LA ROUE DE FORTUNE *(The Wheel of Fortune)*, ***XI*** LA FORCE *(Strength)*, ***IIX*** LE PENDU *(The Hanged Man)*. THIRD ROW: ***XIII*** *(Death)*, ***XV*** LE DIABLE *(The Devil)*, ***XVII*** L'ESTOILLE *(The Star)*, ***XVIII*** LA LUNE *(The Moon)*, ***XVIIII*** LE SOLEIL *(The Sun)*, ***XXI*** LE MONDE *(The World)*. BOTTOM ROW: ROY D'ESPEE, *VIII of swords, VIII of batons,* VALET DE COUPES, *II of cups, two of coins.*

Jean-Pierre Payen, circa 1735 A Tarot of Marseilles deck, from which forty-four cards survive, was made by Jean-Pierre Payen of Avignon. The maker's name and address appear on the two of cups: *JEAN PAYEN/A LA PLACE/DE ST. DIDIER/A AVIGNON.* The two of coins, which might have revealed the exact date of the deck, is lacking. However, it is known that Payen lived in Avignon between 1710 and 1757, and another deck by him is dated 1713. Thus, this deck can be dated to circa 1735. Only the details, such as the face on the sun of XVIIII *LE SOLEIL,* distinguish this deck from the deck of 1713.

F. F. Solesio Tarot, eighteenth century F. F. Solesio in Genoa made a tarot pack with designs similar to the Tarot of Marseilles, but with Major Arcana and court cards titled in Italian. The maker's name SOLESI appears on the garments of the knight of swords, the queen of cups, the knight of coins and the page of coins. On the two of cups is the maker's name and city: F. F. SOLESIO/GENOVA. An unusual detail is the long-whiskered cat that jumps on the leg of the Fool, in place of the more traditional snapping dog. O'Donoghue (1901) lists F. F. Solesio as being a cardmaker of the eighteenth century. However, a Faustino Solesio, cardmaker of Genoa, is given a date of circa 1865 by Keller (1981) and a playing card deck by Faustino Solesio, in the author's collection, has a clear impression of an Italian tax stamp valid between 1862 and 1874. It is unknown whether F. F. Solesio and Faustino Solesio were the same cardmakers.

Adam C. de Hautot Tarot, circa 1723 to 1748 The pack by Adam C. de Hautot has seventy-one cards out of seventy-eight cards; the missing seven cards are the nine of swords, ten, eight and four of staves, eight and six of cups, and seven of coins.

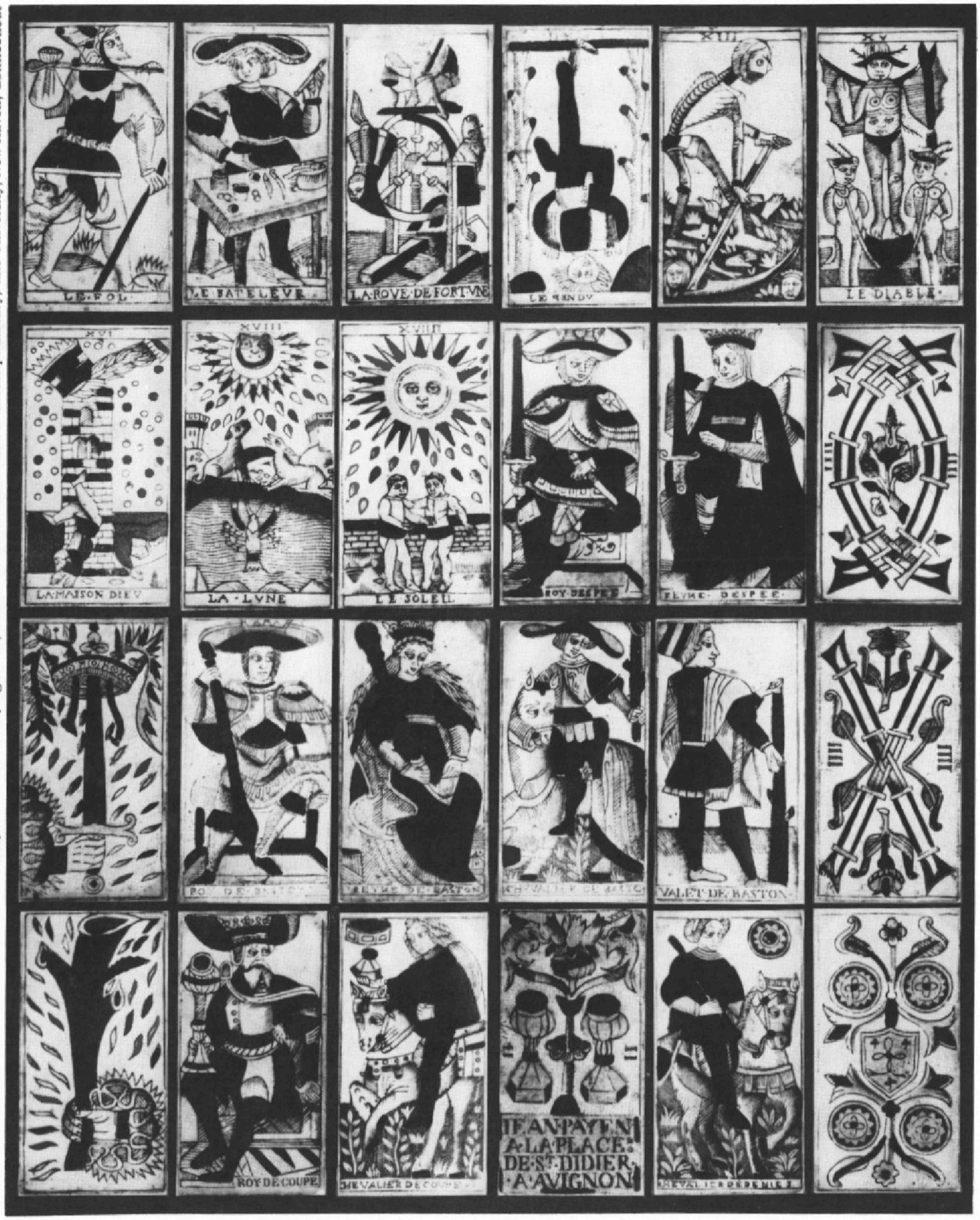
The de Hautot family of Rouen was engaged in cardmaking for one hundred and forty years. A cardmaker of the de Hautot family, named Dohoto, was evidently forced to emigrate from Rouen due to fluctuating and oppressive tax laws, and he is recorded as working in England in 1648. However, Rouen was exempted in 1648 from the general French tax on playing cards, and from that year until 1791 the family of de Hautot made cards in Rouen. In the Archives Départementales de la Seine-Maritime, a book showing cardmakers' trademarks includes one for Adam C. de Hautot. The trademark shows a wreath topped by a crown. Within the wreath is a heart imprinted with three fleurs-de-lis, and around the heart are the words *Au Coeur Royal* and the monogram "ADH." Below the wreath is a Maltese cross and the date 1723. The name Adam C. de Hautot is inscribed on a ribbon and appears again below the ribbon with the date 1748. In the deck, the ace of coins bears the wording: *CARTES DE TAROS/TRES FINES FAITES/PAR ADAM C DE/HAUTOT/DEME. [demeurant] RVE DV GROS/ORLOGE A ROUEN/AV COEUR ROYAL.* The name and the motto *AV COEUR ROYAL* links the maker of the deck with the trademark owner and confirms that the deck was likely made in the first half of the eighteenth century.

Most of the images on the cards are like those of the Vievil pack, which was made a century earlier and is a prototype of Flemish decks. The cards II *CAPITANO FRACASE L'ESPAGNOL* and V *BACVS* substitute for II The Popess and V The Pope, as on Flemish decks. An unusual sequence occurs with the numbering of IIII The Empress and III The Emperor, instead of the regular III The Empress and IV The Emperor. The Major Arcana cards have checkered borders, similar to the Parisian Tarot from the seventeenth century. Another trace of the Parisian Tarot and of the eighteenth-century Flemish Vandenborre Tarot can be seen on XXI *LE MONDE,* which has an image of a woman standing on a globe and holding a drape aloft. At the top, a cartouche flanked by two lions shows the number of the card, as on all the Major and Minor Arcana of the Parisian pack. VII *LE CHARIOT* also has an image like that of the Flemish tarots: a man on a chariot drawn by one horse. The two of cups has the inscription *POVR CONOISTRE QVE/LA PLVS BASSE DE DENIERS/ET DE COVPE ENPORTE/LES PLVS HAVTE QVAND/POVR LE FAIT DV JEV,* indicating that for the game of tarot the lower numbered pip cards in the suits of coins and cups take the higher numbered cards. (In the suits of swords and staves the value runs from ten down to ace.) The back design shows sunbursts within hexagons.

Sebastian Ioia Tarot, circa 1720 to 1785 The complete seventy-eight-card tarot pack by Sebastian Heinerich Ioia of Augsburg is identified by the text on the two of cups: *IN VERLAG BEY SEBASTIAN HEINERICH IOIA IN AVGSPVRG WVNHAFFT BEY DER SCHWAHL MYHL,* and on the two of coins: *IN VERLAG BEY SEBASTIAN IOIA IN AVGSPVRG.* The four of coins contains the name *S. IOIA* on the center shield, which is also decorated with a sun at the upper left. The Major Arcana and court cards have full-length figures and French titles. The pack probably dates from the second or third quarter of the eighteenth century, as Sebastian Ioia was a cardmaker in Augsburg from 1720 to 1785. The style of the engravings is similar to those of the Göbl Animal Tarock (see chapter on tarock decks) from Munich and the tarot by Joannes Pelagius Mayer of Constance. Since the three decks are contemporaneous and all the publishers were from southern Germany, it is possible that the same engraver or workshop made the woodblocks for the decks published by Ioia, Mayer and Göbl. An interesting point in common between the decks by Ioia and Mayer can be seen in III The Empress. The titles of the cards in both decks are spelled, or misspelled, in the same way: *LIMPERATBICE.* Also the crowns and scepters on The Empress cards are similar and both women are winged. The features of the figures in the Ioia deck have a warmth and individuality not always found on old tarots.

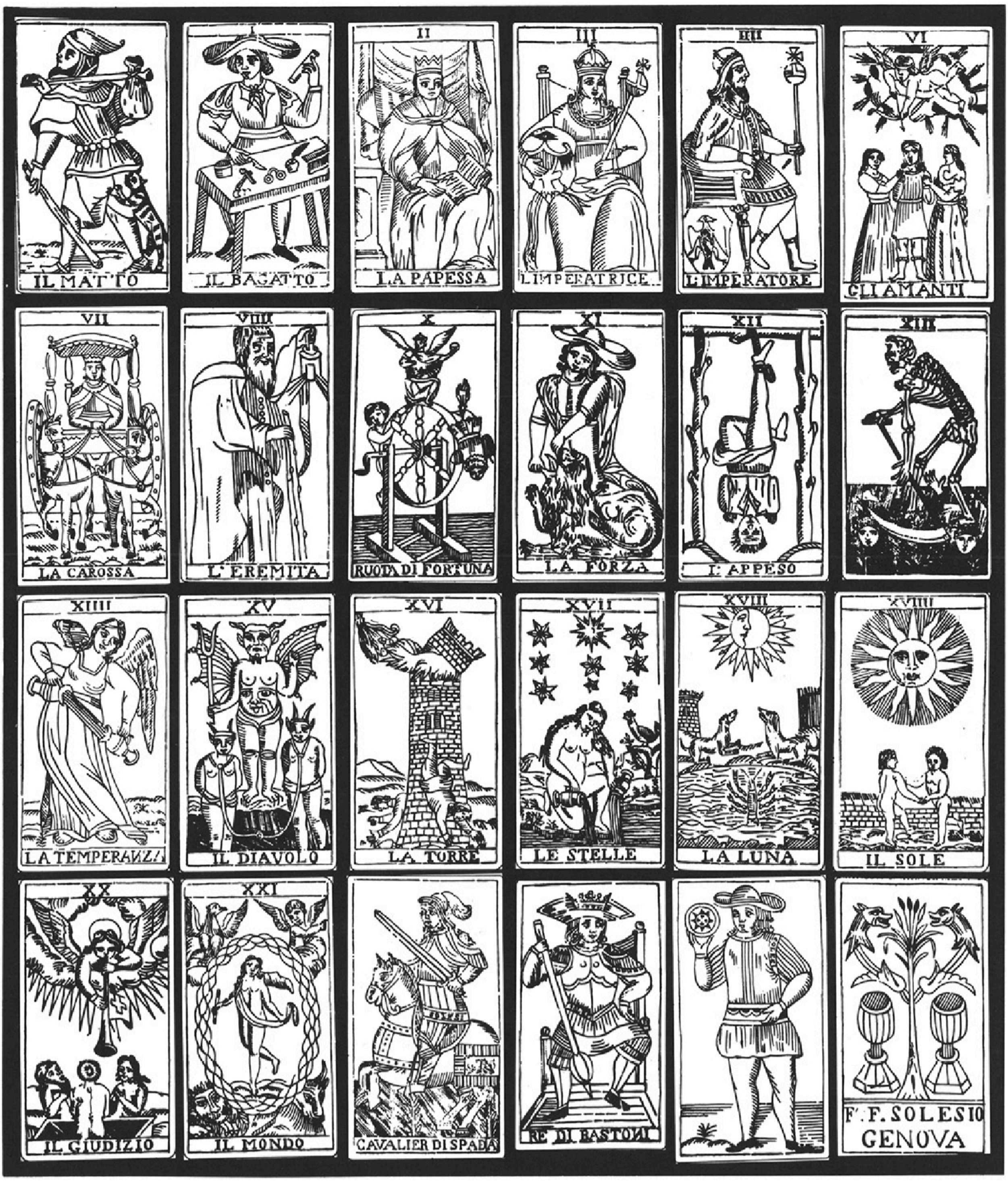
Joannes Pelagius Mayer Tarot, circa 1720 to 1750 A seventy-eight-card tarot deck, dating from circa 1750, was made by Joannes Pelagius Mayer of Constance, Germany. The plump, amiable figures are woodblock printed and stencil colored, and the cards have Roman numerals and French titles. In some respects, the Mayer deck is like the deck by François Heri, dated to the first third of the eighteenth century, with the figures of Junon and Jupiter replacing the Popess and the Pope, and the World card showing a man robed with a cape and holding a scepter. The name and city of the maker appear on the two of cups: *IOANNES PELAGIUS MAYER IN CONSTANZ,* and on the two of coins: *TAROS FIN DE IOANES PELAGIUS MAYER IN CONSTANZ.* The monogram "IPM" (JPM) is on VII *LE CHARIOT* and on the four of coins. Catherine Hargrave (1930) dated the deck to 1680, but further research indicates that the deck is actually from the mid-eighteenth century. J. P. Mayer was baptised in Kempton, Germany, in 1690, and records indicate that he became a citizen of Constance in 1720. The last record of him is dated 1737. The Bibliothèque Nationale suggests 1750 is the latest likely date for production of the deck, since Mayer would have been sixty years old in that year.

Cary Collection of Playing Cards, The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut



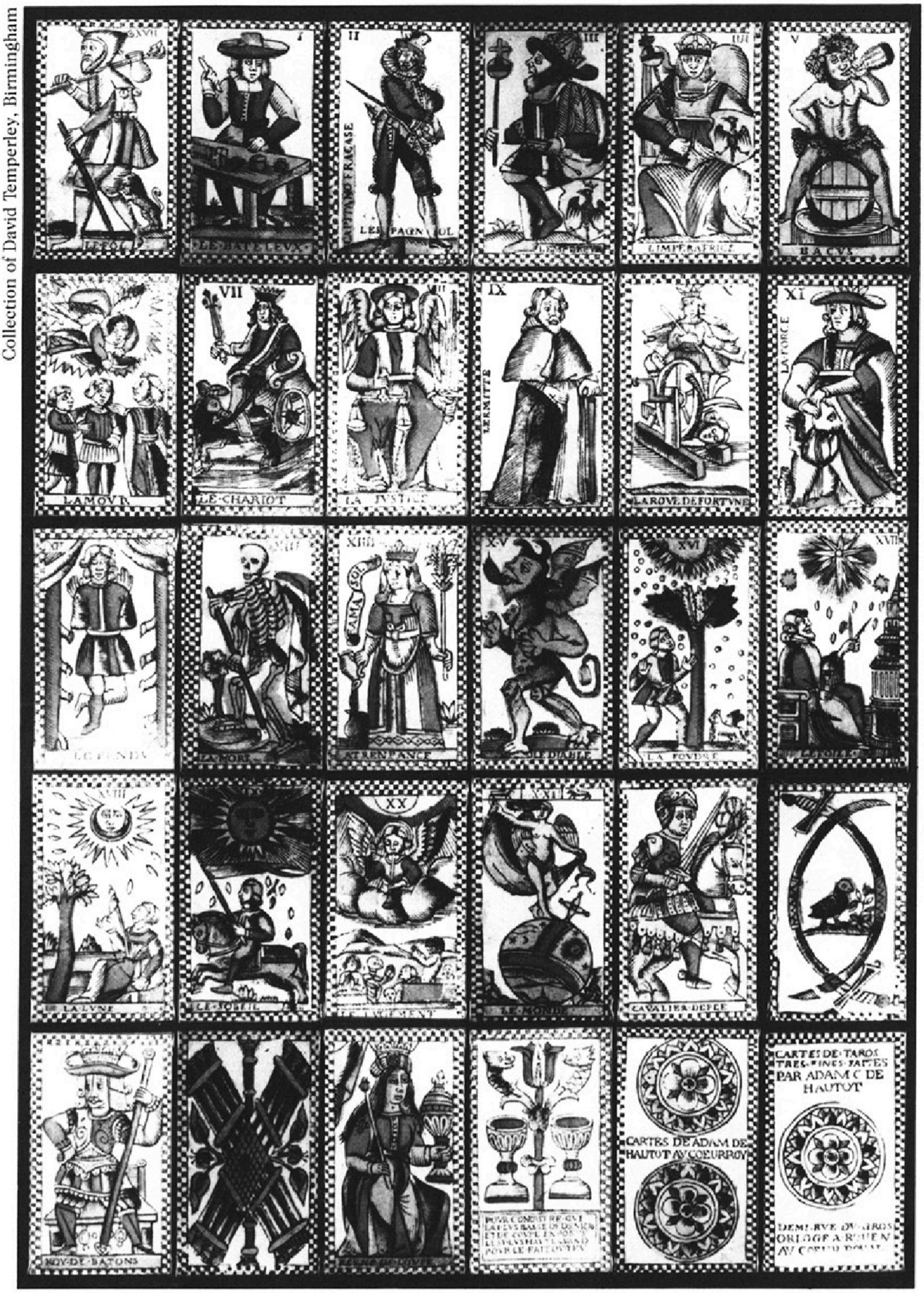
Jean-Pierre Payen Tarot, ca 1735 TOP ROW: LE FOL, ***I*** LE BATELEVR, ***X*** LA ROVE DE FORTVNE, ***IIX*** LE PENDV *with number and "P" backward*, ***XIII*** *(Death)*, ***XV*** LE DIABLE. SECOND ROW: ***XVI*** LA MAISON DIEV, ***XVIII*** LA LVNE, ***XVIIII*** LE SOLEIL, ROY DESPEE, REYNE DESPEE, *IIII of swords*. THIRD ROW: *Ace of swords*, ROY DE BASTON, REYNE DE BASTON, CHEVALIER DE BASTON, VALET DE BASTON, *IIII of batons*. BOTTOM ROW: *Ace of batons*, ROY DE COUPE, CHEVALIER DE COVPE, *II of cups*, CHEVALIER DE DENIES, *four of coins*.

Reprinted from *Playing Cards of Various Ages and Countries, Selected from the Collection of Lady Charlotte Schreiber*, Volume III



F. F. Solesio Tarot TOP ROW: IL MATTO, ***I*** IL BAGATTO, ***II*** LA PAPESSA, ***III*** L'IMPERATRICE, ***IIII*** L'IMPERATORE, ***VI*** GLI AMANTI. SECOND ROW: ***VII*** LA CAROSSA, ***VIIII*** L'EREMITA, ***X*** RUOTA DI FORTUNA, ***XI*** LA FORZA, ***XII*** L'APPESO, ***XIII (Death)***. THIRD ROW: ***XIIII*** LA TEMPERANZA, ***XV*** IL DIAVOLO, ***XVI*** LA TORRE, ***XVII*** LE STELLE, ***XVIIII*** LA LUNA, ***XVIIIII*** IL SOLE. BOTTOM ROW: ***XX*** IL GIUDIZIO, ***XXI*** IL MONDO, CAVALIER DI SPADA, RE DI BASTONI, *page of coins, two of cups.*

Collection of David Temperley, Birmingham



Adam C. de Hautot Tarot TOP ROW: ***XXII*** **LE FOL** *is a jester who carries a bag on a stick topped with a man's head. On his back are four bells. A small creature that looks like a lion leaps on his leg.* ***I*** **LE BATELEVX.** ***II*** **CAPITANO FRACASE LESPAGNOL** *is a character from Commedia dell'Arte. The model for the figure on the card is probably from an engraving by Michel Lasne, who lived from around 1590 to 1667. The engraving,* Espagnol faisant le Rodomond, *is in the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.* ***III*** **LEMPEREVR,** ***IIII*** **LIMPERATRICE,** ***V*** **BACVS.** SECOND ROW: ***VI*** **LAMOVR** *shows Cupid shooting an arrow at a threesome. In the center is a man, and to the right is a woman. Another man, instead of a woman as is usual on The Lovers card, stands on the left. He may be a priest who is marrying the couple. The mixture of pagan iconography (Cupid) and Christian customs was not unusual in the art of the time.* ***VII*** **LE CHARIOT.** ***VIII*** **LA IVSTICE** *portrays a winged angel with a halo.* ***IX*** **LERMITE,** ***X*** **LA ROVE DE FORTVNE,** ***XI*** **LA FORCE.** THIRD ROW: ***XII*** **LE PENDV** *has the common error of the image reversed to the writing.* ***XIII*** **LA MORT.** ***XIIII*** **ATRENPANCE** *bears the French medieval spelling of "Temperance."* ***XV*** **LE DIABLE.** ***XVI*** **LA FOVDRE,** *according to the Bibliothèque Nationale, may have once been The Star, portraying one of the shepherds on the night of the Nativity of Christ, with the star of Bethlehem blazing and sheep at the foot of the tree.* ***XVII*** **LETOILE.** FOURTH ROW: ***XVIII*** **LA LVNE,** ***XIX*** **LE SOLEIL,** ***XX*** **LE IVGEMENT,** ***XXI*** **LE MONDE, CAVALIER DEPEE,** ***two of swords.*** BOTTOM ROW: **ROY DE BATONS,** ***nine of swords,*** **REYNE DE COVPE,** ***two of cups, two of coins*** *with the inscription* CARTES DE ADAM DE/HAUTOT AV COEUR ROY, ***ace of coins.***

Collection of Gene Hochman

Sebastian Ioia Tarot TOP ROW: **LE FOL** *wears a jester's costume, which a small cat or dog tears in the back.* ***II*** **IVNON** *stands on the backs of two peacocks, one hand pointing up and the other pointing earthward.* ***III*** **LIMPERATRICE** *holds a shield emblazoned with an eagle and a scepter. She is winged.* ***IIII*** **LEMPEREVR** *holds the same scepter as the Empress and his throne shows the eagle. His hat is helmetlike.* ***VI*** **LAMOVREUX** *depicts a man who seems to be joining a young couple in wedlock as blindfolded Cupid flies over.* SECOND ROW: ***VII*** **LE CHARIOT** *is shown from a slight angle instead of from the front. Two horses draw the vehicle and a warrior sits inside, with faces on his epaulets. The initials "SHI" are on the front.* ***VIIII*** **LERMITE** *is a balding man with a moustache. He walks with a crutch while holding a lantern in front of him. His blank eyes may indicate that he is blind.* ***X*** **LA ROVE DE PORTVNE** *is topped with a smiling, crowned monkey who holds a sword and points down to the descending figure on the wheel.* ***XV*** **LE DIABLE** *wears a skirt and has a monster's head topped with plant fronds. Bat wings spread from his back and in his hand is a long candle. Two monkeylike figures squat at his feet, holding tethers.* ***XVI*** **LA MAISON DIEU** *is struck with lightning and two figures fall from the top.* THIRD ROW: **ROY DEEPEE, REINE DESPEE, CHEVALIER DESPEE** *has face epaulets,* **CHEVALIER LE BASTONS, VALET DE BASTONS.** BOTTOM ROW: **ROY DE COUPES,** ***two of cups,*** **ROY DE DENIERS,** ***four of coins, two of coins.***

Joannes Pelagius Mayer Tarot TOP ROW: LE FOL, *I* [LE BATELEUR], *II* IVNON, *III* LIMPERATBICE, *IIII* LEMPEREVR. SECOND ROW: *V* IVPITER, *VII* LE CHARIOT, *VIII* LATISIDCE, *XII* LE PENDV, *XIII (Death)*. THIRD ROW: *XV* LE DIABLE, *XVI* LA MAISOI DIEV, *XXI* LE MONDE, ROY DEEPEE, CHEVALIER DESPEE. BOTTOM ROW: *VIII of swords*, VALET DE BASTONS, *II of cups, IIII of coins, II of coins.*

Rochus I. Schär (Schaer), 1750 Swiss *cartier* Rochus I. Schär produced a tarot deck dated 1750. The name of the maker and the date is on the two of coins: *ROCHVS SCHAR CARTIER ET GRAVEUR 1750* (Rochus Schär, cardmaker and engraver, 1750). The initials of another person, "J.J-B" can be found on the two of cups and on the shield on the front of the chariot on Major Arcana VII. The deck is a Tarot of Marseilles with attractive and decorative pip cards. The Death card is particularly baleful looking. *LE MAT* is unusual in that it has a number, zero.

Claude Burdel Tarot, 1751 In the third quarter of the eighteenth century Claude Burdel issued a tarot pack. The name of the cardmaker appears on the two of coins and his initials "C.B." appear on VII *LE CHARIOR* [sic] and on the two of cups. The two of coins reads *CLAUDE BURDEL CARTIER ET GRAVEUR 1751*. The cards are woodblock printed and stencil colored by hand. Place of issue is uncertain, but it is probably Fribourg, Switzerland. Claude Burdel was active in cardmaking from 1751 to 1780. The card designs are typical of the Tarot of Marseilles. Each suitmark of coins has a fleur-de-lis in the center. The back design is a repeating pattern of stars interspersed with tiny, solid squares. The cards' surfaces are polished.

Antoine Jar Tarot, eighteenth century A typical eighteenth-century Cartes de Suisses or Flemish Tarot deck has primitive woodblock printed and stencil colored designs. Antoine Jar's seventy-eight-card pack is very similar to the Vandenborre and Jean Galler decks. Instead of The Popess, card number II is *CAPITANO ERACASSE L'ESPAGNOL*, and instead of The Pope, card V depicts *BACUS* (Bacchus) straddling a wine cask. The name "Laborne" is printed on Capitano Eracasse's right thigh and also appears in small print at the bottom of the ace of coins as "Chaelmichel Laborn," and on the V of Swords (not shown) as "Chaelmichel." The name could refer to Michel Laborne, a Parisian cardmaker in 1702 and possibly the original maker of these designs, which were subsequently published by Antoine Jar as evidenced by the initials "A.I." (A.J.) on the four of coins, his name on the two of coins, and the ace of coins inscribed, *CARTES DE TARAVT FAITES PAR ANTOINE IAR/ABOVVIGNE SVR MEVSE*. The backs are decorated with a pattern of suns within hexagons.

Several additional identifying features on cards not shown include the word "Charle" on XVIII *LA LVNE* (The Moon) and XIX *LE SOLEIL* (The Sun), and the numbering on the pip cards which varies from Roman for X and V of swords to Arabic for 9, 8, 7, 6 and 4 of swords. Some numbers appear backward, having been incorrectly cut into the woodblock. The 7 appears sideways, while the other numbers are always vertical. No numbers appear on the three, two and ace of swords, but the two of swords has the initials or abbreviation "MI." Similar numbering appears on some, but not all, pip cards in the other suits.

Martin Dupont Tarot, second half of eighteenth century A seventy-eight-card Belgian tarot pack was published by Martin Dupont, Brussels, in the second half of the eighteenth century. The full-length pictures are virtually identical to the packs by Antoine Jar and Jean Galler of Belgium. The ace of coins reads: *CARTES DE TARAVT FAITES PAR MARTIN DUPONT/DANS LA RUE DE LEVEQUE A BRUXELLES*, but the four of coins bears the initials "I.G." It is likely that Jean Galler carved the woodblocks for this deck. Back design is a pattern of black suns on a white background.

Conrad Iseli Tarot, late eighteenth century In the second half of the eighteenth century, Conrad Iseli made a Tarot of Marseilles deck, and all seventy-eight cards survive. The cards are woodblock printed and stencil colored, with Roman numerals and titles in French. The name and city of the cardmaker appear on the two of cups: *TAROS FIN DE CONRAD ISELI A SOLEUR*, and the initials "CI" appear in script on a shield on the front of the chariot of trump VII and on the left side of the valet of swords.

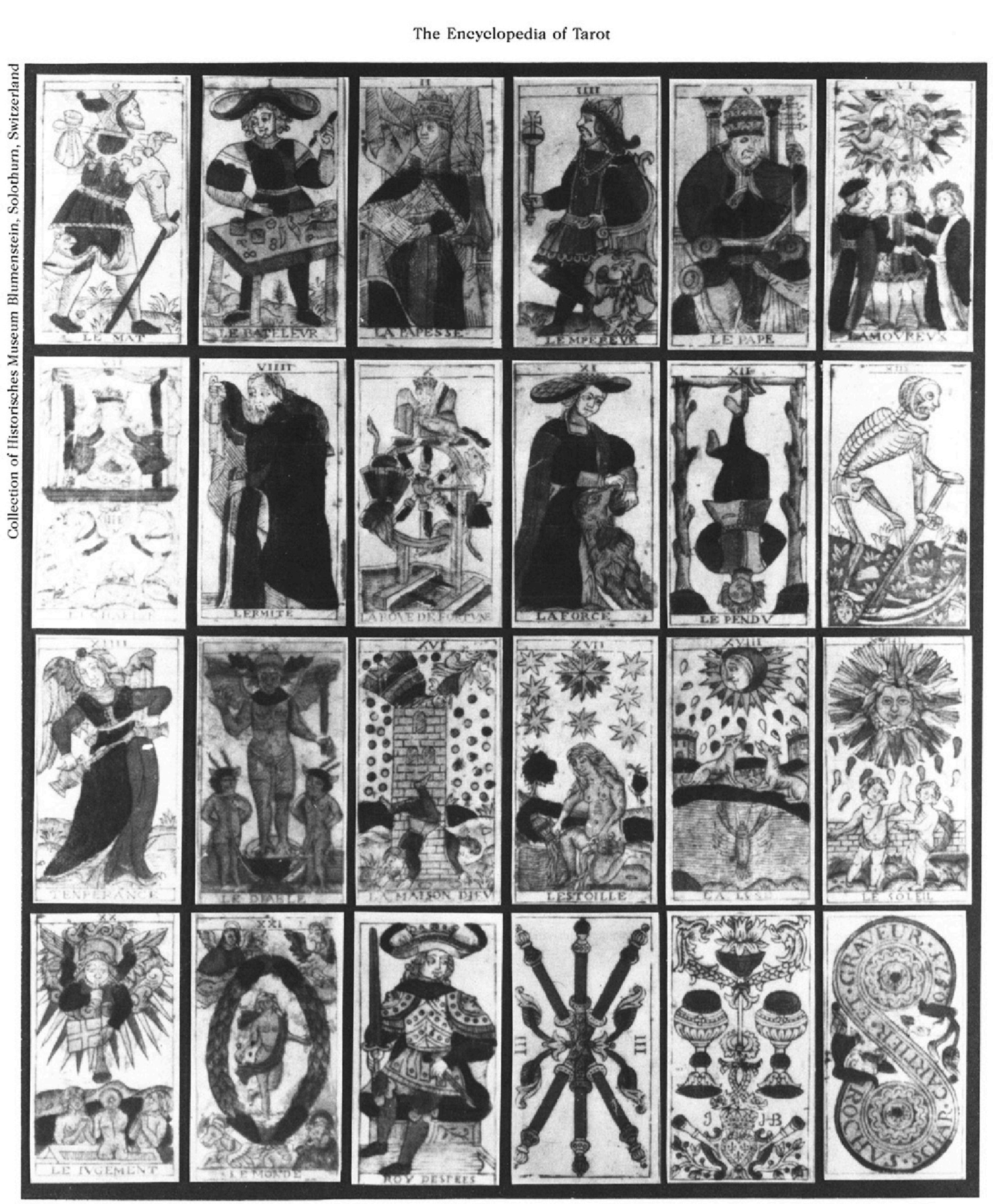
Charles Madigne, uncut sheet of tarot cards, circa 1777 Nine complete and three partial tarot cards form part of an uncut sheet made by Charles Madigne. The Kunst Gewerbe Museum of Zurich dates the cards at 1771, but they are identical to a pack, owned by Allan J. Ryan, which is dated 1777 on the two of coins. Charles Madigne is known to have lived in Besançon, France, from at least 1749 until 1771, at which time he moved to Estavayer-le-Lac, Switzerland. The deck is typical of tarots made by *cartiers* of Besançon. The sheet is woodblock printed and uncolored.

Charles Madigne Tarot, 1777 A seventy-eight-card woodcut tarot pack was made by Charles Madigne, Estavayer-le-Lac, Switzerland, in 1777. The full-length figures are similar to the eighteenth-century Rochias Fils and J. Jerger packs, except for XV *LE DIABEL* [sic], which appears to be a replacement card made by a subsequent owner of the deck. The designs are those of the Tarot of Marseilles. The two of coins bears the inscription: *CHARLE MADIGNE 1777*, with the number printed backward, and the ace of coins is inscribed: *C MADIGNE*.

A. Paiche Tarot, circa 1780 A complete seventy-eight-card deck was made by A. Paiche of Bern, Switzerland, around 1780. The date can be estimated by comparing the deck to other decks made around the same time, but the maker seems to have left no other traces of himself, and thus a definite date cannot be given. The two of cups identifies the maker and his city: *TAROT FIN FA/IT PAR A PA/ICHE FABRIQ/ANT DE CARTE/A BERNE*. The cards are woodblock printed and stencil colored, with numbers in Roman and titles in French. The designs follow the Tarot of Marseilles. The deck is very similar to the tarot by Claude Thomasset, with the deck of cards on the table of I *LE BATELEUR* showing the ace of diamonds, the expressions on the luminaries of XVIII *LA LUNE* and XVIIII *LE SOLEIL*, and generally the designs of both Major and Minor Arcana. A shield with the initials "IB" is on the chariot of card VII.

C. F. Carrajat Tarot, circa 1780 C. F. Carrajat at Chambéry, France, published a tarot deck circa 1780 or possibly 1794, the year for which D'Allemagne cited Carrajat. The cards are woodblock printed and stencil colored, and their surfaces are polished. At the bottom of each Major Arcana card is its French title and at the top is the Roman numeral, except on unnumbered *LE FOL*. The name Carrajat and the location Chambéry appear as part of the card design on the two of cups and the two of coins. The maker's name and the city *CHAMBERI* also appear in the form of a round publisher's mark on the four aces. The designer's initials "AGZ," probably for A. G. Zoya, are shown at the front of the wagon on VII *LE CHARIOT*, and the name *ZOYA* appears at the base of the ace of cups. Gentilini e Zoya was the name of a cardmaking partnership in Milan, and it is possible that one of the Milanese partners engraved the Carrajat deck.

Collection of Historisches Museum Blumenstein, Solothurn, Switzerland



Rochus I. Schär Tarot TOP ROW: ***0*** LE MAT, ***I*** LE BATELEVR, ***II*** LA PAPESSE, ***IIII*** LEMPEREVR, ***V*** LE PAPE, ***VI*** LAMOVREVX. SECOND ROW: ***VII*** LE CHARIOR, ***VIIII*** LERMITE, ***X*** LA ROVE DE FORTVNE, ***XI*** LA FORCE, ***XII*** LE PENDU, ***XIII*** *(Death)*. THIRD ROW: ***XIIII*** TENPERANCE, ***XV*** LE DIABLE, ***XVI*** LA MAISON DIEV, ***XVII*** LESTOILLE, ***XVIII*** LA LVNE, ***XVIIII*** LE SOLEIL. BOTTOM ROW: ***XX*** LE IVGEMENT, ***XXI*** LE MONDE, ROY DESPEES, *III batons, two of cups, two of coins.*

Collection of the author

Claude Burdel Tarot TOP ROW: LE MAT, ***I*** LE BATELEVR, ***II*** LA PAPESSE, ***III*** LIMPERATRISE, ***IIII*** LEMPEREVR. SECOND ROW: ***V*** LE PAPE, ***VI*** LAMOVREVX, ***VII*** LE CHARIOR, ***VIII*** IVSTICE, ***VIIII*** LERMITE. THIRD ROW: ***XV*** LE DIABLE, ***XX*** LE IVGEMENT, ***XXI*** LE MONDE, *X of swords, ace of swords.* BOTTOM ROW: *VII of batons, two of cups,* ROY DE DENIER, *four of coins, two of coins.*

Collection of the author

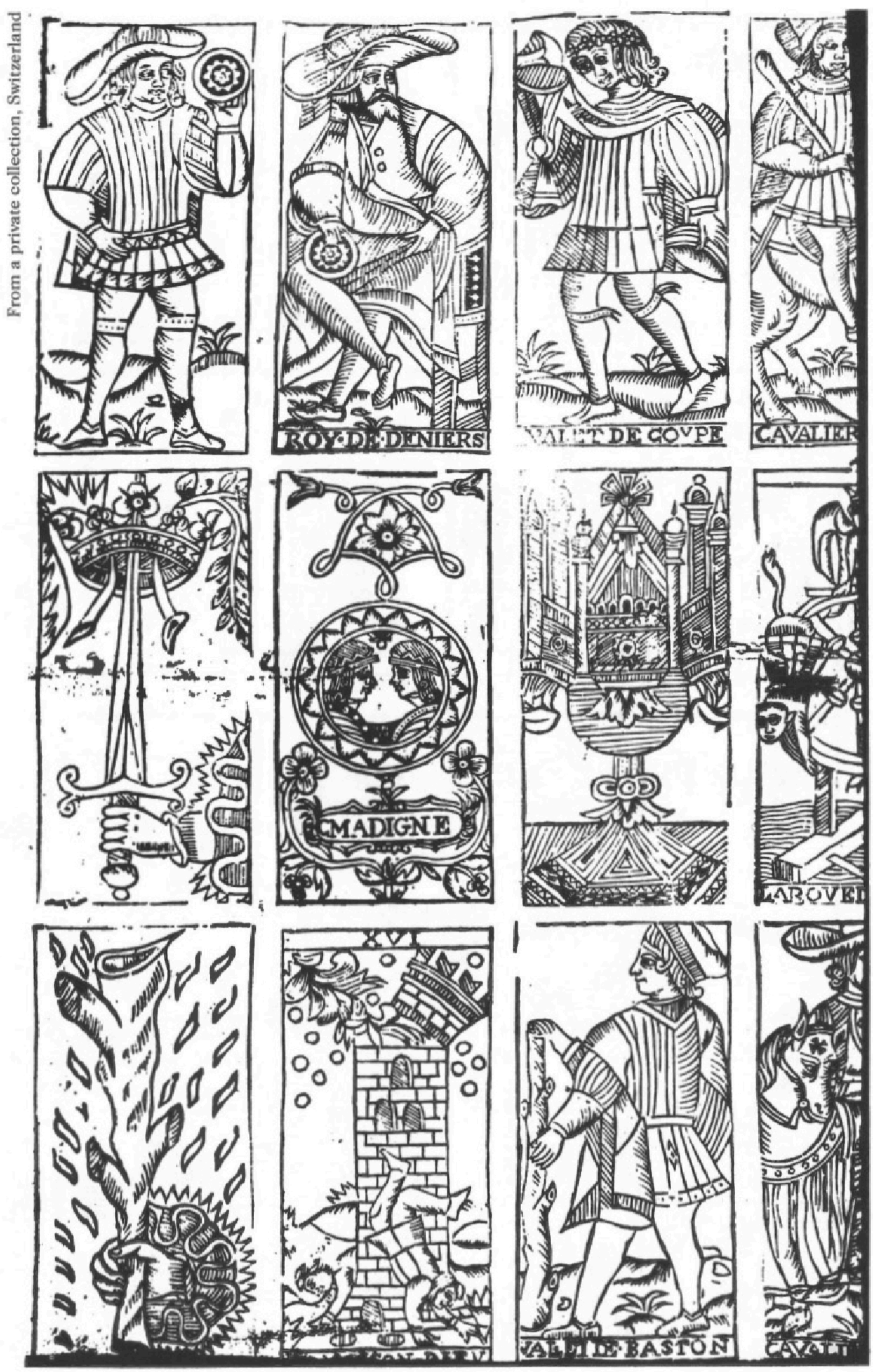
Antoine Jar Tarot TOP ROW: ***I*** LE RATELEVX *(The Juggler)*, ***II*** CAPITANO ERACASSE LESPAGNOL *(Captain Fracasse the Spaniard)*, ***III*** LIMPERATRI' *(The Empress)*, ***IIII*** LAMPEREVR *(The Emperor)*, ***V*** BACUS *(Bacchus)*. SECOND ROW: ***VI*** LAMOVR *(Love)*, ***VII*** LE CHARIOT *(The Chariot)*, ***IX*** LERMITE *(The Hermit)*, ***X*** ROUE DE LA FORTUNE *(Wheel of Fortune)*, ***XI*** FORCE *(Strength)*. THIRD ROW: ***XII*** LE PENDV *(The Hanged Man) is shown upright as if he is balancing on one foot, because the picture was printed upside down to the writing.* ***XIIII*** ATREMPANCE *(Temperance) holds a winged baton and a jug with a banner reading* FAMA SOL. ***XV*** LE DIABLE *(The Devil)*. ***XXI*** LE MONDE *(The World) has the name "Michle" appearing on the cloth.* ***XXII*** LE FOL *(The Fool)*. BOTTOM ROW: ROY DE BAST. *(king of batons). Two of cups contains the inscription:* POVR CONOISTRE QVE LA/PLVS BASSE DE DENIEZ ET/DE COVPES ENPORTE LES/PLVS HAVTES QVAND AV/FAIT DV IEV *which indicates that the lowest numbered cards in the suits of coins and cups carry the highest values when played in the game of tarot. Four of coins shows the initials "A.I." (for A.J.). Two of coins has a banner with the name ANTOINE IAR (Jar). Ace of coins.*

Collection of Agnes and Allan Ryan

Martin Dupont Tarot TOP ROW: ***I*** LE RATELEVX, ***II*** CAPITANO ERACASSE LESPAGNOL, ***III*** L'IMPERATRIS, ***IIII*** LAMPEREVR, ***V*** BACUS. SECOND ROW: ***VI*** LAMOVR, ***VII*** LE CHARIOT, ***VIII*** LAIUSAICE, ***IX*** LERMITE, ***X*** ROUE DE LA FORTUNE. THIRD ROW: ***XI*** FORCE, ***XII*** LE PENDV, ***XIII*** LA MORT, ***XIIII*** ATREMPANCE, ***XV*** LE DIABLE. BOTTOM ROW: ***XXI*** LE MONDE, ***XXII*** LE FOL, ROY DE DENIEZ, *four of coins, ace of coins.*

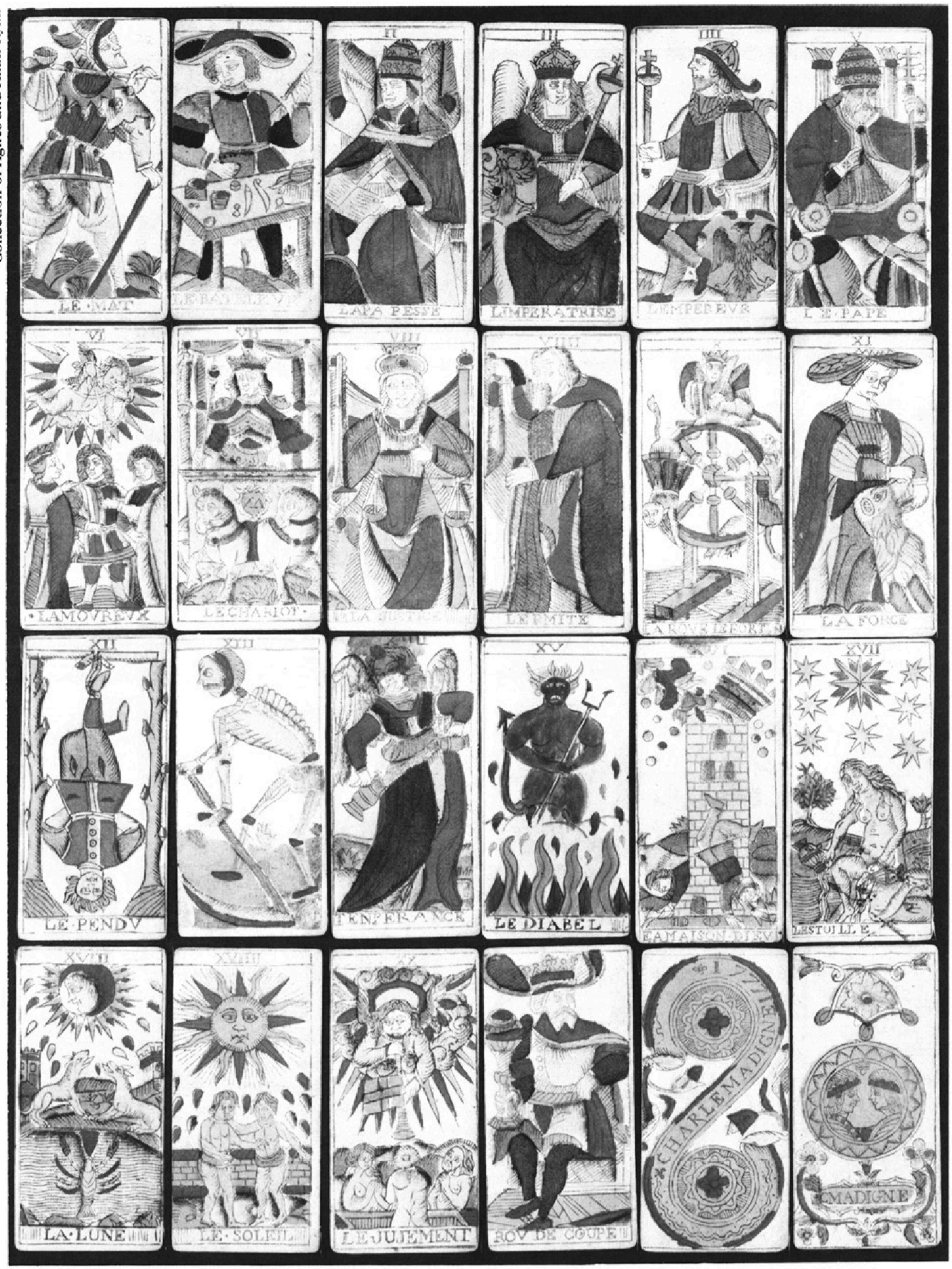
Collection of Historisches Museum Blumenstein, Solothurn, Switzerland

Conrad Iseli Tarot TOP ROW: LE MAT, *I* LE BATELEVR, *II* LA PAPESSE, *III* L'IMPERATRICE, *IIII* L'EMPEREVR, *V* LE PAPE. SECOND ROW: *VI* LAMOUREVX, *VII* LE CHARIOR, *VIII* IVSTICE, *VIIII* LERMITE, *XII* LE PENDV, *XIII (Death)*. THIRD ROW: *XIIII* TENPERANCE, *XVI* LA MAISON DIEV, *XVIII* LA IVNE, *XVIIII* LE SOEIL, *XX* LE IVGEMENE, *XXI* LE MONDE *with its number printed backward, a mistake usually made on trump XII.* BOTTOM ROW: VALET D ESPEE, CAVALLIER DE BASTON, REINE DE COUPE, *II of cups,* ROY DE DENIER, *four of coins.*



Charles Madigne Uncut Sheet TOP ROW: *Page of coins,* ROY DE DENIERS *(king of coins),* VALET DE COVPE *(page of cups),* CAVALIER *(probably of coins).* SECOND ROW: *Ace of swords, ace of coins, ace of cups,* LA ROVE . . . *(The Wheel of Fortune).* BOTTOM ROW: *Ace of batons, XVI* LA MAISON DIEV *(The House of God),* VALET DE BASTON *(page of wands),* CAVALI[ER] *(probably of wands).*

Collection of Agnes and Allan Ryan



Charles Madigne Tarot TOP ROW: LE MAT *(The Fool)*, ***I*** LE BATELEVR *(The Juggler)*, ***II*** LAPA PESSE *[sic] (The Popess)*, ***III*** LIMPERATRISE *(The Empress)*, ***IIII*** LEMPEREVR *(The Emperor)*, ***V*** LE PAPE *(The Pope)*. SECOND ROW: ***VI*** LAMOVREVX *(The Lovers)*, ***VII*** LE CHARIOT *(The Chariot)*, ***VIII*** LA JUSTICE *(Justice)*, ***VIIII*** LERMITE *(The Hermit)*, ***X*** LA ROVE DE FORTVN *(The Wheel of Fortune)*, ***XI*** LA FORCE *(Strength)*. THIRD ROW: ***XII*** LE PENDV *(The Hanged Man)*, ***XIII*** *(Death)*, ***XIIII*** TENPERANCE *(Temperance)*, ***XV*** LE DIABEL *(The Devil)*, ***XVI*** LA MAISON DIEV *(The House of God)*, ***XVII*** LESTOILLE *(The Star)*. BOTTOM ROW: ***XVIII*** LA LUNE *(The Moon)*, ***XVIIII*** LE SOLEIL *(The Sun)*, ***XX*** LE JUJEMENT *(Judgment)*, ROV DE COUPE *(king of cups)*, *two of coins, ace of coins.*

From a private collection, Switzerland

A. Paiche Tarot TOP ROW: LE FOL, ***I*** LE BATELEUR, ***II*** LA PAPESSE, ***III*** LIMPERATRISE, ***V*** LE PAPE, ***VI*** LAMOUREUX. SECOND ROW: ***VII*** LE CHARIOT, ***VIII*** LA IUSTICE, ***VIIII*** LERMITE, ***X*** ROUE DE FORTUNE, ***XII*** LE PANDU, *with title misspelled, but number printed right,* ***XIII*** *(Death)*. THIRD ROW: ***XV*** LE DIABLE, ***XVI*** LA MAISON DIEU, ***XVII*** LETOILLE, ***XVIII*** LA LUNE, ***XVIIII*** LE SOLEIL, ***XXI*** LE MONDE. BOTTOM ROW: ROY DESPEE, *X of swords, III of batons,* ROY DE COVPE, *two of cups, two of coins.*

Collection of the author

C. F. Carrajat Tarot TOP ROW: LE FOL, ***I*** LE BATELEUR, ***II*** LA PAPESSE, ***III*** LA IMPERATRICE, ***IIII*** L'EMPEREUR. SECOND ROW: ***V*** LE PAPE, ***VII*** LE CHARIOT, ***VIII*** LA IUSTICE, ***VIIII*** L'ERMITE, ***X*** LA ROUE DE FORTUNE. THIRD ROW: ***XI*** LA FORCE, ***IIX*** LE PENDU, *with the number reversed,* ***XIII*** *(Death),* ***XIIII*** TEMPERANCE, ***XV*** LE DIABLE. BOTTOM ROW: ***XVI*** LA MAISON DIEU, ***XXI*** LE MONDE, *two of cups, ace of cups, two of coins, engraved,* GRAND TERRAU FIN FAIT A CHAMBERY PAR C. F. CARRAJAT.

Grandprêtre Tarot, late eighteenth century A French tarot pack was made from copper plates in the late eighteenth century. Catherine Hargrave (1930) dated this deck to the early eighteenth century, but it was more likely printed at the end of the eighteenth century, after the 1781 publication of *Le Monde Primitif,* by Court de Gebelin. In Gebelin's book, The Hanged Man was changed to Prudence and is shown balancing on one foot, as is the figure in XII *La Prudence* in the Grandprêtre deck. Further occult features of the deck are the titles *Le grandprêtre* (The high priest) and *La grandeprêtresse* (The high priestess), replacing The Pope or Jupiter and The Popess or Junon, respectively. The cards are smaller than usual, measuring one and seven-eighths inches by three and three-eighths inches. Only twenty-one cards remain, all Major Arcana, and it is unknown whether there were more cards originally. There may not have been any Minor Arcana, and The Fool and The Devil may have been combined into one card (see card XV), making an original total of twenty-one. The cards are hand-colored, and a thin line border edges them. Each card is Roman numbered at the top, and French titles appear at the bottom of all except cards XIII and XV. Most of the designs are similar to those of the Tarot of Marseilles.

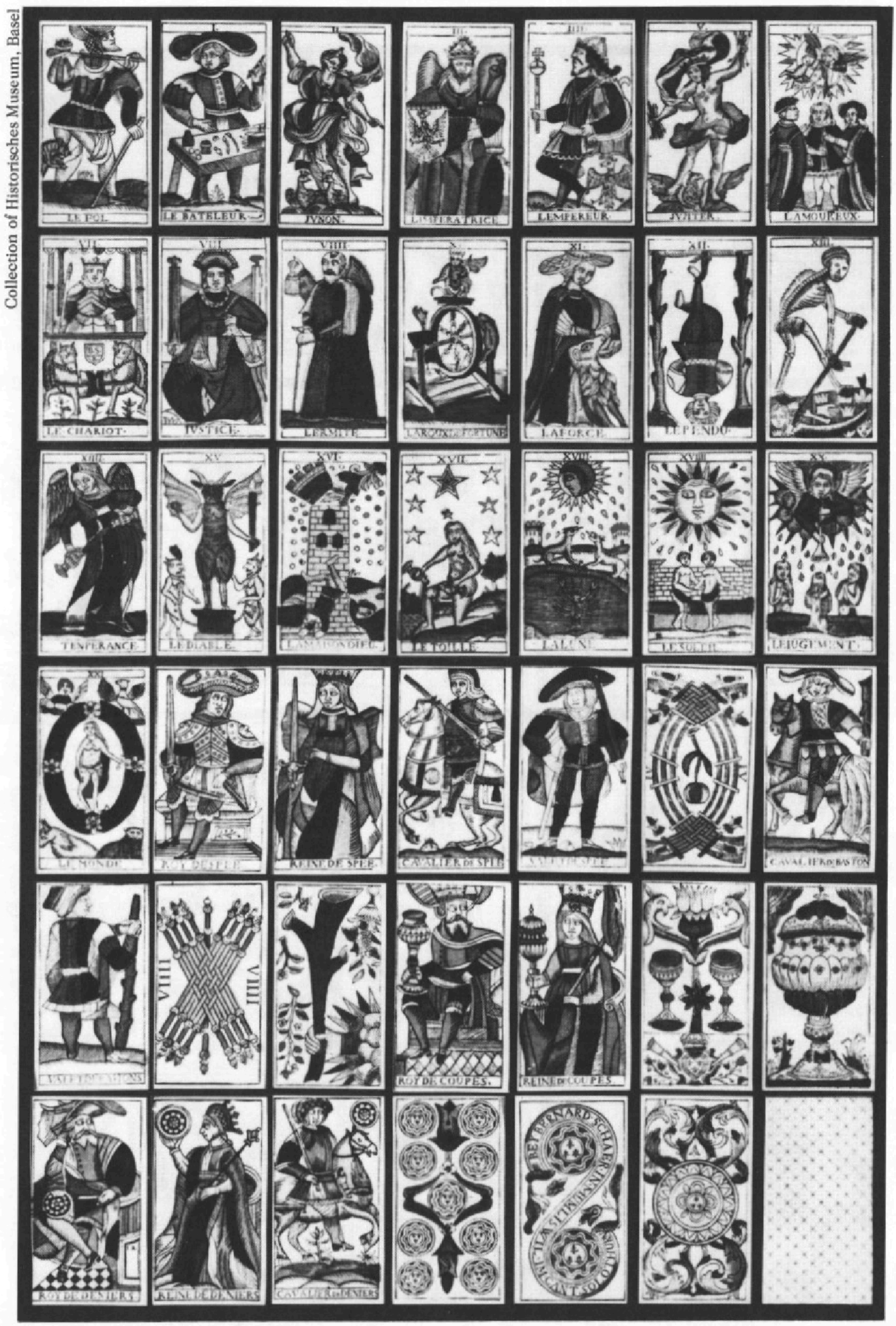
Bernard Schaer Tarot, 1784 A seventy-eight-card tarot pack by Bernard Schaer, Mumliswil, Solothurn, in Switzerland, was printed from woodcuts and stencil colored by hand. The wrapper (not shown) is dated 1784. The Major Arcana show full-length figures and Roman numerals. On VII *LE CHARIOT,* the monogram "B.S.R." appears. II *JVNON* and V *JVPITER* replace *La Papesse* and *Le Pape.* Back design is stars whose rays form a diamond pattern, with a dot in the center of each diamond. On the two of coins is the inscription: *BEY BERNARD SCHAER IN MUMLISWIL IM CANT. SOLOTHURN.*

Cosmo Antonio Toso Tarot, circa 1770 A seventy-eight-card tarot deck by Cosmo Antonio Toso, Genoa, is believed to date from the late eighteenth century. In the archives of Genoa a document dated circa 1770 mentions Toso as a cardmaker in Genoa. The full-length Major Arcana cards are Roman numbered and titled in French. The figures, with gentle, almost childlike expressions, are woodcut printed and stencil colored. Iconographically, the cards bear a striking resemblance to the 1713 deck by Jean-Pierre Payen of Avignon. The similarities are especially apparent on cards X, XV and XXI. The Devil in Italian decks is usually shown with thick, short horns, but Toso's deck shows the Devil with antlers, as in Payen's deck and other French tarots. Card XXI *LE MONDE* of the Toso deck shows a figure wearing a garland at the waist and holding a wand. Toso's figure is clearly a woman whereas Payen's figure is androgynous. The two of coins bears the inscription, in Italian, *FATTI IN GENOVA PER COSMO ANTONIO TOSO* (made in Genoa by Cosmo Antonio Toso). Back design is four-petaled flowers with four sepals enclosed in adjoining diamonds.

Gaetano Provasi Tarocchini of Bologna, late eighteenth century The double-ended cards in this sixty-two-card pack are from the late eighteenth century, when cardmakers began numbering trumps 5 through 16 of Bolognese packs. The cards are woodblock printed and stencil colored. *Tarocchino* means "shortened tarot," and *tarocchini* is the plural of tarocchino. The Tarocchini of Bologna pack is shortened from seventy-eight cards to sixty-two by omitting the five, four, three and two in each of the four suits. The cards are untitled. In games played with the cards, the Montebank (shown here with coins and cards on a table) is the lowest card, the four *Mori,* Moorish kings or satraps that replace the Empress, Emperor, Popess and Pope, are of equal value and unnumbered, the other ranks of values are numbered, and the last four Major Arcana are of equal value (the highest in the deck) and unnumbered. The *Mori* were created to placate papal authorities who objected to the presence of the ecclesiastical figures. The six of coins carries in large letters the initials "G.P." and the inscription *FABBRICA DI CARTE DA GIUOCO DI GAETANO PROVASI ALLA FORTUNA IN BOLOGNA.* Back design is interwoven lines with leaves; the word *FORTUNA* appears on each end.

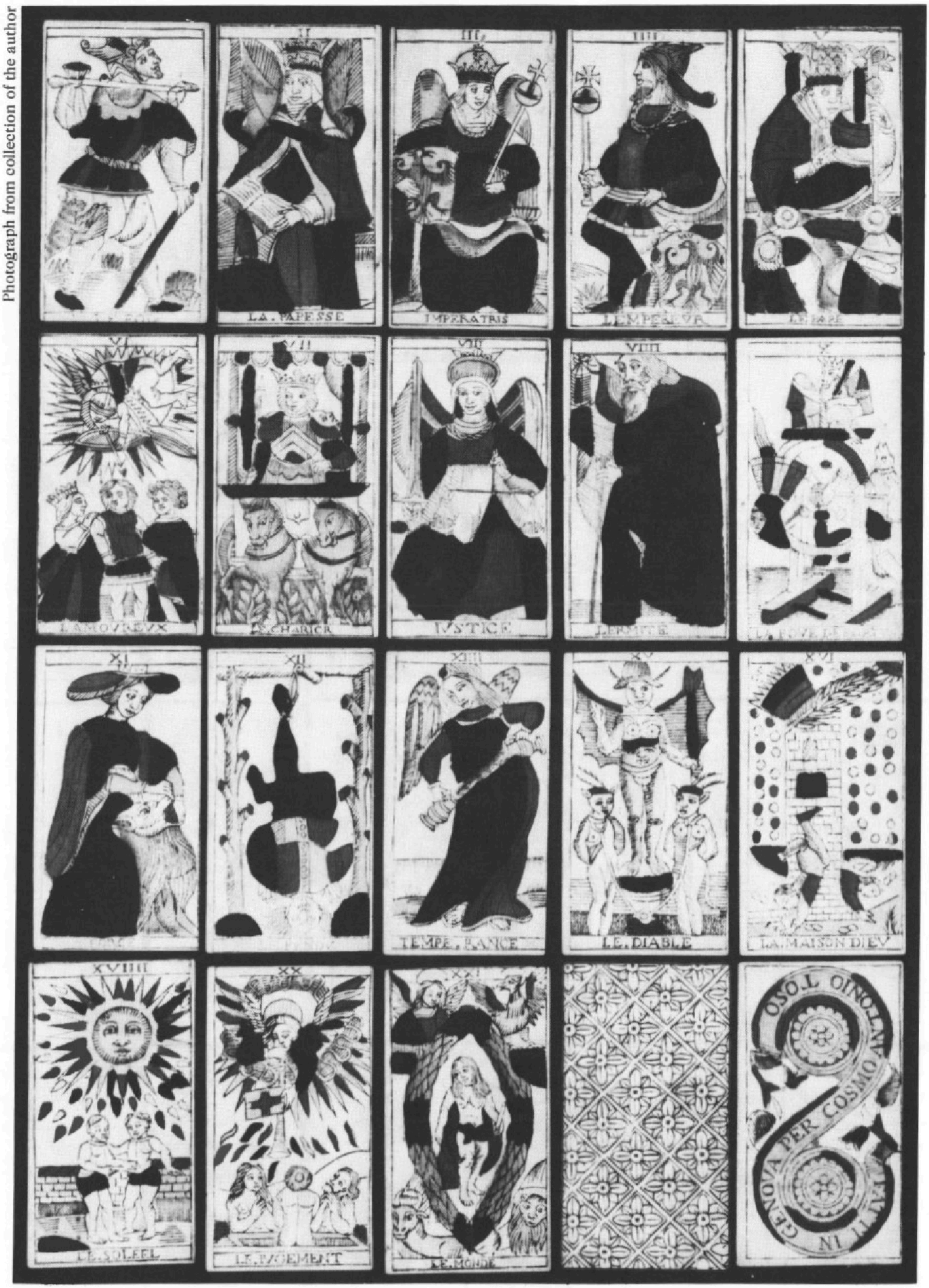
Grandprêtre Tarot TOP ROW: ***I* Le Bateleur** *(The Juggler) wears a fool's crown and holds a wand in his right hand. On his table are more wands, two cups, dice, a flask and an elongated pack of cards. III The Empress and IV The Emperor are replaced with IV* **Le Roy** *(The King) and V* **La Royne** *(The Queen), and the sequence of cards II through V is II* **Le grandprêtre** *(The high priest), III* **La grandeprêtresse** *(The high priestess), IV* **Le Roy** *and V* **La Royne.** SECOND ROW: ***VI* L'amoureux** *(The lovers) shows a mature couple holding hands as Cupid above them aims his arrow. VII* **Le chariot** *(The chariot) contains a fleur-de-lis at the front of the chariot where sometimes the initials of an engraver or cardmaker appear. VIII* **La justice.** *Hargrave describes IX* **L'ermite** *(The hermit) as an almost exact copy of a little German woodcut of 1550 picturing Saint Jude. X* **La roux de fortune.** THIRD ROW: ***XI* La Force** *(Strength) shows a figure with long hair prying open the jaws of a lion. The gender of the person is impossible to identify. XII* **La prudence** *(Prudence) replaces The Hanged Man and the figure is shown balancing on his left leg. XIV* **La temperance** *(Temperance) is an angel pouring liquid between vessels. Card XV, untitled, shows a jester carrying a sack on a stick in one hand and a walking stick in the other. A lion bites his leg. Card XV is usually reserved for The Devil, which is not extant in this deck.* BOTTOM ROW: ***XVII* L'etoille** *(The star) has a traditional image of a nude woman pouring water into a stream. Eight five-pointed stars are above her. XVIII* **La lune,** *(The moon), which usually has two towers foreboding evil, has been changed to a delightful outdoor scene suggestive of an Aesop or La Fontaine fable, with stork, stag, bull and frog. The card is strikingly similar to The Moon card in the La Fontaine tarock, originally published by Peter Friedrich Ulrich of Leipzig in the late eighteenth century. XIX* **Le soleil** *(The sun) depicts two semi-nude figures; the male figure leans on a staff. The couple may symbolize Adam and Eve. XX* **Le jugement** *(Judgment) shows the dead awakened from the earth by an angel's trumpet. XXI* **La monde** *(The world) reveals a semi-nude figure holding a burning torch in her left hand. At the corners of the cards are four cherubs—a baby, a youth, a man and an old man. The use of the feminine article* la *in the title of the card may be a deliberate change from the proper masculine article for the word* monde, *perhaps to reflect the female figure on the card.*

Collection of The United States Playing Card Company Museum, Cincinnati, Ohio



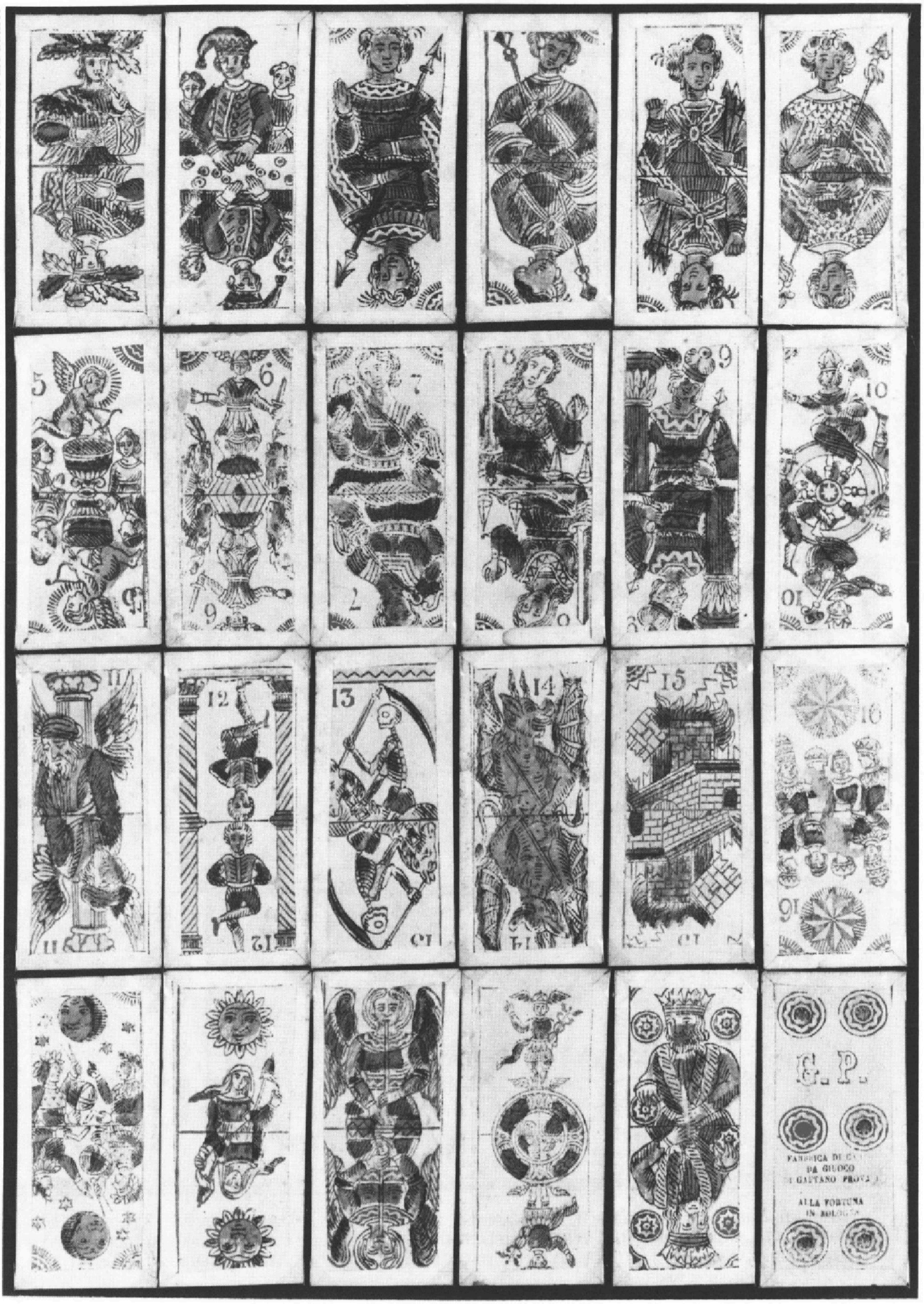
Bernard Schaer Tarot TOP ROW: LE FOL; ***I*** LE BATELEUR, ***II*** JVNON, ***III*** L IMPERATRICE, ***IIII*** L EMPEREUR, ***V*** JVPITER, ***VI*** L AMOUREUX. SECOND ROW: ***VII*** LE CHARIOT, ***VIII*** IVSTICE, ***VIIII*** L ERMITE, ***X*** LA ROUX DE FORTUNE, ***XI*** LA FORCE, ***XII*** LE PENDU, ***XIII (Death)***. THIRD ROW: ***XIIII*** TENPERANCE, ***XV*** LE DIABLE, ***XVI*** LA MAISON DIEU, ***XVII*** LETOILLE, ***XVIII*** LA LUNE, ***XVIIII*** LE SOLEIL, ***XX*** LE IUGEMENT. FOURTH ROW: ***XXI*** LE MONDE, ROY DESPEE, REINE DE SPEE, CAVALIER DE SPEE, VALET DESPEE. *IV of swords has its number printed backward.* CAVALIER DE BASTON. FIFTH ROW: VALET DE BASTONS, *VIIII of batons, ace of batons;* ROY DE COUPES, REINE DE COUPES, *two of cups, ace of cups.* BOTTOM ROW: ROY DE DENIERS, REINE DE DENIERS, CAVALIER DE DENIERS, *nine of coins, two of coins, ace of coins, back design.*

Photograph from collection of the author



Cosmo Antonio Toso Tarot TOP ROW: LE FOL, ***II*** LA PAPESSE, ***III*** IMPERATRIS, ***IIII*** L EMPEREVR, ***V*** LE PAPE, SECOND ROW: ***VI*** L AMOVREVX, ***VII*** LE CHARIOR, ***VIII*** IVSTICE, ***VIIII*** L ERMITE, ***X*** LA ROVE DE FORTVE, THIRD ROW: ***XI*** FORCE, ***XII*** LE PENDV, ***XIIII*** TEMPERANCE, ***XV*** LE DIABLE, ***XVI*** LA MAISON DIEV. BOTTOM ROW: ***XVIIII*** LE SOLEEL, ***XX*** LE IVGEMENT, ***XXI*** LE MONDE, *back design, two of coins.*

Collection of the author



Jean Jerger Tarot, circa 1800 J. Jerger's seventy-eight-card tarot pack was woodblock printed and stencil colored and published in Besançon circa 1800. The Major Arcana and court cards contain the designation *FRANCE J. JERGER* along the sides. On the front of the chariot are the letters "JIAB" which stand for *J. Jerger a* [of] *Besançon.* This pack depicts one of the important modifications enacted at Besançon, namely the replacement of The Popess and The Pope with Junon and Jupiter, respectively, possibly as a conciliatory gesture toward the Roman Catholic church. The maker's name and city are also on the two of cups: *TAROTS FINS FAITES PAR J JERGER FABRIQUANT CARTS A BESANCON.*

Jacques Burdel Tarot, 1813 A Tarot of Marseilles deck was made by Jacques Burdel of Fribourg in Switzerland. The date 1813 is on the three of coins. Major Arcana XIII (not shown) has a tax stamp of the canton Fribourg. Another tax stamp, on *LE MAT,* is for the canton of Saint Gallen, indicating that the pack was sold many miles away from the home of the maker, as Saint Gallen borders Austria and Fribourg is closer to France. The name of the maker appears on the two of coins: *JACQUE BURDEL CARTIER A FRIBOURG EN SUISSE.* The initials "XB," for Xavier Burdel, the father of Jacques Burdel, are on the front of the chariot of card VII. In the bottom left corner of XVIII *LA LUNE,* the initials "JP" appear, while on the two of cups (not shown) the initials "C.T." are framed by a heart.

F. Gumppenberg Tarot, circa 1807 to 1815 A seventy-eight-card tarot pack was published by Gumppenberg of Milan circa 1807 to 1815. The cards are engraved and hand-colored. The designs are simpler versions of the Neoclassical Gumppenberg Tarot from the same period. The Major Arcana show full-length figures wearing flowing garments and capes, with interesting variations from traditional tarot packs. Each Major Arcana is Roman numbered, except *Il Matto* (The Fool) and the cards bear Italian titles in script. The tax stamp, valid from 1807 to 1816, appears on the king of batons. The Napoleonic eagle on the ace of coins indicates that the deck was made before 1815, when the Napoleonic reign of Italy ended, thus the deck can be dated to the years 1807 to 1815. The king of cups bears the inscription *Regia Fabbrica di Milano,* and the ace of coins reads, *Regia Fabbrica di Milano/ Fabbricatore Gumppenberg.* The pip cards do not have interlocking swords and batons; rather they have Spanish suit signs. The back design is repeating red stars—a center circle with eight rays. The surfaces of the cards are polished.

J. B. Benois Tarot, circa 1818 A woodcut printed and stencil colored deck was published by J. B. Benois and probably engraved by "F.I.," whose initials appear on the front of the chariot on card VII, on the two of cups, on the throne of the king of coins, and below the coin on the ace of coins.

Cards II and V are Junon and Jupiter, respectively, in the tradition of the Tarot of Besançon. The back design is alternating stars and dotted ovals. Titles are in French. The deck was made or sold sometime around 1818, as indicated by a Swiss tax stamp, valid in 1818, that appears on *LE FOL.* The stamp was used in the Basel canton and the duty was 1 batz. Benois was known to be active in Strasbourg from 1780 to 1803, but like many other French *cartiers* he may have emigrated to Switzerland to escape the French tax on playing cards, bringing the plates with him from Strasbourg. Otherwise, the cards may have been imported into Switzerland and taxed there. The maker's name appears on the two of cups along with the city: *TAROS FIN DE I. B. BENOIS A STRASBOVRG.* No identification appears on the two of coins.

The four of coins shows in its center a nude woman standing on a globe and veiled by a thin scarf she holds in an arc over her head. The figure resembles the woman on card XXI of the Cartes de Suisses decks, whereas XXI LE MONDE in this deck shows an androgynous figure, wearing a garland at the loins and a cape draped over the back, and holding a wand.

Gaetano Provasi Tarocchini of Bologna *The titles given are traditional.* TOP ROW: ***Fool*** *is unnumbered and wears leaves in his hat while playing a drum and horn.* ***Montebank*** *shuffles a pack of cards on a table cluttered with coins while a youth and a girl look on.* ***The Mori*** *are four cards depicting Moorish kings or satraps. The first shown carries a spear and holds his hand palm out. The next carries a spear. The third holds three arrows and holds his hand palm out with the fingers curled, an Italian gesture of farewell. The fourth holds a tasseled spear.*

SECOND ROW: ***5 Love*** *shows a man and a woman on either side of a cup, with Cupid above.* ***6 The Chariot*** *depicts a warrior wearing a winged helmet and sitting on a pedestal while brandishing a sword. A horse with a plumed bridle is on each side.* ***7 Temperance*** *depicts a woman pouring water between two pitchers.* ***8 Justice*** *is represented by a woman holding a scale and a sword.* ***9 Force*** *shows a woman wearing a crown with one wing and holding a spear in one hand while embracing a column with her right arm.* ***10 Wheel of Fortune*** *is not double ended, although the same crowned figure appears on the top and bottom holding a fleur-de-lis scepter. Notice that the figures on the sides—one ascending and the other descending—are complete although they are in the middle of the card.*

THIRD ROW: ***11 The Hermit*** *shows an old bearded man with wings. A column is behind him.* ***12 Traitor*** *hangs by one foot between two columns.* ***13 Death*** *is a skeleton on horseback, a scythe in one hand and an hourglass in the other.* ***14 The Devil*** *has a horned, monstrous head and wings. He holds an arrow and is laughing.* ***15 The Tower*** *shows a stone building whose roof collapses and burns under the blow of lightning.* ***16 The Star*** *depicts what may be the displaced Pope, Popess, Empress and Emperor under an eight-pointed star.*

BOTTOM ROW: ***The Moon*** *shows two laurel-wreathed men, one measuring a globe with calipers while the other points at the sky in which are a smiling moon and four six-pointed stars.* ***The Sun*** *depicts a woman with a distaff under the sun.* ***The Angel*** *blows a trumpet. This card was banned under the same authority that expelled the Empress, the Emperor, the Popess and the Pope, but it succeeded in staying in the deck.* ***The World*** *is not symmetrically double-ended. Mercury, with winged feet and helmet, holding a caduceus, stands on a globe on which are a house, flames, a moon with stars, and an ocean, perhaps for the four elements, earth, fire, air and water, respectively.* ***King of coins*** *is untitled. The figure has two coins beside his head and he holds one coin.* ***Six of coins*** *shows the maker's name.*

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Jean Jerger Tarot TOP ROW: LE FOU *(The Fool)*. ***I*** LE BATELEUR *(The Juggler) has an ace of hearts and another card on his table, along with other objects.* ***II*** JVNON, ***III*** LIMPERATRIS *(The Empress)*, ***IIII*** LEMPEREVR *(The Emperor)*. SECOND ROW: ***V*** JVPITER, ***VI*** LAMOVREX *(The Lovers)*, ***VII*** LE CHARIOR *(The Chariot)*, ***VIII*** LA IVSTICE *(Justice)*, ***VIIII*** LE CAPUCIN *(The Capuchin); the Capuchin order broke away from the Franciscans in 1525.* THIRD ROW: ***X*** LA ROVX DE FORTVNE *(The Wheel of Fortune)*, ***XI*** LA FORCE *(Strength)*, ***XII*** LE PENDV *(The Hanged Man)*, ***XIII*** *(Death)*, ***XIIII*** TENPERANCE *(Temperance)*. BOTTOM ROW: ***XV*** LE DIABLE *(The Devil)*, ***XXI*** LE MONDE *(The World)*, VALE DE LEPEE *(valet of swords), II of cups, ace of cups.*

Collection of Historisches Museum, St. Gallen, Switzerland

Jacques Burdel Tarot TOP ROW: LE MAT, ***I*** LE BATELEUR, ***II*** LA PAPESSE, ***III*** LIMPERATRISE, ***IIII*** LEMPEREUR. SECOND ROW: ***V*** LE PAPE, ***VI*** LAMOUREUX, ***VII*** LE CHARIOR, ***VIII*** USTICE, ***VIIII*** LERMITE. THIRD ROW: ***XI*** LA FORCE, ***XII*** LE PENDV, ***XIIII*** TENPERANCE, ***XV*** LE DIABLE, ***XVI*** LA MAISON DIEU. BOTTOM ROW: ***XVIII*** LA LUNE, ***XX*** LE JUGEMENT, ROY DESPEES, *three of coins, two of coins.*

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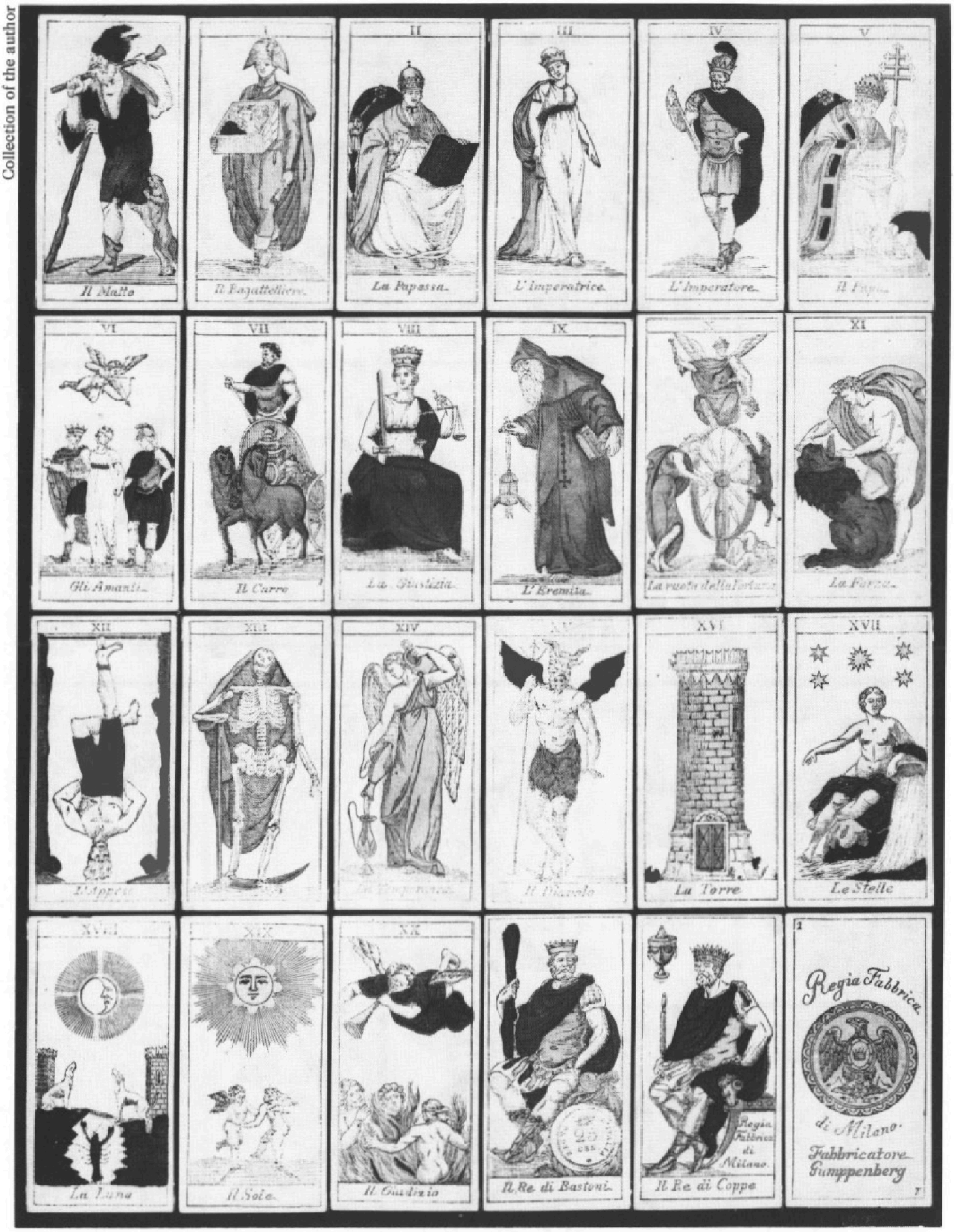

F. Gumppenberg Tarot, ca 1807–1815 TOP ROW: **Il Matto** *(The Fool)*, ***I*** **Il Bagattelliere** *(The Juggler)*, ***II*** **La Papessa** *(The Popess)*, ***III*** **L'Imperatrice** *(The Empress)*, ***IV*** **L'Imperatore** *(The Emperor)*, ***V*** **Il Papa** *(The Pope)*. SECOND ROW: ***VI*** **Gli Amanti** *(The Lovers)*, ***VII*** **Il Carro** *(The Chariot)*, ***VIII*** **La Giustizia** *(Justice)*. ***IX*** **L'Eremita** *(The Hermit) shows no serpents as does Gumppenberg's other deck with these designs.* ***X*** **La ruota della Fortuna** *(The Wheel of Fortune)*, ***XI*** **La Forza** *(Strength)*. THIRD ROW: ***XII*** **L'Appeso** *(The Hanged Man)*, ***XIII*** *(Death)*, ***XIV*** **La Temperanza** *(Temperance)*, ***XV*** **Il Diavolo** *(The Devil)*, ***XVI*** **La Torre** *(The Tower)*, ***XVII*** **Le Stelle** *(The Star)*. BOTTOM ROW: ***XVIII*** **La Luna** *(The Moon) depicts a radiant quarter moon. The hind legs of the right-hand dog seem to be in a hole due to the coloring of the ground.* ***XIX*** **Il Sole** *(The Sun)*, ***XX*** **Il Giudizio** *(Judgment)*. **Il Re di Bastoni** *(the king of clubs) and* **Il Re di Coppe** *(the king of cups) wear armor.* ***Ace of coins*** *shows a large Napoleonic imperial eagle with the letter "N" for Napoleon beneath its belly.*

Photograph from the collection of the author

J. B Benois Tarot TOP ROW: LE FOL *(The Fool) is attacked by a cat.* ***I*** LE BATELEUR *(The Juggler),* ***II*** JVNON, ***III*** LIMPERATRICE *(The Empress),* ***V*** JVPITER. ***VI*** LAMOVREUX *(The Lovers) shows a man between two women, one of whom wears a crown while the other wears a flower wreath. Cupid, hovering on butterfly wings, aims an arrow from the clouds.* SECOND ROW: ***VII*** LE CHARIOT *(The Chariot),* ***VIII*** LA IVSTICE *(Justice),* ***X*** LA ROVX DE FORTVNE *(The Wheel of Fortune),* ***XII*** LE PENDV *(The Hanged Man),* ***XIII*** *(Death),* ***XIIII*** TENPERANCE *(Temperance).* THIRD ROW: ***XV*** LE DIABLE *(The Devil),* ***XVI*** LA MAISON DIEU *(The House of God).* ***XVII*** L'ETOILLE *(The Star) shows a nude woman pouring liquid from two vases in the light of eight stars.* ***XVIII*** LA LVNE *(The Moon) has a masculine face with a furrowed brow.* ***XVIIII*** LE SOLEIL *(The Sun) also has a masculine face.* ***XX*** LE IVGEMENT *(Judgment).* BOTTOM ROW: ***XXI*** LE MONDE *(The World), ace of batons, two of cups, king of coins, four of coins, two of coins.*

F. Gumppenberg Neoclassical Tarot, circa 1807 to 1816 Gumppenberg published a seventy-eight-card tarot deck printed from fine metal engraving plates and hand-colored. The ace of swords (not shown) carries the tax stamp valid from 1807 to 1816.

The Major Arcana have Roman numerals and Italian titles, and the designs depart from traditional tarot images. The Minor Arcana cards are Arabic numbered in the upper left and lower right corners. The pip cards in the suits of swords (not shown) and batons are of the Spanish type and do not interlace. The designs on the faces of the cards in the pack have a repeating border design in a thin line of alternating oval and round shapes.

The name of the cardmaker, Gumppenberg, appears on the ace of cups. The cards are polished. Backs are a repeating star design—a center dot with eight emanating rays—alternating with a single dot.

A reproduction of the Neoclassical Tarot by Ferdinando Gumppenberg was published in 1980 by Edizioni del Solleone under the direction of Vito Arienti. The reprint is limited to 1500 decks.

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F. Gumppenberg Neoclassical Tarocco, 1980 reprint of circa 1807 to 1816 deck *The ace of swords reproduces from the original deck the tax stamp which was valid from 1807 to 1816. Title card bears the title of the deck and publisher's information:* Tarocco neoclassico italiano di Ferdinando Gumppenberg fabbricatore di carte nel Locale del Giardino presso il Teatro alla Scala in Milano—1810 ca. *(Neoclassical Italian Tarot by Ferdinando Gumppenberg, cardmaker in the locale of the garden near the Scala Theater—circa 1810);* ristampa a cura di *(reprint published by)* Vito Arienti, Edizioni del Solleone, Lissone (MI) Italia—1980.

F. Gumppenberg Neoclassical Tarot, ca 1807–1816 TOP ROW: **Il Matto** *(The Fool) is an old man carrying a pouch on a stick, and a walking staff. He wears a hat with bedraggled feathers. A cat or dog tears at his leg.* ***I*** **Il Bagattelliere** *(The Juggler) wears a cocked hat and a high-collared coat, with a full cape draped at his back. He holds a fan and displays a case containing various small items.* ***II*** **La Papessa** *(The Popess) wears a long dress with a robe over it. On her head is a two-tiered crown. With one hand she holds a book so that only its cover is visible, and she holds the other hand palm out with two fingers raised in a gesture of benediction.* ***III*** **L'Imperatrice** *(The Empress) wears a gown of classical Greek inspiration, a style that was popular in Europe during the last decade of the eighteenth century. A cape flows behind her and a simple crown is on her head.* ***IV*** **L'Imperatore** *(The Emperor) wears Roman armor and a plumed crown. A cape is draped carelessly over one of his shoulders and he holds a baton. A classical column is in ruins at his feet.* ***V*** **Il Papa** *(The Pope) blesses a man who kisses his foot. In his left hand is a three-barred cross. He wears a heavy robe, on the borders of which are indistinct rectangular pictures. A cherub's head is on the back of his throne.*

SECOND ROW: ***VI*** **Gli Amanti** *(The Lovers) turns the usual situation on this tarot card around by showing a woman with two men, instead of a man with two women. Both men are in armor, and she holds the hand of one wearing a helmet, while her arm is around the waist of one wearing a crown. Above them, Cupid aims an arrow.* ***VII*** **Il Carro** *(The Chariot) shows an older warrior crowned with a wreath of laurel. Two horses pull his chariot.* ***VIII*** **La Giustizia** *(Justice) is represented by a woman wearing a crown with two dentate ridges, and a loose, classical gown. In one hand she holds a sword and in the other, a scale. Her foot that shows is bare.* ***IX*** **L'Eremita** *(The Hermit) is an old man wearing heavy, monastic robes. In his left hand he carries a thick book, and with his right hand he lowers his lamp to show us two snakes twisting together on the ground. His face is thoughtful and sad.* ***X*** **La ruota della Fortuna** *(The Wheel of Fortune) is turned by a woman standing beside it with her legs crossed. At the top of the wheel is a winged man who is crowned and holds a scepter. He spills a crown from a cornucopia toward the dog that ascends on the wheel. On the ground a man has fallen on his back.* ***XI*** **La Forza** *(Strength) depicts a man, clothed in a flowing cloth, opening the jaws of a seated lion.*

THIRD ROW: ***XII*** **L'Appeso** *(The Hanged Man) dangles by one foot from a crude gallows. He wears only a ragged pair of knee breeches.* ***XIII*** *(untitled) shows a skeleton, robed in a cloth, leaning on a scythe.* ***XIV*** **La Temperanza** *(Temperance) depicts a winged woman wearing a long gown that reveals one of her breasts. She pours water into a jug on the ground, while holding another jug on her shoulder.* ***XV*** **Il Diavolo** *(The Devil) is a winged man with the horns and ears of a goat. He leans on a trident and is clothed in a fur skirt.* ***XVI*** **La Torre** *(The Tower) shows a tower undisturbed. It has a double door, two windows and a jagged turret.* ***XVII*** **Le Stelle** *(The Star) depicts a nude woman, with cloth draped over her, sitting on a rock. Her left elbow rests on an urn from which water pours. With her right hand she points to the ground. Above her are one large star and four smaller ones.*

BOTTOM ROW: ***XIX*** **Il Sole** *(The Sun) beams on two putti dancing hand in hand.* ***XX*** **Il Giudizio** *(Judgment) shows an angel with a trumpet flying over four figures that are amid flames.* **Il Re di Spade** *(the king of spades) wears Roman armor and a cape is slung over his shoulder. In his right hand is a sword.* **10 of batons** *shows ten clubs arranged symmetrically.* **Il Fante di Coppe** *(the page of cups) is a youth carrying a large cup, his back to us. A sword is fastened at his waist.* **1 of cups** *shows a large, covered cup with a garland around it. It stands on a platform. At the bottom of the card are the words* Fabbricatore Gumppenberg.

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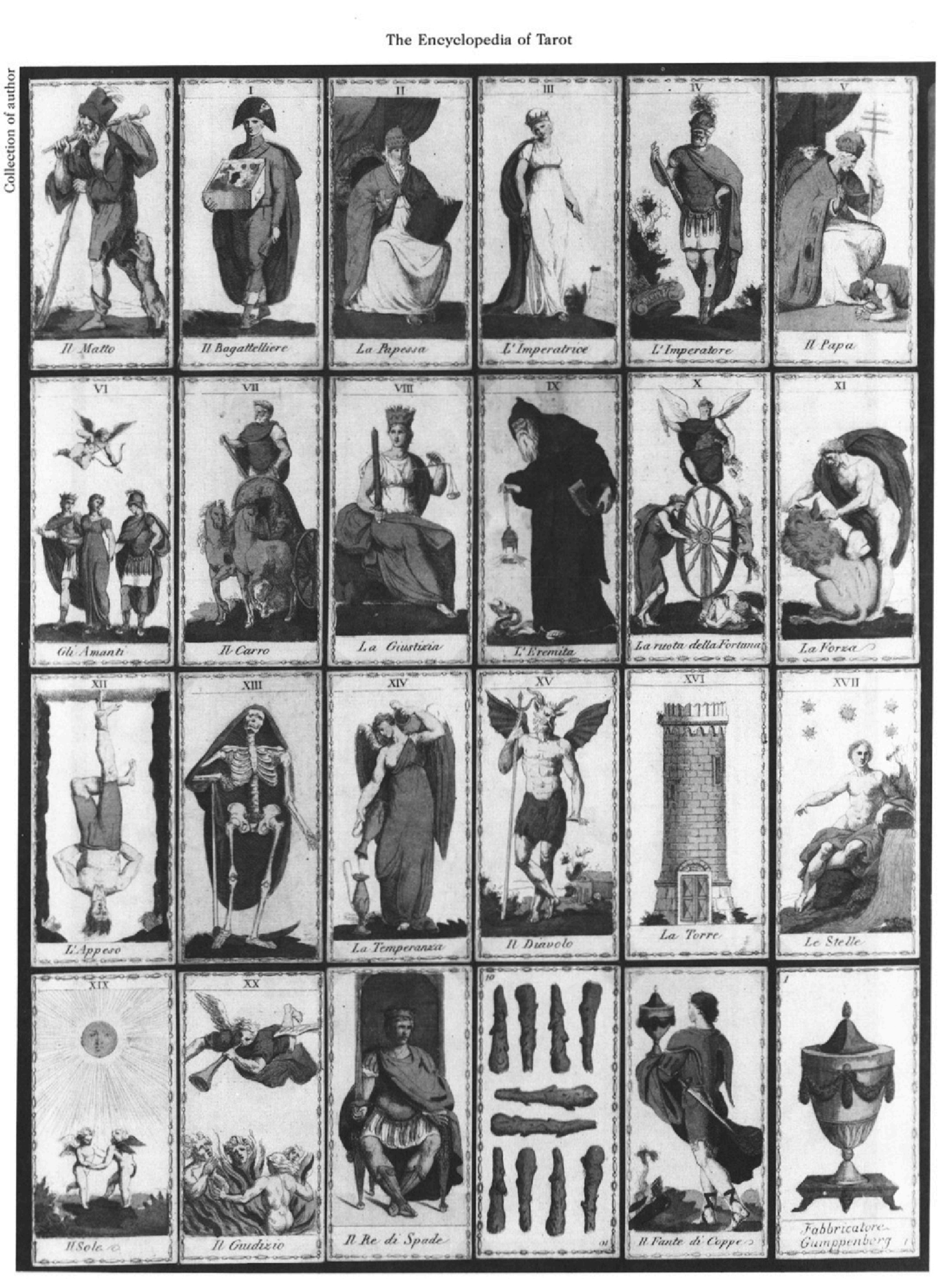

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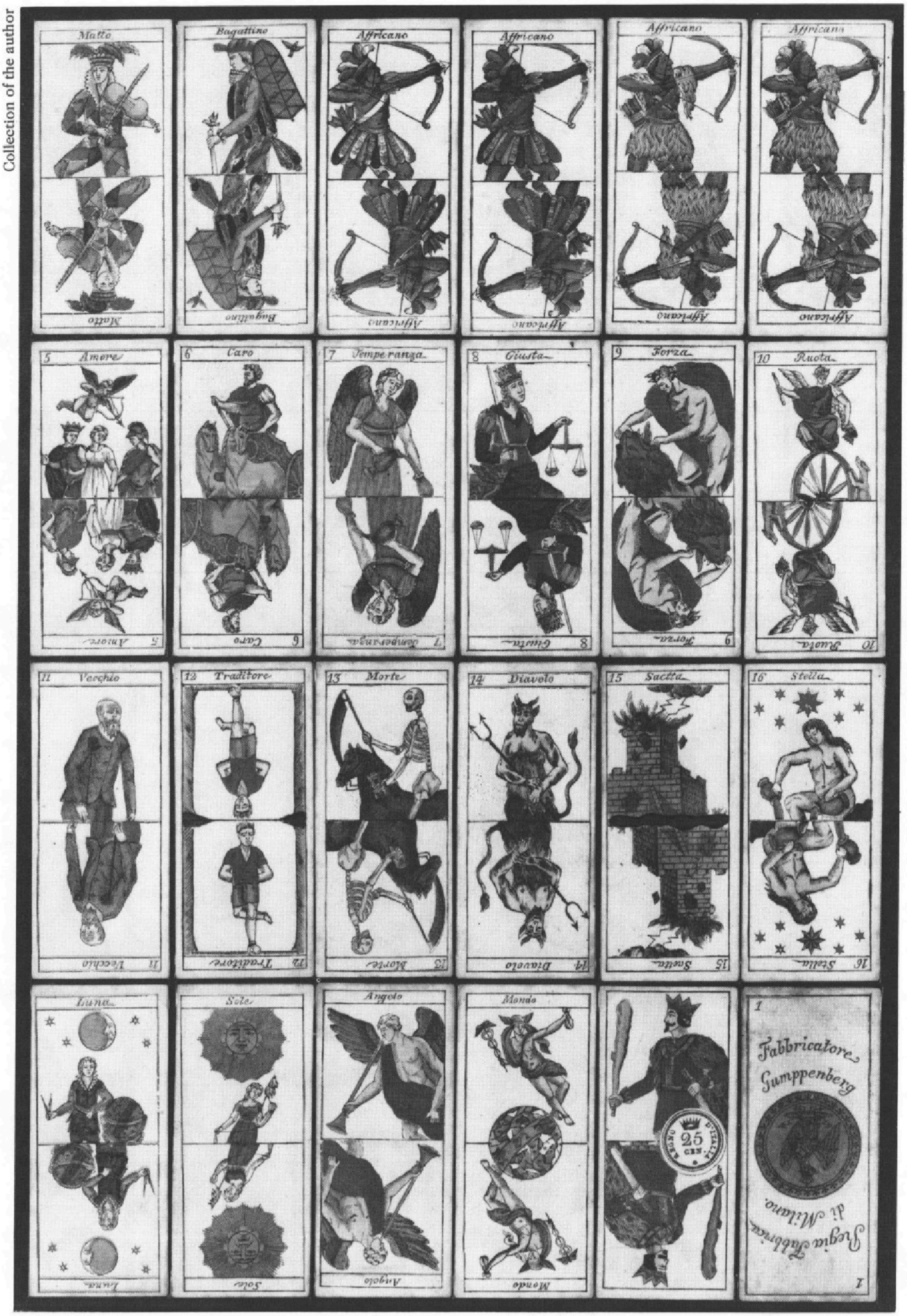

F. Gumppenberg Tarocchini of Bologna, circa 1807 to 1815 The double-ended, sixty-two-card Tarocchini of Bologna pack by Gumppenberg of Milan has a tax stamp on the king of batons valid from 1807 to 1816 and the Napoleonic eagle on the ace of coins, indicating that the deck was made between 1807 and 1815. The cards are printed from engravings and hand-colored. The trumps and court cards are double-ended, but only the trumps are titled and also mostly Arabic numbered at the tops and bottoms. As is customary in Bolognese tarocchini, the Empress, the Emperor, the Popess and the Pope are replaced by other figures, in this pack by cards titled *Affricano*. The suit sign of the ace of clubs (not shown) is encircled by a wavy ribbon colored red; beneath the red paint are the words: *G.A. MEDA INCISORE*, "G.A., engraver of metal." On the six of coins (not shown) is a horizontal rectangle with a horizontal figure eight; the left lobe has the word *Per* and the right lobe has the word *Case*. The cards are surface polished. The back design (not shown) is a free-flowing, red and blue series of wavy lines.

Giacomo Draghi Tarot, early nineteenth century Seventy-eight cards and the wrapper still exist from a deck made by Draghi of Finale, Italy. The wrapper (illustrated in the chapter "Five Centuries of Tarot Cardmakers") shows a French version of the maker's name: *TAROQVES FINS DE LA FABRIQVE DE IACQUES DRAGAU A FINAL*. The other side of the wrapper reads: *IEV [Jeu] ROIAL* [Royal] *ARGENT EN TABLE*. A picture on the wrapper shows a putto who is starting a fire by using a handmirror to reflect the rays of the sun on shrubs. The maker's name appears in Italian on the two of coins: *IN FINALE PER GIACOMO DRAGHI*. Liguria, which borders France and is the region in which the city of Finale is located, was held for centuries by various European rulers and Italian despots. The Austrian empire lost Liguria in 1746, and in 1797 the Ligurian Republic was formed. Napoleon annexed the republic to France in 1805. The 1814 Congress of Vienna made Liguria part of the Kingdom of Sardinia, which was ruled by the house of Savoy. In 1861, the Kingdom of Sardinia, which had expanded to encompass much of Italy, was united with the Two Sicilies to form the Kingdom of Italy. The lack of the tax stamp probably means that the deck was made before the 1861 unification of Italy. A more specific date can be drawn from the resemblance of Draghi's deck to the deck by Cosmo Toso, who was documented as a cardmaker of Genoa, capital of Liguria, in 1770.

Renault Tarot, early nineteenth century The woodblock printed cards in this seventy-eight-card tarot pack by Renault are identical with the cards in the J. Jerger deck. Both packs were made at Besançon and card VII *LE CHARIOR* contains the same initials, "J.I.A.B.," that were found on Jerger's deck and that probably stand for *J. Jerger a Besancon*. Renault is identified as the maker on the two of cups with the inscription: *RENAULT/FABRICANT DE [CARTES]/Besançon*. The Renault deck was printed, using the same plates, after Jerger's deck was published. The later date of the Renault deck is evident in the removal of the inscription *FRANCE J. JERGER* that appeared on many of the cards of the Jerger deck. Both the Renault and the J. Jerger packs contain a faintly visible Roman numeral I inside the upper left flower bud on the top of the two of cups.

Gumppenberg Tarocchini of Bologna TOP ROW: **Matto** *(Fool) wears a feathered crown and a harlequin suit while playing a violin.* **Bagattino** *(Juggler) is dressed in a strange suit of fur with a peacock's tail. On his back is a bird cage and a bird perches on his walking stick.* **Affricano** *(African) (next four cards) shows natives wearing feather and fur skirts and shooting arrows.*

SECOND ROW: ***5*** **Amore** *(Love) depicts a woman between a king and a soldier while Cupid above aims his arrow at the soldier.* ***6*** **Caro** *(Chariot) shows a man wearing a wreath of leaves and riding in a chariot drawn by two horses.* ***7*** **Temperanza** *(Temperance) is an angel pouring water between two pitchers.* ***8*** **Giusta** *(Justice) is represented by a woman holding a sword and scales, a lion by her side.* ***9*** **Forza** *(Strength) shows a man, partially clothed with a billowing robe, prying open the jaws of a lion.* ***10*** **Ruota** *(Wheel) is the throne of a woman with wings and a crown. In her right hand is a wand and in her left hand is a cornucopia, which she lowers toward the dog on the side of the wheel.*

THIRD ROW: ***11*** **Vecchio** *(Old Man) hobbles along on crutches, wearing a button-down suit.* ***12*** **Traditore** *(Traitor) hangs by his foot from a simple gallows. He wears short trousers and a shirt.* ***13*** **Morte** *(Death) comes in the form of a skeleton on horseback, holding a scythe in one hand and an hourglass in the other.* ***14*** **Diavolo** *(The Devil) has goat horns and ears, a long tail and a furry body. He holds a two-pronged pitchfork.* ***15*** **Saetta** *(Flash of lightning) strikes the turret of a fortress, sending chunks of debris from the height.* ***16*** **Stella** *(Star) depicts a woman pouring water from two jugs under the light of six small stars and one larger star.*

BOTTOM ROW: **Luna** *(Moon) shines in the company of four small stars. Below is a man with calipers in his hand. His elbow leans on a globe that is marked as half rock and half starry sky.* **Sole** *(Sun) beams over a woman holding a distaff.* **Angelo** *(Angel) is a winged man blowing a trumpet.* **Mondo** *(World) depicts Mercury with a winged helmet and a caduceus dancing over the globe of the universe. On the globe, rocks mix with stars and the band of the zodiac shows the signs of Pisces, Capricorn and Aquarius.* ***King of clubs*** *is marked with a tax stamp.* ***Ace of coins*** *has the legend* Fabbricatore Gumppenberg/Regia Fabbrica di Milano *and a stamp of a crowned eagle crushing arrows, with an "N" for Napoleon on its breast.*

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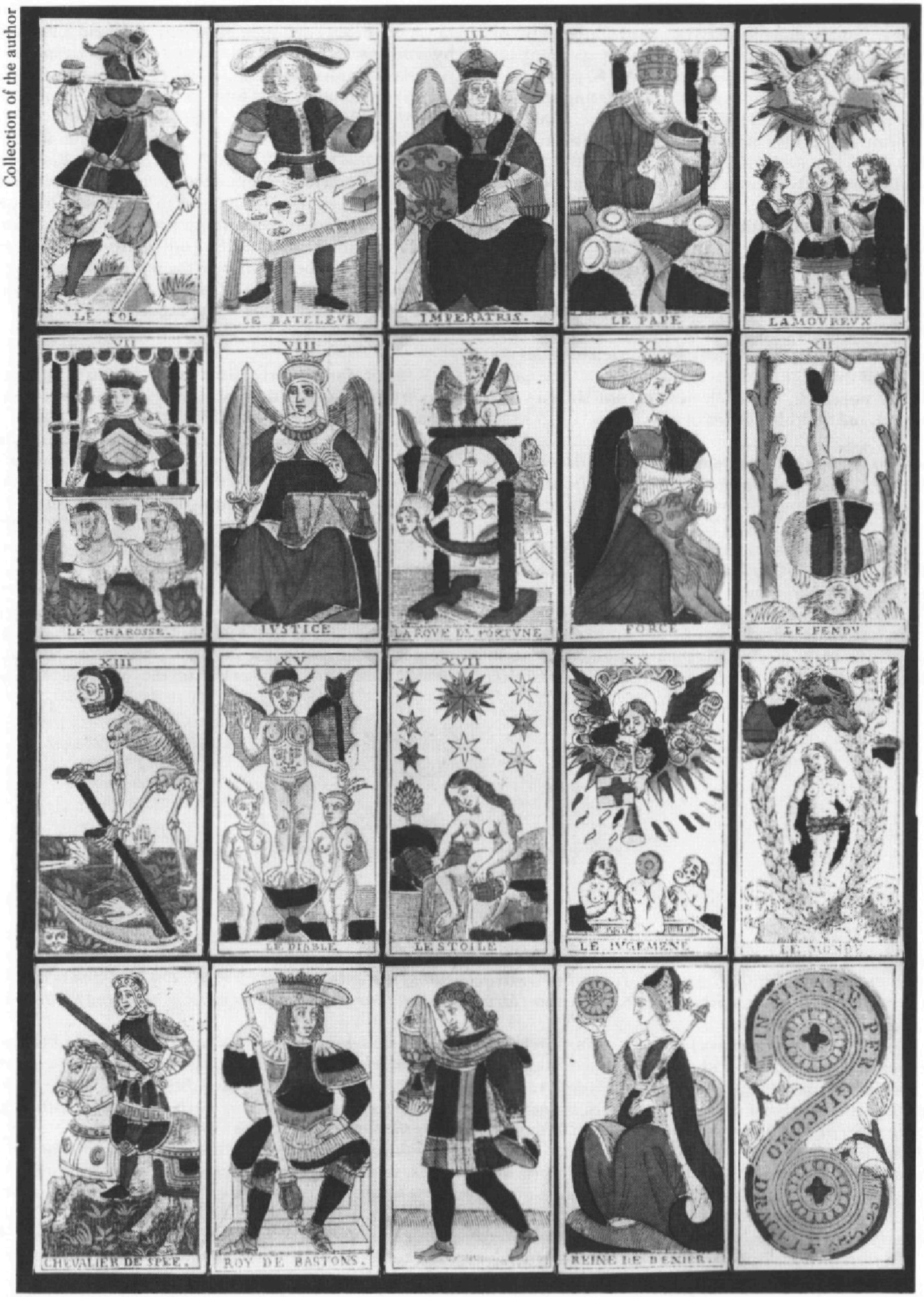

Giacomo Draghi Tarot TOP ROW: LE FOL *(The Fool)*, ***I*** LE BATELEVR *(The Juggler)*, ***III*** IMPERATRIS *(Empress)*, ***V*** LE PAPE *(The Pope)*, ***VI*** LAMOVREVX *(The Lovers)*. SECOND ROW: ***VII*** LE CHAROSSE *(The Chariot)*, ***VIII*** IVSTICE *(Justice)*, ***X*** LA ROVE DE FORTVNE *(The Wheel of Fortune)*, ***XI*** FORCE *(Strength)*, ***XII*** LE PENDV *(The Hanged Man)*. THIRD ROW: ***XIII*** *(Death)*, ***XV*** LE DIABLE *(The Devil)*, ***XVII*** LE STOILE *(The Star)*, ***XX*** LE IVGEMENE *(Judgment)*, ***XXI*** LE MONDE *(The World)*. FOURTH ROW: CHEVALIER DE SPEE *(knight of swords)*, ROY DE BASTONS *(king of batons)*, *page of cups, with title omitted*, REINE DE DENIER *(queen of coins)*, *two of coins.*

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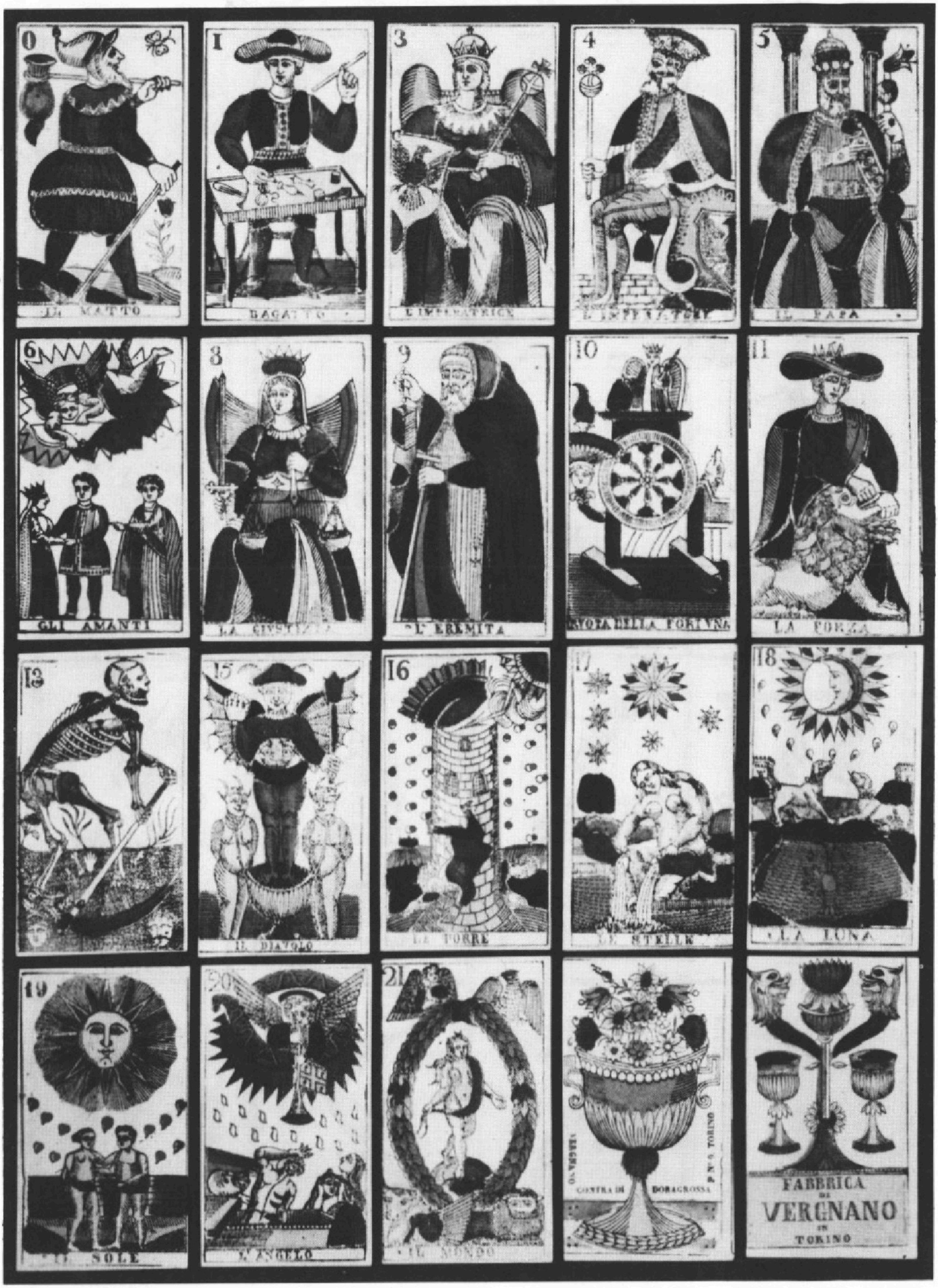
Renault Tarot TOP ROW: LE FOU, ***I*** LE BATELEUR, ***II*** JVNON, ***III*** LIMPERATRIS, ***IIII*** LEMPEREVR. SECOND ROW: ***V*** JVPITER, ***VI*** LAMOVREX, ***VII*** LE CHARIOR, ***VIII*** LA IVSTICE, ***VIIII*** LE CAPUCIN. THIRD ROW: ***X*** LA ROVX DE FORTVNE, ***XI*** LA FORCE, ***XII*** LE PENDV, ***XIII (Death)***, ***XIIII*** TENPERANCE. BOTTOM ROW: ***XV*** LE DIABLE, ***XVI*** LA MAISON DIEU, ***XX*** LE JUEGMANT, LE ROY DE DENIERS, *II of cups with inscription.*

Stefano Vergnano Tarot, early nineteenth century A seventy-eight-card tarot deck was made by Stefano Vergnano in the early nineteenth century. The Major Arcana cards are full-length figures titled in Italian, with Arabic numerals in the upper left corners. The ace of cups bears the inscription: *VERGNANO CONTRA[DA] DI DORAGROSSA P NO. 9 TORINO* (Vergnano in the district of Doragrossa . . .) and the two of cups states *FABBRICA DI VERGNANO IN TORINO.*

Cartomanzia Italiana, 1983 reprint of early nineteenth-century deck The seventy-eight-card tarot deck reprinted in 1983 by Edizioni del Solleoni is a limited edition of 1500 numbered sets. The deck is a facsimile of an Italian fortune-telling deck dating from the beginning of the nineteenth century. Many of the cards feature designs from the Etteilla tarots popular in the nineteenth century, but the images are numbered and titled according to traditional tarot decks, not as Etteilla tarots. For example, 19 *IL SOLE* is number 2 *Eclaircissement* in the French Etteilla deck. The divinatory meanings, upright and reversed, in Italian, are not based on Etteilla meanings.

Stefano Vergnano Tarot TOP ROW: ***0* IL MATTO** *(The Fool) pursues a butterfly.* ***1* BAGATTO** *(The Juggler) holds a wand and on his table are various tools.* ***3* L'IMPERATRICE** *(The Empress) holds a scepter and a shield.* ***4* L'IMPERATORE** *(The Emperor) sits in profile, his legs straight instead of crossed, as the Emperor's legs usually are.* ***5* IL PAPA** *(The Pope) blesses disciples in front of him. He holds an unusual flower-topped scepter. His gloves, with crosses on the backs symbolizing the stigmata, denote his rank as pope.* SECOND ROW: ***6* GLI AMANTI** *(The Lovers) shows a man clasping the arm of a crowned woman, while another woman wearing a wreath of flowers taps his shoulder. In the sky is Cupid with a bow, but no arrow.* ***8* LA GIVSTIZIA** *(Justice) holds a scale and a sword.* ***9* L'EREMITA** *(The Hermit) is an old man with a crutch and a lamp.* ***10* RVOTA DELLA FORTVNA** *(Wheel of Fortune) is ruled by a small king. A dog ascends while a person with an animal's tail descends.* ***11* LA FORZA** *(Strength) depicts a woman who frowns as she holds the jaws of a lion.* THIRD ROW: ***13*** *(Death) shows the "grim reaper," with a queen's head and a king's head on the bottom left and right.* ***15* IL DIAVOLO** *(The Devil) stands in a brazier with a male and a female demon chained in front of him.* ***16* LA TORRE** *(The Tower) is blasted with lightning and two figures fall, one behind the tower so only the head is visible.* ***17* LE STELLE** *(The Star) shows a woman pouring water into a pond.* ***18* LA LUNA** *(The Moon) shows two dogs wearing collars and looking up at the moon. A crayfish is in a pool below.* BOTTOM ROW: ***19* IL SOLE** *(The Sun) shows a man and a woman who seem to be wearing blindfolds, standing in front of a wall with the sun shining over them.* ***20* L'ANGELO** *(The Angel) blows its trumpet over four people who rise from tombs.* ***21* IL MONDO** *(The World) depicts a woman dancing on a rock, with a crescent on her head and a veil draped over her. In the four corners are an angel, an eagle, a winged lion and a winged bull.* ***Ace of cups*** *shows a chalice filled with flowers.* ***Two of cups.***

Photograph from the collection of the author



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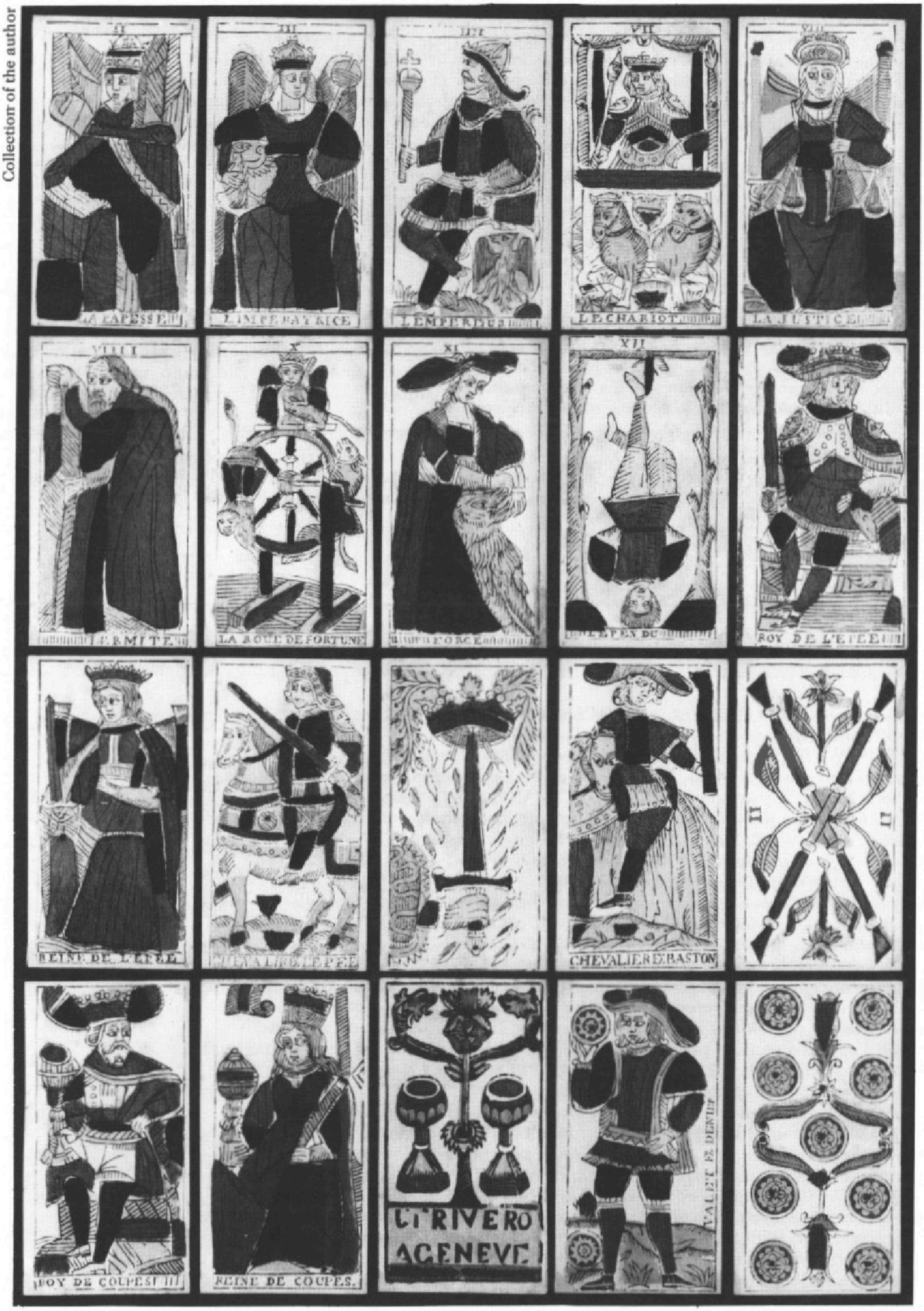
Rivero Tarot, nineteenth century The tarot by Rivero of Geneva, Switzerland, probably dates from the nineteenth century. The cards are woodblock printed, crudely stencil colored by hand and surface polished. The Major Arcana and court cards have full-length pictures titled in French. The name of the cardmaker and city appear on the two of cups: *C T* (?) *RIVERO A GENEVE*. Back design is a brown field thickly stippled with white.

Joseph Henri Rochias Tarot, 1816 This woodblock printed, stencil colored tarot was made in 1816 by Joseph Henri Rochias of Neuchâtel. The designs are Tarot of Marseilles. Card XIII, usually untitled, now has the title *LA MORT* (Death) printed beside the skeleton's skull. The two of coins has the name, city and date of the maker: *JOSEPH HENRI ROCHIAS FABRICANT A NEUCHATEL 1816.* Joseph Henri Rochias's birthdate as given in the cardmaker's list, 1814, is incongruous with the date of the deck, 1816. Possibly Joseph Henri Rochias used a date from the career of his father, Jacques Claude Rochias, to date his own deck.

Giacomo Recchi Tarot, circa 1820 A tarot pack was made circa 1820 by Giacomo Recchi of Oneglia, a town in northwest Italy. The cards are printed from engravings and stencil colored by hand. The name of the cardmaker appears in a panel on the ace of coins: *F.A DI GIACOMO RECCHI D'ONEGLIA* (Made by Giacomo Recchi of Oneglia). The name Recchi also appears inside the right border of all sixteen court cards. The ace of coins contains the French text: *desiné e Grave par Arghinenti* (designed and engraved by Arghinenti). The Major Arcana have full-length figures and French titles. The Minor Arcana feature Spanish suits. The four of each suit depicts a couple in the middle of the card and the suit symbols in the four corners. The Major Arcana and the pip cards ten through two in each suit have Roman numbers. Each card in this pack contains a tax stamp, positioned in the center of the card and printed in light brown. The stamp is readily seen on XII *LE PENDU* and XIII Death. The round stamp shows a crown at the top of a shield, which is draped on both sides. The shield is quartered with the simple ornamentation of a bold circle in each section. The stamp, used in the Regno di Sardegna (Kingdom of Sardinia—Piedmont, Savoy and Liguria), was initiated in 1815. The deck can be further dated by the figure on the ace of coins, who is probably Vittorio Emanuele I, king of Sardinia around 1820. The back design is a freely drawn pattern of wavy red and blue lines on a white field.

Cartomansia Italiana TOP ROW: ***2*** **LA PAPESSA** *(The Popess) is seated and wears a regal robe and a papal crown. She holds a book in her lap, and a cloth hangs above her.* ***5*** **IL PAPA** *(The Pope) is dressed in the ceremonial clothes of the pope, with the triple tiara and the triple cross. Three tonsured monks face him, while another stands in the foreground, a frown on his face.* ***6*** **GLI AMANTI** *(The Lovers) portrays a marriage between a man, who is dressed in a long dark cloak and an Egyptian headdress, and a young European woman. The officiator seems to be a pagan priest and he reads from a long scroll. A garland hangs overhead.* ***7*** **LA CARROZZA** *(The Chariot) depicts a man wearing a toga and riding the back of a chariot. He holds a scepter topped with an eagle. Two horses draw the chariot, and two faces glower from the back axle.* SECOND ROW: ***8*** **LA GIUSTIZIA** *(Justice) is represented by a crowned woman who holds a scale and a sword. A cloth is draped behind her.* ***9*** **L'EREMITA** *(The Hermit) depicts a bearded man wearing a long cloak and carrying a lamp and a staff. In the background is a classical ruin.* ***10*** **LA RUOTA DELLA FORTUNA** *(The Wheel of Fortune) is among clouds. It is ruled by a monkey who is crowned and holds a sword. On the right side a person struggles in the grip of a serpent.* ***11*** **LA FORZA** *(Strength) shows a woman sitting majestically on a throne, her hand resting on a huge club. A lion reclines at her feet.* THIRD ROW: ***12*** **L'APPESO** *(The Hanged Man) hangs by one foot from a wooden gallows. His free leg is bent.* ***13*** **LA MORTE** *(Death) is symbolized by a skeleton who rises from a graveyard, a long robe swirling around him. He holds a winged hourglass and a scythe.* ***14*** **LA TEMPERANZA** *(Temperance) shows a winged maiden in a simple, dark gown pouring water between two vessels. A star is at the crown of her head and she stands on a globe and a triangular slab.* ***15*** **IL DIAVOLO** *(The Devil) stands on a pedestal amid smoke. He is horned, has webbed wings and holds a torch. Two of his victims, also horned, are chained to the pedestal.* BOTTOM ROW: ***17*** **LE STELLE** *(The Star) depicts a woman pouring water from a jug while a butterfly hovers near a flower. In the sky are stars, a crescent moon and the reversed signs of Mercury, Mars and Jupiter.* ***19*** **IL SOLE** *(The Sun) is a radiant star that illuminates two infants at the base of a monument.* ***20*** **L'ANGELO** *(The Angel) flies over a graveyard holding a flaming sword and blowing a trumpet. The dead rise at the sound of the summons.* ***21*** **IL MONDO** *(The World) shows a woman within a circle of a snake biting its tail. She holds a bough and stands between two enlongated pyramids. Outside the circle are an angel, an eagle, a bull and a lion.*

Collection of the author



Rivero Tarot TOP ROW: ***II*** LA PAPESSE, ***III*** LIMPERATRICE, ***IIII*** LEMPEREUR, ***VII*** LE CHARIOT, ***VIII*** LA JUSTICE. SECOND ROW: ***VIIII*** LERMITE, ***X*** LA ROUE DE FORTUNE, ***XI*** FORCE, ***XII*** LE PENDU, ROY DE L'EPEE. THIRD ROW: REINE DE L'EPEE, CHEVALIRE DE L'EPEE, *ace of swords,* CHEVALIER DE BASTON, *II of batons.* BOTTOM ROW: ROY DE COUPES, REINE DE COUPES, *two of cups,* VALET DE DENIER, *nine of coins.*

Collection of Historisches Museum Blumenstein, Solothurn, Switzerland

Joseph Henri Rochias Tarot TOP ROW: LE MAT, *I* LE BATELEVR, *II* LA PAPESSE, *IIII* LEMPEREVR, *V* LE PAPE, *VII* LE CHARIOT *with the initials of the maker, "JR" on the front shield.* SECOND ROW: *VIII* JVSTICE, *VIIII* LERMITE, *X* LA ROVE DE FORTVN, *XI* LA FORCE, *XIII* LA MORT, *XIIII* TEMPERANCE. THIRD ROW: *XV* LE DIABLE, *XVII* LESTOILLE, *XVIII* LA LVNE, *XVIIII* LE SOLEIL, *XX* LE JVGEMENT, *XXI* LE MONDE. BOTTOM ROW: CAVALIR DE SPEE, VALET DE BASTON, REINE DE COVPE, *two of cups with the initials of the maker, "JR,"* VALET DE DENIER, *two of coins.*

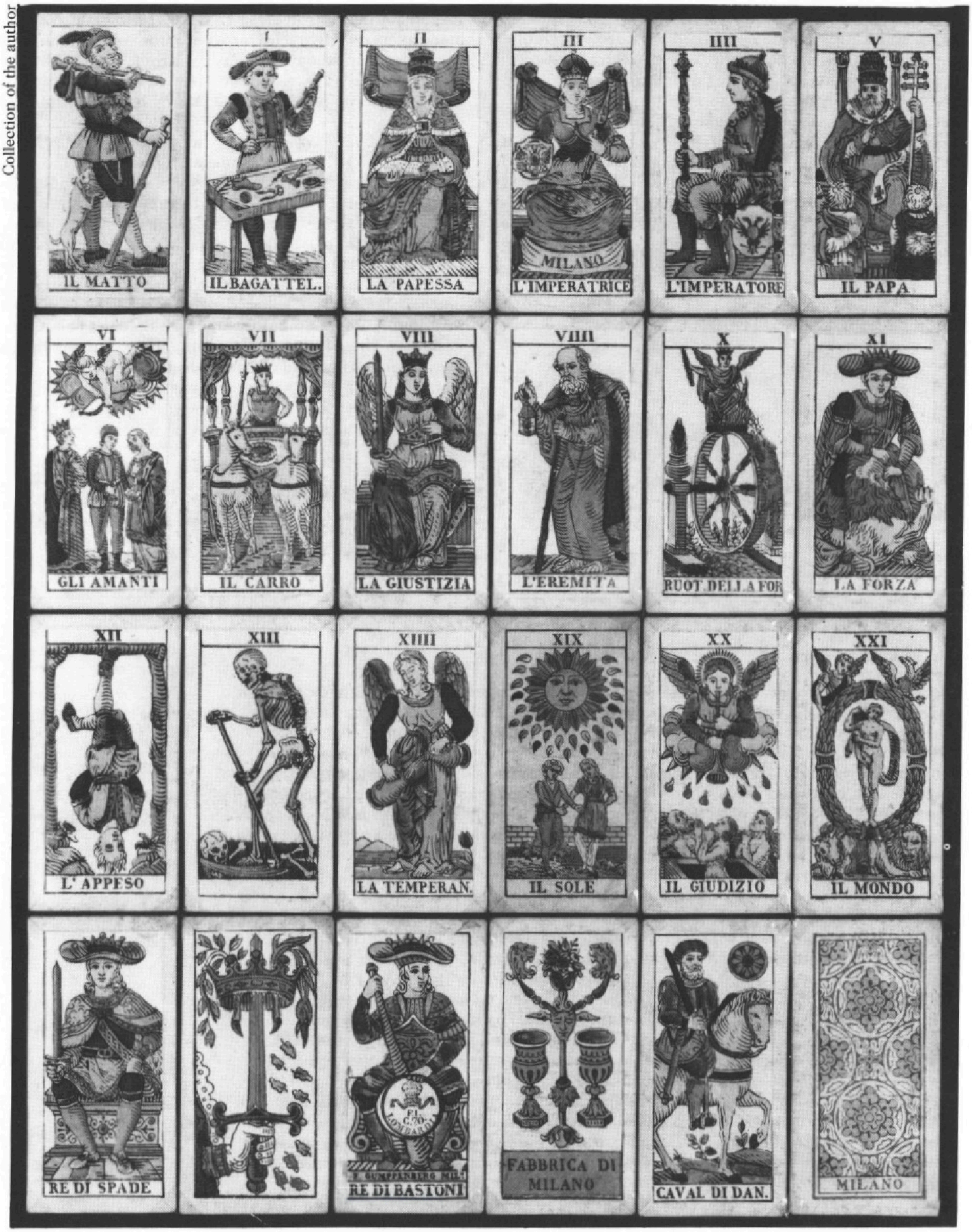
Collection of the author

F. Gumppenberg Tarot, circa 1823 to 1840 The full-length Major Arcana and court cards of a deck by Gumppenberg have Italian titles; the Major Arcana cards also have Roman numerals. The king of batons has a tax stamp valid in Lombardy from 1823 to 1840, and the card shows the name and city of the cardmaker, *F. Gumppenberg Mil°*, in a small panel above the title. The back design is printed on a paper that is glued to the back and wrapped around over the front edges of the card. Two of cups is inscribed *FABBRICA DI MILANO* (Made in Milan) and *MILANO* is written on III The Empress. The designs on this deck are very similar to those on the Pietro Milesi deck dating from the same period.

Pietro Milesi Tarot, circa 1823 to 1840 Pietro Milesi made a seventy-eight-card tarot pack from woodblocks and it was crudely stencil colored by hand. The cardmaker worked in Bergamo as evidenced by his name and city on the king of staves and by the text, *FABBRICA DI BERGAMO* on the two of cups, and *F. DI BERGAMO* on the hem of the dress of III *L'IMPERATRICE*. The tax stamp was valid from November 1, 1823, until January 27, 1840; thus the pack probably dates from this span of years. The back design is on a sheet of paper whose edges are wrapped and glued over the front borders of the card. The back design is almost identical to that of a pack by Gumppenberg from the same period. A slight variation between the two can be seen by examining the center of the design, and the slogan at the bottom differs. The Milesi deck reads *AL MONDO*, an inscription more commonly found on Bologna packs. The designs of Milesi's deck are very similar to Gumppenberg's but are not as fine and are more crudely colored.

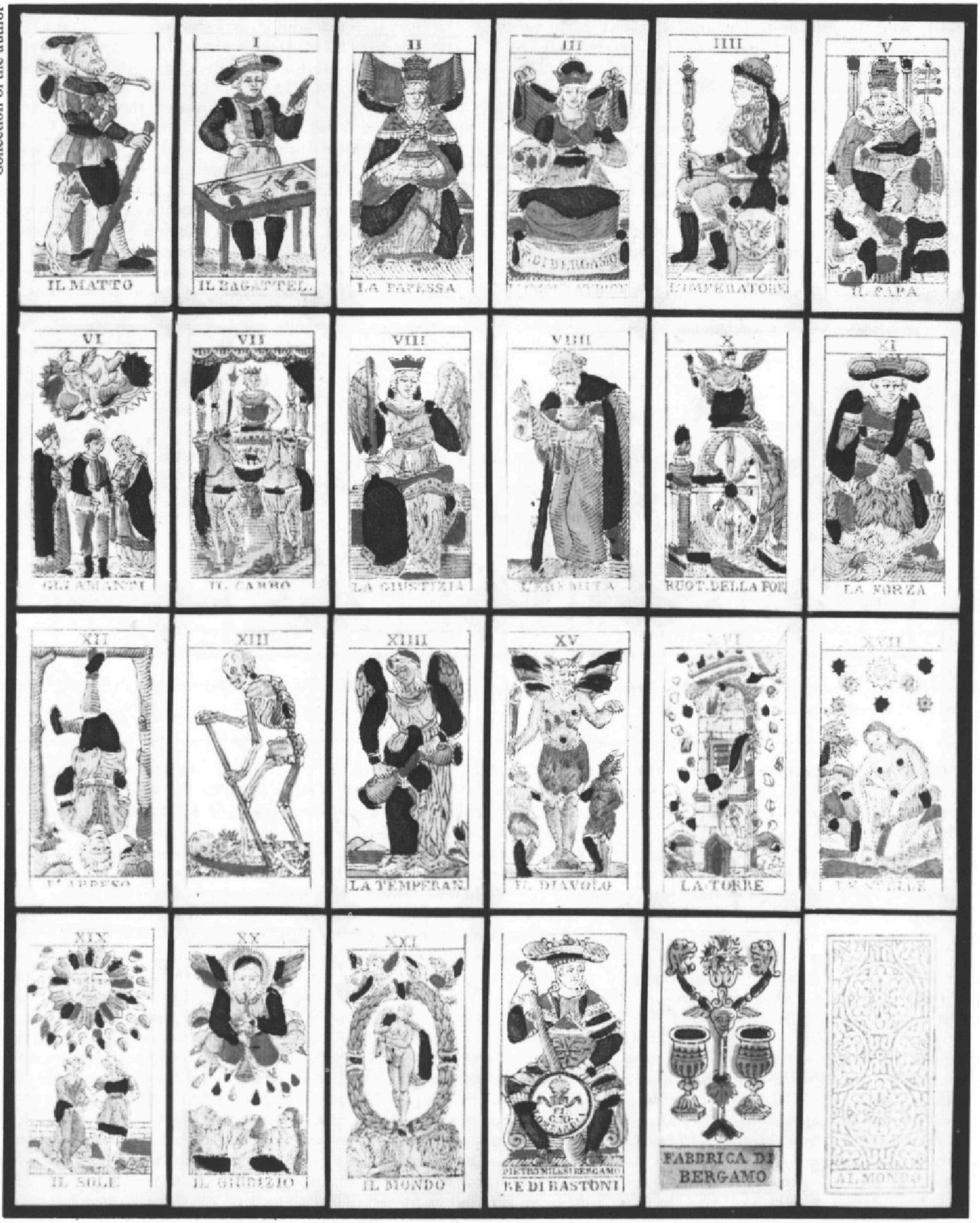
Giacomo Recchi Tarot TOP ROW: **LE FOL** *(The Fool) appears to be mulatto or Moorish. He wears a jester's costume and a dog chases him.* ***I*** **LE BATELLEVR** *(The Juggler) is unusual in that he is seated. He is behind a table holding various implements and a cylinder is in his hand.* ***II*** **LA PAPESSE** *(The Popess) sits on a throne with an open book in her lap.* ***III*** **L'IMPERATRICE** *(The Empress) holds a shield emblazoned with a spread eagle, in front of which is another shield with a cross on it. She also holds a scepter.* ***IV*** **L'EMPEREVR** *(The Emperor) wears a feathered crown and holds a scepter. His chair is decorated with the same device used on the shield of the Empress.* SECOND ROW: ***V*** **LE PAPE** *(The Pope) stands in front of two pillars, with a papal cross in one hand. He wears a tiara and blesses two monks in front of him.* ***VI*** **LES AMOVREVX** *(The Lovers) depicts a man holding hands with two women who stand on either side of him. The woman on his right wears a crown and a standing collar. On his left, the woman wears a poet's crown and a plainer gown. Overhead is Cupid.* ***VII*** **LA CAROSSE** *(The Carriage) seats a king and is drawn by two horses.* ***VIII*** **LA JVSTICE** *(Justice) holds a scale and a sword. A small crown is in her hair.* ***IX*** **L'HERMITE** *(The Hermit) wears monastic robes as he walks with cane and lantern.* THIRD ROW: ***X*** **LA ROVE DE FORTVNNE** *(The Wheel of Fortune) is ruled by a queen who sits on a platform at the top of the wheel. On one side is a dog and on the other a man.* ***XI*** **LA FORCE** *(Strength) depicts a woman in a gown and a man's hat and coat taming a lion.* ***XII*** **LE PENDV** *(The Hanged Man) is tied by one bare foot to a gallows.* ***XIII*** *(Death) is occupied by a grinning skeleton bearing a scythe. Two complacent women's faces are in the foreground.* ***XV*** **LE DIABLE** *(The Devil) stands on a round pedestal, two demons chained below him. He has a hideous face on his belly.* BOTTOM ROW: **ROI DÉPÉE, X of swords. Ace of swords** *depicts a putto holding an enormous sword. A helmet is on the ground and a castle in the background.* **IIII of batons** *shows four rough clubs surrounding the scene of a man and a woman in a garden.* **Ace of coins** *is a medallion topped with a crown, surrounded with banners, eagles and foliage. Below is the plaque inscribed with the maker's name and city and the name of the engraver.*

Collection of the author



F. Gumppenberg Tarot, ca 1823 to 1840 TOP ROW: IL MATTO *(The Fool)*, ***I*** IL BAGATTEL. *(The Juggler)*, ***II*** LA PAPESSA *(The Popess)*, ***III*** L'IMPERATRICE *(The Empress)*, ***IIII*** L'IMPERATORE *(The Emperor)*, ***V*** IL PAPA *(The Pope)*. SECOND ROW: ***VI*** GLI AMANTI *(The Lovers)*, ***VII*** IL CARRO *(The Chariot)*, ***VIII*** LA GIUSTIZIA *(Justice)*, ***VIIII*** L'EREMITA *(The Hermit)*, ***X*** RUOT. DELLA FOR. *(Wheel of Fortune)*, ***XI*** LA FORZA *(Strength)*. THIRD ROW: ***XII*** L'APPESO *(The Hanged Man)*, ***XIII*** *(Untitled)*, ***XIIII*** LA TEMPERAN. *(Temperance)*, ***XIX*** IL SOLE *(The Sun)*, ***XX*** IL GIUDIZIO *(Judgment)*, ***XXI*** IL MONDO *(The World)*. BOTTOM ROW: RE DI SPADE *(king of swords)*, *ace of swords*, RE DI BASTONI *(king of batons)*, *two of cups*, CAVAL. DI DAN. *(knight of coins)*, *back design.*

Collection of the author

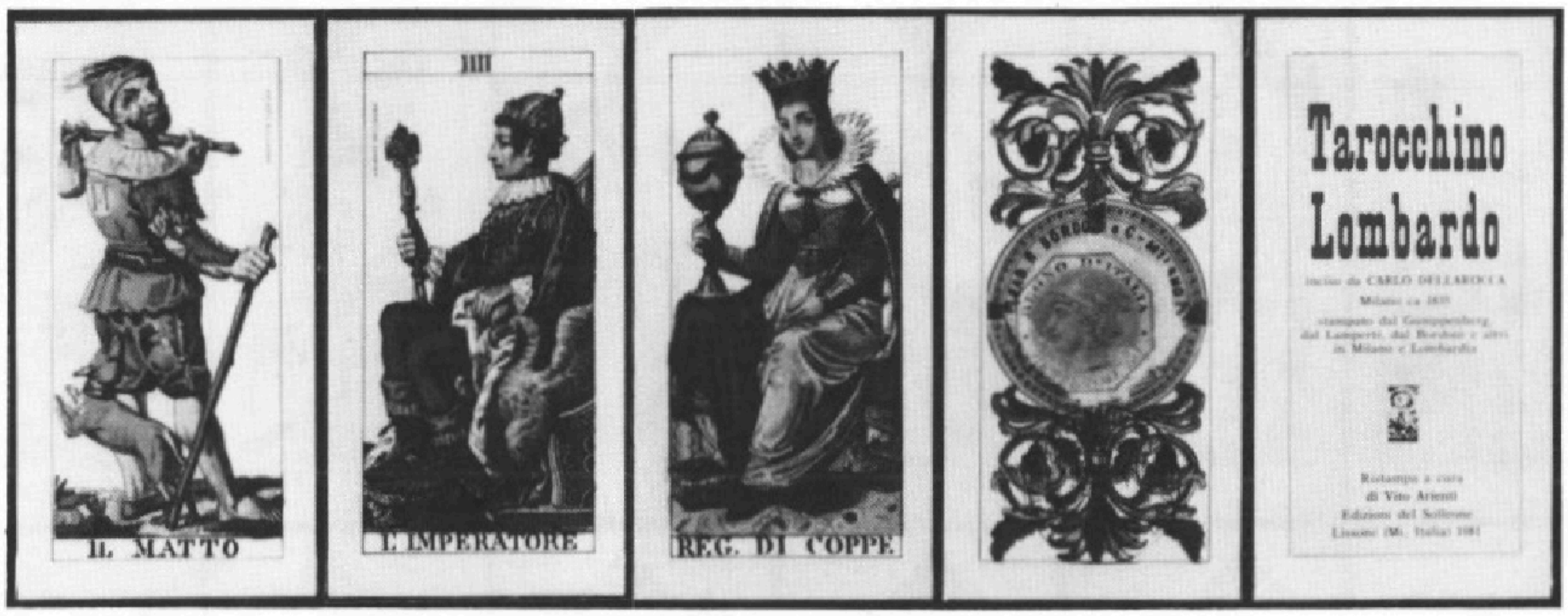


Pietro Milesi Tarot TOP ROW: IL MATTO *(The Fool)*, ***I*** IL BAGATTEL. *(The Juggler)*, ***II*** LA PAPESSA *(The Popess)*, ***III*** L'IMPERATRICE *(The Empress)*, ***IIII*** L'IMPERATORE *(The Emperor)*, ***V*** IL PAPA *(The Pope)*. SECOND ROW: ***VI*** GLI AMANTI *(The Lovers)*, ***VII*** IL CARRO *(The Chariot)*, ***VIII*** LA GIUSTIZIA *(Justice)*, ***VIIII*** L'EREMITA *(The Hermit)*, ***X*** RUOT DELLA FOR. *(The Wheel of Fortune)*, ***XI*** LA FORZA *(Strength)*. THIRD ROW: ***XII*** L'APPESO *(The Hanged Man)*, ***XIII*** *(Death)*, ***XIIII*** LA TEMPERAN *(Temperance)*, ***XV*** IL DIAVOLO *(The Devil)*, ***XVI*** LA TORRE *(The Tower)*, ***XVII*** LE STELLE *(The Star)*. BOTTOM ROW: ***XIX*** IL SOLE *(The Sun)*, ***XX*** IL GIUDIZIO *(Judgment)*, ***XXI*** IL MONDO *(The World)*, RE DI BASTONI *(king of batons)*, *two of cups, back design.*

F. Gumppenberg Lombardy Tarot, circa 1823 to 1840 The designs in this beautiful seventy-eight-card tarot deck were engraved by C. Dellarocca, as evidenced by the inscription on the pedestal of the king of batons. The deck was published by Gumppenberg of Milan. The cards are delicately colored by hand with more than twelve colors and soft shades. The Major Arcana and court cards have full-length figures and Italian titles, and the Major Arcana are Roman numbered at the tops. The pip cards (not shown) are Roman numbered at the sides. The tax stamp on the king of batons was valid from 1823 to 1840. Back design is printed on a sheet of paper that is glued on the backs of the cards and folded around the front edges. It shows a young peasant playing a guitar while a dog stands nearby. Below is the caption, *F.G. Mil°*. The ace of coins (not shown) shows a medallion.

A reprint of the Lombardy Tarot was issued in 1981 by Vito Arienti of Edizioni del Solleone in a limited edition of 500 numbered sets for the United States and 2000 sets for the rest of the world. The reprint by Solleone is taken from a reprint by Bordoni, Milan, as shown by the inscription on the ace of coins, *Fab. R. Bordoni & C.—Milano.* The tax stamp, on the ace of coins on Bordoni's reprint, was issued in the 1880s. An additional stamp, first issued in 1879, is below the medallion; it reads: *Ufficio del Bollo Stra./ Milano,* and it shows a wreath surmounted by a crown. In the center of the wreath is an illegible date—the year is 1889. ARIENTI SOLLEONE appears on *IL MATTO,* IIII *L'IMPERATORE,* XI *LA FORZA,* ace of swords, king of batons, page of batons, ace of batons and ace of cups.

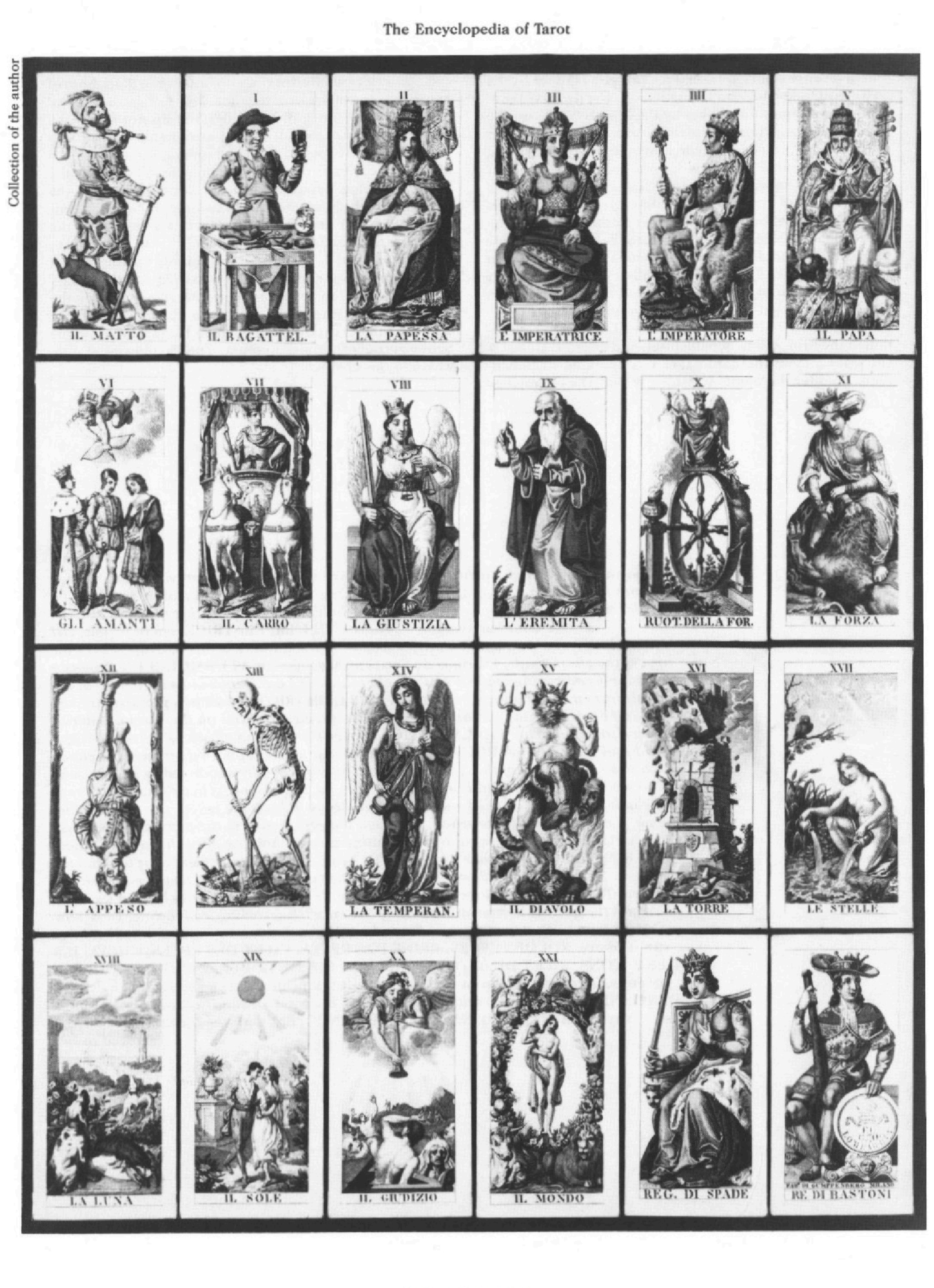
Collection of the author



Reprint of Gumppenberg Lombardy Tarot, by Edisione del Solleone *IL MATTO, III L'IMPERATORE, REG. DI COPPE, ace of coins, title card.*

F. Gumppenberg Lombardy Tarot TOP ROW: **IL MATTO** *(The Fool) has an "M" that stands for* matto *on the back of his jacket.* ***I*** **IL BAGATTEL.** *(The Juggler) raises his glass by a table of tools.* ***II*** **LA PAPESSA** *(The Popess) holds in her lap scrolls wrapped in cloth.* ***III*** **L'IMPERATRICE** *(The Empress) holds a scepter and a shield.* ***IIII*** **L'IMPERATORE** *(The Emperor) rests his arm on the head of an eagle.* ***V*** **IL PAPA** *(The Pope) blesses four men, one of whom turns away.* SECOND ROW: ***VI*** **GLI AMANTI** *(The Lovers) depicts a soldier taking the hand of his girlfriend, while a crowned figure imperiously places a hand on his shoulder. Cupid wearing a fringed blindfold is above.* ***VII*** **IL CARRO** *(The Chariot) is drawn by two horses. A man wearing a crown and carrying a staff is inside the vehicle, and on its front is a ram's head and a miniature depicting a warrior.* ***VIII*** **LA GIUSTIZIA** *(Justice) shows a winged woman, who wears an iron girdle, contemplating the scale she holds.* ***IX*** **L'EREMITA** *(The Hermit) holds a wick lamp and a staff.* ***X*** **RUOT. DELLA FOR.** *(Wheel of Fortune) is set on a large stand on one side of which is a burning urn. At the top a crowned, winged woman holds a wand, which emits lightning, and a cornucopia spilling coins. A fox climbs up on the wheel.* ***XI*** **LA FORZA** *(Strength) depicts a wild-eyed woman opening the jaws of a lion. Her crown follows the figure-eight shape seen on the Tarot of Marseilles.* THIRD ROW: ***XII*** **L'APPESO** *(The Hanged Man) hangs by one foot. His other foot, rather than being crossed behind him, is bent forward.* ***XIII*** *(Death) shows a skeleton raking various objects of human endeavor with his scythe: jeweled crowns, a sword, an ax, an artist's palette and brushes, a bent arrow, a medal of honor, jewelry, and so on.* ***XIV*** **LA TEMPERAN.** *(Temperance) depicts a winged woman with gracefully draped clothes pouring water from pitcher to pitcher.* ***XV*** **IL DIAVOLO** *(The Devil) treads on a one-horned, crouching monster while entangled in the coils of a serpent and gripped at his leg by a horned demon. He has horns and serpents on his head.* ***XVI*** **LA TORRE** *(The Tower) is severed in two by lightning, and one figure falls while another crouches below the turret and still another lays on the ground. At the base of the tower is the Visconti family coat of arms: a serpent swallowing a man.* ***XVII*** **LE STELLE** *(The Star) shows a maiden wearing only a scarf around her head pouring water from two jugs. An owl perches in a tree near her.* BOTTOM ROW: ***XVIII*** **LA LUNA** *(The Moon) shines over a lagoon bordered by two towers. Two hounds howl at it and a huge crayfish emerges from the undergrowth.* ***XIX*** **IL SOLE** *(The Sun) shines on a young couple courting in a garden.* ***XX*** **IL GIUDIZIO** *(Judgment) takes place to the blare of a trumpet from an angel in the sky. People rise from their graves with expressions of fear and awe.* ***XXI*** **IL MONDO** *(The World) depicts a woman wearing a loose cloth and surrounded by a wreath of fruits and flowers. An angel, an eagle, a lion and a bull are in the four corners of the card.* **REG. DI SPADE** *(queen of swords) holds a sword, although her expression is gentle and rather timid. An ermine blanket is on her lap and her feet rest on a tasseled cushion.* **RE DI BASTONI** *(king of batons) wears a brimmed crown and holds a large club. An eagle decorates his breastplate. The tax stamp and the engraver's name are shown, along with the caption* FABA DI GUMPPENBERG MILANO.

Collection of the author



Johann Georg Rauch Tarot, circa 1831 to 1838 Sixty-four of seventy-eight cards survive of a Swiss 1JJ deck by the Swiss cardmaker Johann Georg Rauch. The deck is identified as being from this maker by the initials "JGR" on the four of coins, and the name of the city seen on the fabric on the arm of the Emperor's chair, and on the two of cups and the two of coins. Rauch is known to have worked in Diessenhofen between 1831 and 1838 and was one of the predecessors of the firm of cardmakers now known as AGMüller & Cie. Some of AGMüller's other predecessors were Johann Bernhard Zündel in Schaffhausen (active 1828–1831) and Johann Georg Rauch in Diessenhofen (active 1831–1838). Johannes Müller I ran the firm in Diessenhofen from 1835 to 1873, and his son, Johannes Müller II, operated it in Schaffhausen from 1873 to 1901. From 1901 to 1948 Heinrich Julius Albert Müller maintained the firm, still in Schaffhausen and called J. Müller & Cie. Since 1960 the cardmaker has operated in Schaffhausen under the name AGMüller & Cie. The engravings on the cards are hand-colored, and although the figures are stiff and awkward, the drawings are less crude than those of many other tarot decks of the time. Many of the cards have images like the Tarot of Marseilles, but do not follow the pattern closely. Cards II and V are changed from The Popess and The Pope to Junon and Jupiter, respectively. An identical deck from the same woodblocks is owned by the Schweizerisches Landesmuseum in Zurich. However, the deck in Zurich shows the four of coins without the initials JGR, indicating that the Zurich deck is a reprint of the Rauch Tarot, made by one of Rauch's successors who gouged out of the woodblock the initials on the four of coins. The deck is similar to the Swiss 1JJ deck currently published by AGMüller & Cie. The differences between the currently published 1JJ deck and Rauch's tarot are described in the caption to the Rauch 1JJ reprint, from the Schweizerisches Landesmuseum, Zurich, illustrated elsewhere in this chapter.

Johann Georg Rauch Tarot TOP ROW: **LE FOU** *shows a jester carrying a small stick and, with his left hand, making a sign of mockery.* ***I*** **LE BATELEUR** *stands in front of a table on which are various objects, and he holds a wand in his left hand.* ***II*** **JUNON** *stands with her symbol, a peacock.* ***III*** **L'IMPERATRICE** *sits in profile.* ***IIII*** **L'EMPEREUR** *sits on a small chair, a scepter in his hand. The fabric draped over the arm of the chair reads,* Fabrique de Cartes a Diessenhofen. ***VI*** **L'AMOUREUX** *depicts a couple embracing while a smiling old man looks on. Cupid aims an arrow at the couple from a cloud above.* SECOND ROW: ***VII*** **LE CHARIOT** *shows two pictures: the top half depicts a king in partial armor under a canopy, and on the bottom half two horses draw a chariot.* ***VIII*** **LA JUSTICE** *shows a woman in classical robes holding a sword and a scale.* ***X*** **LA ROUE DE FORTUNE** *is a wheel supported by an axle held on two posts. At the top of the wheel is a small figure partially enveloped in clouds, who wears a cape and crown and holds a sword in the right hand. A boar's head is on one of the axle posts. In the background, a naked figure falls off the wheel, presumably into the pit of oblivion below the wheel, although the perspective in the picture is distorted.* ***XI*** **LA FORCE** *depicts a man or a masculine woman holding open the jaws of a lion.* ***XII*** **LE PENDU** *hangs by one foot, with his head uncomfortably bent as it touches the ground.* ***XVIII*** **LA LUNE** *shows two dogs at the foot of two towers as the moon shines down. The poses of the dogs—one reclines while the other scratches behind its ear—offsets the usually mysterious image of the crayfish crawling from below.* THIRD ROW: ***XVIIII*** **LE SOLEIL** *depicts two children hugging each other in front of a wall. A large sun is above.* **ROI DES ÉPÉES, REINE DES ÉPÉES, VALET DES ÉPÉES, CHEVALIER DES BATONS, VALET DE BATON.** BOTTOM ROW: **ROI DE COUPE, VALET DE COUPE,** ***II of cups, with inscription in bottom panel,*** Fabrique de Cartes a Diessenhofen, **REINE DES DENIER,** ***IIII of coins with initials "JGR" in center shield, II of coins with ribbon saying*** FABRIQUE DE KARTES A DIESSENHOFEN, ***with the initial letter of*** cartes ***changed to "k."***

Collection of the British Museum, London

Collection of the Schweizerisches Landesmuseum, Zurich

Giro. Montalenti Tarot, mid-nineteenth century A tarot deck was published in Turin by Giro(baldi?) Montalenti as evidenced by the cardmaker's name on the two of staves (not shown), two of cups and all four aces (only ace of coins is shown). The seventy-eight cards were printed from woodblocks and heavily stencil colored by hand. The Major Arcana are titled in Italian and have Roman numerals at the top left and bottom right corners. The cards have double-line borders, with a heavier outer line. The deck is without a tax stamp, and probably dates from before September 1861, when the newly formed Kingdom of Italy, whose capital was Turin, issued tax stamps. Back design is a repeating blue diamond pattern of four unconnected lines with a dot inside each diamond.

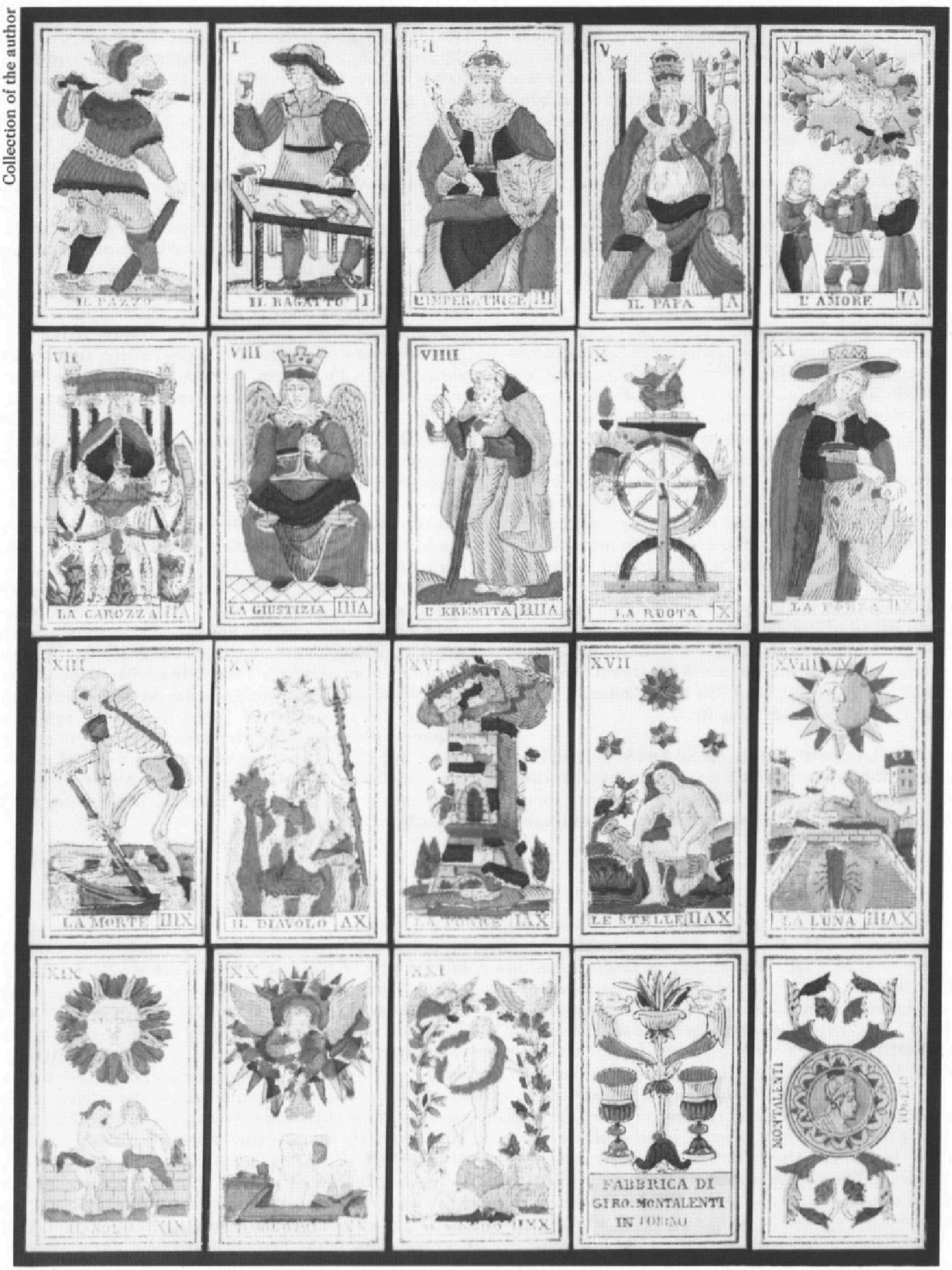
F. Teodoro Dotti Tarots, mid-nineteenth century Two almost identical seventy-eight-card tarot packs were made by F. Teodoro Dotti of Milan, whose name appears on the king of batons. The tax stamps date both decks after Teodoro's death in 1855, and these particular decks were probably printed from old plates by his son, Edoardo. Both decks are woodblock printed and stencil colored. The Major Arcana cards are titled in Italian and, except for The Fool, numbered in Roman. The back designs on both packs are printed on a piece of paper that is wrapped from the back around the front edges. The deck illustrated in the top two rows contains the king of batons with an Italian tax stamp enacted on September 21, 1862; the king of batons on the bottom deck has an Austrian tax stamp imprinted sideways instead of straight up and down and depicting a woman's head that faces to the right over the number three. This stamp, known as the *Austria kopf* stamp, was valid from 1857 to circa 1859. Card XIII has an unusual title—*UGUAGLIANZA*, meaning "equality."

Lattanzio Lamperti Tarot, circa 1848 to 1861 A seventy-eight-card tarot deck was made by Lattanzio Lamperti of Milan. The cardmaker's name and city appear on the king of batons, but the tax stamp is noticeably missing. *FABBRICA DI MILANO* (made in Milan) is on the two of cups and *MILANO* is on the bottom of III The Empress. Lamperti was F. Gumppenberg's son-in-law, having married the daughter Paola, and he took over the playing card factory around 1847. The deck may date from 1859 to 1861, as indicated by the heraldic shields on III *L'IMPERATRICE* and IIII *L'IMPERATORE,* which bear the coat of arms of Savoy, a white cross on a red field. Lombardy was made part of the Kingdom of Sardinia, ruled by the house of Savoy, in 1859. In 1861 Lombardy became part of the Kingdom of Italy, which issued tax stamps in September 1862. Alternately, the absence of the tax stamp is possibly due to the deck being made in 1848 or 1849, when the Austrian empire lost its grip on Lombardy and taxes on playing cards were annulled. The cards are woodblock printed and stencil colored by hand with a predominance of orange. The Major Arcana and the court cards are titled in Italian. The Major Arcana have Roman numbers. The back design, printed in orange on a sheet glued to the back and wrapped around the front of the cards, shows an eagle with a wreath around its neck holding in its mouth a belt to which a sword is attached. One of the eagle's feet rests on a globe. Below is written *MILANO.*

1JJ Swiss Tarot, circa 1865 Around 1865, a deck was made from woodblocks used by Johann Georg Rauch between 1831 and 1838. The later date for this deck is indicated by the fact that the initials "JGR," which appeared in the Rauch deck on the four of coins, are now absent. Apparently, a successor to Rauch used the woodblock but gouged out Rauch's initials from the four of coins. Although the designs on many cards are quite similar to the 1JJ Swiss Tarot which is currently sold and was illustrated in Volume I of *The Encyclopedia of Tarot,* there are significant differences between the two packs. Generally, the designs of the circa 1865 pack are cruder than those of the deck now published by AGMüller & Cie. Major differences between the two decks are noted in the caption for 1JJ Swiss Tarot, circa 1865.

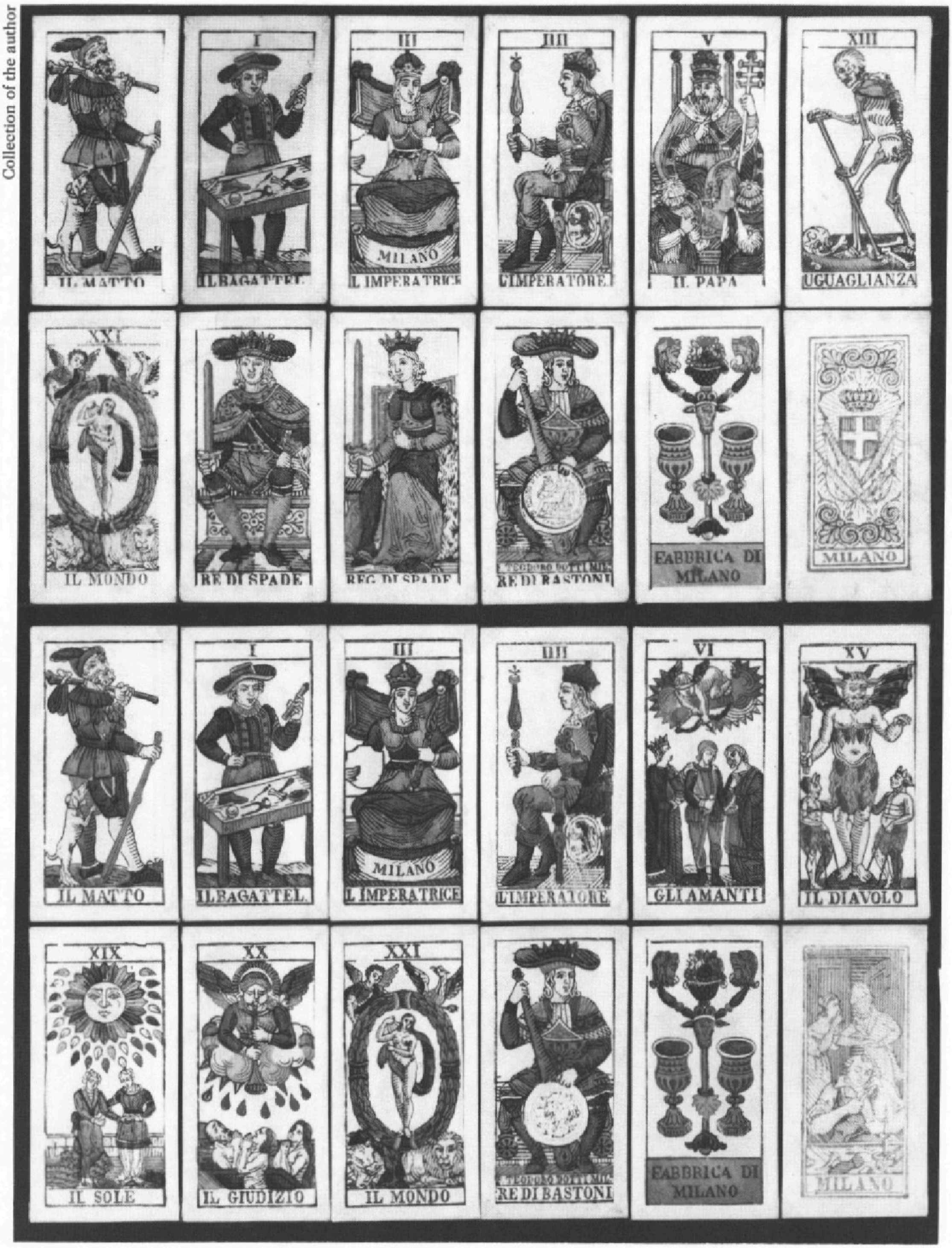
1JJ Swiss Tarot, ca 1865 *The 1JJ deck originally printed by Rauch differs from the 1JJ deck currently sold by AGMüller & Cie.* TOP ROW: **LE FOU** *(The Fool) is essentially the same, but the title is different than the other title,* Le Mat. ***I*** **LE BATELEUR** *(The Juggler) has a different facial expression and the front of the table is less ornate than in the modern version; however, the same objects are on the table.* ***II*** **JUNON** *is essentially the same.* ***III*** **L'IMPERATRICE** *(The Empress) faces left and her pose is more settled.* ***IIII*** **L'EMPEREUR** *(The Emperor) is turned to the right and has no shield.* ***V*** **JUPITER** *is very similar in design.* SECOND ROW: ***VI*** **L'AMOUREUX** *(The Lovers).* ***VII*** **LE CHARIOT** *(The Chariot).* ***VIII*** **LA JUSTICE** *(Justice) holds the scale in her right hand and the sword in her left, and does not wear armor.* ***VIIII*** **L'ERMITE** *(The Hermit).* ***X*** **LA ROUE DE FORTUNE** *(The Wheel of Fortune) has a completely different design than the later version. A monkey sits atop the Wheel while a man falls off the side. A trough is below.* ***XI*** **LA FORCE** *(Strength) portrays a man wearing a full tunic and standing in front of the lion instead of behind it.* THIRD ROW: ***XII*** **LE PENDU** *(The Hanged Man).* ***XIII*** **LA MORT** *(Death).* ***XIIII*** **TEMPERANCE** *(Temperance) is crowned and wears a long, low-cut gown. There is no shrubbery near her.* ***XV*** **LE DIABLE** *(The Devil) shows a demon, instead of a woman, sitting disconsolately on the ground.* ***XVII*** **L'ETOILE** *(The Star) portrays a nude woman who pours water from both her vases. There are six stars above her instead of seven, and they are not arranged as neatly as in the other version.* ***XVIII*** **LA LUNE** *(The Moon) shows the moon shining on two towers as two dogs crouch, as in the Tarot of Marseilles. The other version shows a young man serenading a lady.* THIRD ROW: ***XVIIII*** **LE SOLEIL** *(The Sun) portrays two children hugging in front of a wall, over which hangs the sun.* ***XXI*** **LE MONDE** *(The World) shows a woman in a demure pose inside a wreath. Two tropical birds perch at the top, and a bull and a lion are at the bottom.* **ROI DES ÉPÉES** *(king of swords) wears armor only on the lower part of his body, and wears a crown instead of a helmet.* **REINE DES EPÉES.** ***VI of swords. Ace of swords.*** BOTTOM ROW: **CHEVALIER DES BATONS** *(knight of batons) is not as menacing as he is in the later deck.* ***X of batons.*** **VALET DE COUPE** *(valet of cups) stands facing out, his hat in hand, instead of walking with his cup.* ***II of cups*** *reads* Fabrique de Cartes a Diessenhofen. ***Two of coins*** *is inscribed* Fabrique de Kartes a Diessenhofen. *Note the variation of spelling in the word for "cards."* ***Ace of coins.***

Collection of the author



Giro. Montalenti Tarot TOP ROW: IL PAZZO *(The Fool)*, ***I*** IL BAGATTO *(The Juggler)*, ***III*** L'IMPERATRICE *(The Empress)*, ***V*** IL PAPA *(The Pope)*, ***VI*** L'AMORE *(Love)*. SECOND ROW: ***VII*** LA CAROZZA *(The Chariot)*, ***VIII*** LA GIUSTIZIA *(Justice)*, ***VIIII*** L'EREMITA *(The Hermit)*, ***X*** LA RUOTA *(The Wheel)*, ***XI*** LA FORZA *(Strength)*. THIRD ROW: ***XIII*** LA MORTE *(Death)*, ***XV*** IL DIAVOLO *(The Devil)*, ***XVI*** LA TORRE *(The Tower)*, ***XVII*** LE STELLE *(The Star)*, ***XVIII*** LA LUNA *(The Moon)*. BOTTOM ROW: ***XIX*** IL SOLE *(The Sun)*, ***XX*** IL GIUDIZIO *(Judgment)*, ***XXI*** IL MONDO *(The World)*. *Two of cups reads* FABBRICA DI GIRO. MONTALENTI IN TORINO. *Ace of coins shows a warrior's face inside a medallion, and the name and city of the maker.*

Collection of the author



F. Teodoro Dotti Tarots FIRST ROW: IL MATTO, *I* IL BAGATTEL, *III* L'IMPERATRICE, *IIII* L'IMPERATORE, *V* IL PAPA, *XIII* UGUAGLIANZA. SECOND ROW: *XXI* IL MONDO, REG. DI SPADE, RE. DI BASTONI, *two of cups with legend:* FABBRICA DI MILANO, *back design in blue and yellow depicting a crown over a shield with a cross and four flags.* THIRD ROW: IL MATTO, *I* IL BAGATTEL., *III* L'IMPERATRICE, *IIII* L'IMPERATORE, *VI* GLI AMANTI, *XV* IL DIAVOLO. BOTTOM ROW: *XIX* IL SOLE, *XX* IL GIUDIZIO, *XXI* IL MONDO, RE DI BASTONI *gives the name of the maker and his city:* F. TEODORO DOTTI MIL., *two of cups. Back design in purple and yellow depicts a cobbler working by candlelight while in the background a well-dressed man takes the hand of a woman who has her finger to her lips signaling silence.*

Collection of the author

L. Lamperti Tarot TOP ROW: IL MATTO *(The Fool)*, ***I*** IL BAGATTEL. *(The Juggler)*, ***II*** LA PAPESSA *(The Popess)*, ***III*** L'IMPERATRICE *(The Empress)*, ***IIII*** L'IMPERATORE *(The Emperor)*, ***V*** IL PAPA *(The Pope)*. SECOND ROW: ***VI*** GLI AMANTI *(The Lovers)*, ***VII*** IL CARRO *(The Chariot)*, ***VIII*** LA GIUSTIZIA *(Justice)*, ***VIIII*** L'EREMITA *(The Hermit)*, ***X*** RUOTA DELLA FORA *(Wheel of Fortune)*, ***XI*** LA FORZA *(Strength)*. THIRD ROW: ***XII*** L'APPESO *(The Hanged Man)*, ***XIII*** *(Death)*, ***XIIII*** LA TEMPERAN *(Temperance)*, ***XV*** IL DIAVOLO *(The Devil)*, ***XVI*** LA TORRE *(The Tower)*, ***XVII*** LE STELLE *(The Star)*. BOTTOM ROW: ***XXI*** IL MONDO *(The World)*, RE DI DANARI *(king of coins)*, REG. DI DANARI *(queen of coins)*, *two of cups*, RE DI BASTONI *(king of batons)*, *back design.*

Edoardo Dotti Woodblocks, circa 1862 A set of six original woodblocks for an Edoardo Dotti tarot pack date from around 1862 and are from Milan. Each woodblock comprises fifteen cards in three rows of five each. Five of the woodblocks each contain fifteen different cards, making a total of seventy-five cards. The other woodblock shows the remaining three cards—five of coins, ace of swords and ace of batons—needed to make a complete deck, with five impressions for each card. Thus, for every five decks, the maker pulled five prints from the five woodblocks with differing cards, and one print from the single woodblock with the three cards carved five times. Although the cards are loosely grouped by number, they are not placed on the woodblock in numerical sequence.

Edoardo Dotti Tarot, woodblock printed, circa 1862 to 1865 A woodblock printed tarot pack of seventy-eight cards was published by Edoardo Dotti of Milan sometime between 1862 and 1865. The Italian tax stamp on the ace of coins was valid from 1862 to 1874, and Dotti died in 1865, thus the date for the deck. The cards are stencil colored and are almost identical to other packs by Dotti. The back design shows a well-dressed woman guiding a young girl riding a pony while a second child stands with outstretched arms. The name Edoardo Dotti appears on a sign and *MILANO* is carved on a large, flat rock. Edoardo Dotti was the son of F. Teodoro Dotti, who was also a cardmaker of Milan. The Major Arcana and court cards are titled in Italian. Except for the Fool, the Major Arcana are Roman numbered. The back design is printed on a sheet of paper that wraps from the back around the front edges of the cards.

Edoardo Dotti Tarot, engraved, circa 1862 to 1865 A seventy-eight-card pack was published by Edoardo Dotti of Milan between 1862 and 1865, as evidenced by the Italian tax stamp on the ace of coins, valid from 1862 to 1874, and Dotti's believed date of death, 1865. The cards are finely engraved and stencil colored. The Major Arcana and court cards are titled in Italian; the Major Arcana are Roman numbered except for *IL MATTO*. For some reason, card XIV has a title that means the opposite of the usual title, although the image is the same. Each card has an extra paper wrapped from the back around the front edges. The back design, in light pink, shows a mounted horsewoman and a penant that bears the name of the cardmaker, while the name of the city is at the bottom. These engraved cards are similar in design to the Edoardo Dotti pack printed from woodblocks and also published around 1862.

Collection of the author

Edoardo Dotti Woodblocks TOP ROW: REG. DI SPADE *(queen of swords)*, RE DI SPADE *(king of swords)*, *I* IL BAGATTEL *(The Juggler)*, *II* LA PAPESSA *(The Popess)*, *III* L'IMPERATRICE *(The Empress)*. SECOND ROW: *IIII* L'IMPERATORE *(The Emperor)*, *VIII* LA GIUSTIZIA *(Justice)*, *V* IL PAPA *(The Pope)*, *VI* GLI AMANTI *(The Lovers)*, *VII* IL CARRO *(The Chariot)*. THIRD ROW: *X* RUOT. DELLA FORT. *(Wheel of Fortune)*, *XII* L'APPESO *(The Hanged Man)*, *XI* LA FORZA *(Strength)*, *VIIII* L'EREMITA *(The Hermit)*, *XIII* UGUAGLIANZA *(Equality)*.

Collection of the author

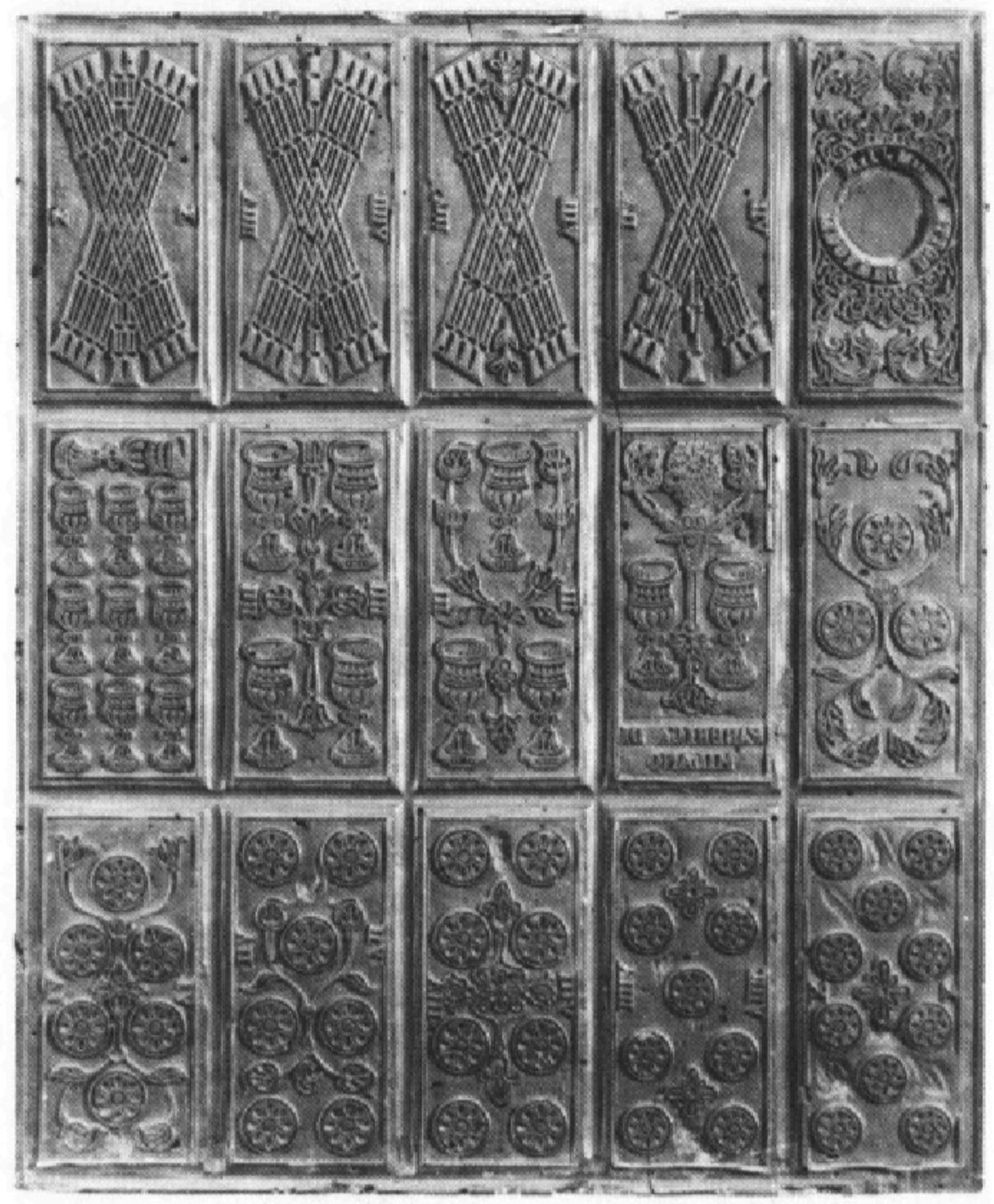
Edoardo Dotti Woodblocks TOP ROW: *XVIII* LA LUNA *(The Moon)*, *XVI* LA TORRE *(The Tower)*, *XVII* LE STELLE *(The Star)*, *XV* IL DIAVOLO *(The Devil)*, *XIIII* LA TEMPERAN *(Temperance)*. SECOND ROW: *Ace of cups, IIII of coins, XXI* IL MONDO *(The World)*, *XX* IL GIUDIZIO *(The Judgment)*, *XIX* IL SOLE *(The Sun)*. BOTTOM ROW: *VII of swords, VIII of swords, IX of swords, X of swords, two of coins.*

Collection of the author

Edoardo Dotti Woodblocks TOP ROW: REG. DI DANARI *(queen of coins)*, CAVAL DI DAN *(knight of coins)*, FAN. DI DANARI *(page of coins)*, IL MATTO *(The Fool)*, RE DI DANARI *(king of coins)*. SECOND ROW: CAV. DI SPADE *(knight of spades)*, FAN. DI BASTONI *(page of batons)*, RE DI BASTONI *(king of batons)*, REG. DI BASTONI *(queen of batons)*, CAV. DI BASTON *(knight of batons)*. BOTTOM ROW: FAN. DI COPPE *(page of cups)*, CAV. DI COPPE *(knight of cups)*, REG. DI COPPE *(queen of cups)*, FAN. DI SPADE *(page of swords)*, RE DI COPPE *(king of cups)*.

Edoardo Dotti Woodblocks TOP ROW: *V of coins*. SECOND ROW: *Ace of swords*. THIRD ROW: *Ace of batons*.

Edoardo Dotti Woodblocks TOP ROW: *VI of swords, IIII of swords, V of swords, III of swords, II of swords*. SECOND ROW: *VI of batons, V of batons, IIII of batons, III of batons, II of batons*. BOTTOM ROW: *IX of cups, VIII of cups, VII of cups, VI of cups, V of cups*.



Edoardo Dotti Woodblocks TOP ROW: *X of batons, VIIII of batons, VIII of batons, VII of batons, ace of coins is upside down relative to the other cards on the block and is inscribed:* EDOARDO DOTTI / MILANO. SECOND ROW: *X of cups, IIII of cups, III of cups, two of cups, three of coins*. BOTTOM ROW: *VI of coins, VII of coins, VIII of coins, VIIII of coins, X of coins*.

Collection of the author

Edoardo Dotti Woodblock Printed Tarot TOP ROW: IL MATTO, ***I*** IL BAGATTEL. ***II*** LA PAPESSA, ***III*** L'IMPERATRICE, ***IIII*** L'IMPERATORE, ***V*** IL PAPA. SECOND ROW: ***VI*** GLI AMANTI, ***VII*** IL CARRO, ***VIII*** LA GIUSTIZIA, ***VIIII*** L'EREMITA, ***X*** RUOTA DELLA FOR., ***XI*** LA FORZA. THIRD ROW: ***XII*** L'APPESO, ***XIII*** LA MORTE, ***XIIII*** LA TEMPERAN., ***XV*** IL DIAVOLO, ***XVI*** LA TORRE, RE DI SPADE. BOTTOM ROW: REG. DI SPADE, FAN. DI SPADE, RE DI BASTONI, *two of coins, ace of coins, back design.*

Collection of the author

Francesco Fantini Tarot, circa 1862 to 1874 Seventy-eight cards were woodblock printed and stencil colored in Novara, Italy, by Francesco Fantini. The tax stamp on the ace of coins was valid from 1862 to 1874. The Major Arcana have full-length figures with Italian titles across the bottom and Arabic numbers at the upper left and lower right corners. The two of cups (not shown) is inscribed *Fabrica di Fantini in Novara.* Back design (not shown) comprises alternately large and small blue squares against a white background.

Oletto Tarot, circa 1862 to 1874 A seventy-eight-card tarot pack was published by Oletto of Turin, Italy. The date of the deck is evidenced on the ace of coins by the tax stamp valid from 1862 to 1874. The cards are woodblock printed and stencil colored by hand. The Major Arcana and court cards depict full-length figures with thin, pinched features, and the designs are somewhat crude, with the heads and necks often out of proportion. At the upper left of each Major Arcana card is an Arabic number within a small square. Backs show a repeating blue diamond with a white dot in its center, alternating with a blue dot, the entire geometric scene on a white field.

P. Negri Tarot, circa 1862 to 1874 Published by P. Negri, Milan, this seventy-eight-card pack bears a tax stamp valid from 1862 to 1874. The cards are woodblock printed and stencil colored. The front edging of each card is formed by the edges of an extra sheet of paper, on which the back design is printed, wrapped around from the back. The Major Arcana and court cards are titled in Italian. Except for The Fool, the Major Arcana are Roman numbered. The name and city of the publisher appear on the ace of coins and *MILANO* appears on III *L'IMPERATRICE,* the two of cups, the ace of coins and the back design. The suit of batons has the traditional interlaced design as evidenced by the ten of batons.

F. Fantini Tarot, circa 1862 to 1874 Woodblock printed, stencil colored tarot cards were made in Novara, Italy, by F. Fantini, circa 1862 to 1874. The dating is made possible by a tax stamp, valid from 1862 to 1874, on the ace of coins. The maker's name and city appear on the two of cups (not shown): *F. FANTINI FABBRICANTE IN NOVARA,* and on all four aces. Additionally on the knight of batons (not shown) a small message appears, *BELLA INCISE,* meaning "finely engraved." Each card has a double line border, and on the Major Arcana the number appears at top and bottom so that the value of the card can be read when the card is upside down. Titles of Major Arcana and court cards are in Italian. I *IL BAGATTO* is a craftsman. XV *IL DIAVOLO,* which shows the devil struggling in the coils of three monsters while raising his fist, resembles The Devil card of Gumppenberg's Lombardy Tarot. No people fall from the tower on XVI *LA TORRE.* Generally, the designs are those of the Tarot of Marseilles.

Antonio Rossi Ligurian Piedmontese Tarocco, 1979 reprint of circa 1874 to 1879 deck A complete seventy-eight-card deck titled Tarocco Ligure Piedmontese was produced in 1979 by Edizioni del Solleone, Milan, in a numbered edition limited to 2500 sets. The deck is a facsimile of the original stencil colored, woodblock printed pack issued by Antonio Rossi of Alessandria, Italy. The Major Arcana show full-length figures with Arabic numbers in squares at the upper left corners of the cards and titles at the bottoms. The court cards feature full-length figures with titles at the bottoms. The king of coins has a coin in the background with the letter "R" at the center to designate *re* (king); similarly the remaining three courts (not shown) in the suit of *denari* (coins) each depict a coin with a letter in the center: *regina* (queen) has a "D" for *donna* or *dama* (lady), *cavaliere* (knight) has a "C," and *fante* (valet) has an "F." The tax stamp reproduced on the ace of coins dates the original pack from 1874 to 1879. Back design is a Solleone logo used by Vito Arienti, publisher of Edizioni del Solleone.

Pietro Masenghini Tarot, circa 1879 A complete seventy-eight-card tarot pack made by Pietro Masenghini of Bergamo contains the same designs as those of the pack made in 1908 by Masenghini, but the earlier deck does not have the name and city of the cardmaker on the Major Arcana and court cards. The ace of coins contains three tax stamps: the top stamp is Italian and dated for the year 1879, one stamp in the middle is the Italian *PER L'ESTERO* (for export) stamp. A foreign tax stamp is over the export stamp. The rate of 80 centesimi can be seen at the bottom of the foreign tax stamp, and the words seem to read *DIRITTO DI BOLLO.* Thus, the stamp is probably from the Swiss canton Ticino, and dates from 1885. The designs seem to have been copied from an engraved Edoardo Dotti pack dating circa 1862 to 1865.

Edoardo Dotti Engraved Tarot TOP ROW: **IL MATTO** *(The Fool) has a P on his back which probably stands for* pazzo, *"madman."* ***I*** **IL BAGATTO** *(The Juggler),* ***II*** **LA PAPESSA** *(The Popess).* ***III*** **L'IMPERATRICE** *(The Empress) has the inscription* Il presente é posto sotto la tutelas delle Leggi, *a notice stating "This pack is under the protection of the law."* ***IIII*** **L'IMPERATORE** *(The Emperor),* ***V*** **IL PAPA** *(The Pope).* SECOND ROW: ***VI*** **GLI AMANTI** *(The Lovers),* ***VII*** **IL CARRO** *(The Chariot),* ***VIII*** **LA GIUSTIZIA** *(Justice),* ***VIIII*** **L'EREMITA** *(The Hermit),* ***X*** **LA RUOTA DELLA FORTUNA** *(The Wheel of Fortune),* ***XI*** **LA FORZA** *(Strength).* THIRD ROW: ***XII*** **L'APPESO** *(The Hanged Man),* ***XIII*** **LA MORTE** *(Death).* ***XIV*** **L'INTEMPERANZA** *(Intemperance) is usually the card for Temperance.* ***XV*** **IL DIAVOLO** *(The Devil),* ***XVI*** **LA TORRE** *(The Tower),* ***XVII*** **LE STELLE** *(The Star).* BOTTOM ROW: ***XVIII*** **LA LUNA** *(The Moon),* ***XX*** **IL GIUDIZIO** *(Judgment),* ***XXI*** **IL MONDO** *(The World).* **RE DI BASTONI** *(king of batons) has the inscription* Fabbrica Fratelli Dotti Milano *(Made by the Dotti Brothers [of] Milan).* ***Ace of coins*** *is inscribed* EDOARDO DOTTI/MILANO *and shows a tax stamp that went into law September 21, 1862.* ***Back design.***

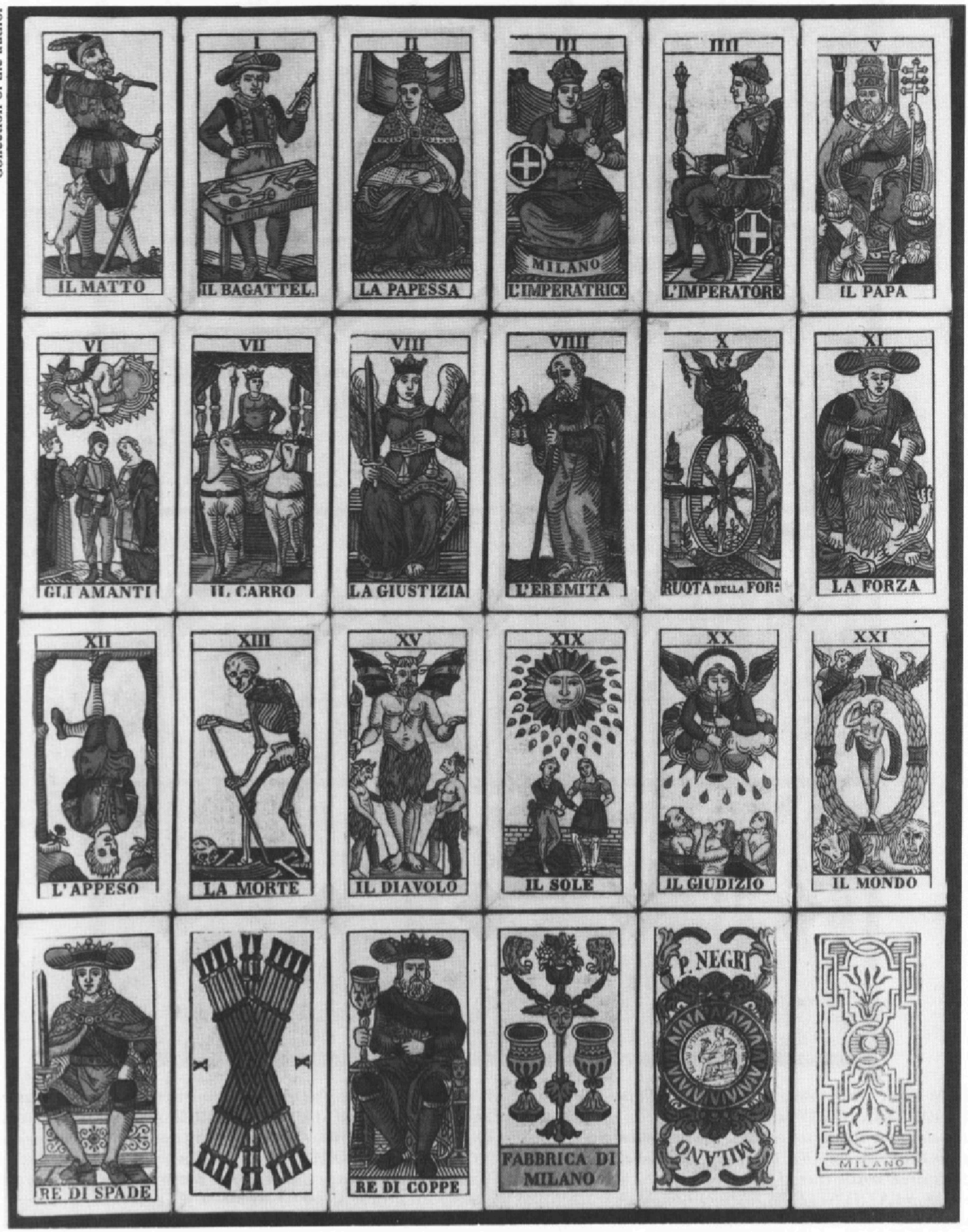
Collection of the author

Francesco Fantini Tarot TOP ROW: IL PAZZO *(The Fool)*, ***1*** IL BAGATTO *(The Juggler)*, ***2*** LA PAPESSA *(The Popess)*, ***3*** L'IMPERATRICE *(The Empress)*, ***4*** L'IMPERATORE *(The Emperor)*. SECOND ROW: ***5*** IL PAPA *(The Pope)*, ***6*** L'AMORE *(Love)*, ***7*** LA CAROZZA *(The Chariot)*, ***8*** LA GIUSTIZIA *(Justice)*, ***9*** L'EREMITA *(The Hermit)*. THIRD ROW: ***10*** LA RUOTA *(The Wheel)*, ***11*** LA FORZA *(Strength)*, ***12*** L'IMPICATO *(The Hanged Man)*, ***13*** LA MORTE *(Death)*, ***14*** LA TEMPERANZA *(Temperance)*. BOTTOM ROW: ***15*** IL DIAVOLO *(The Devil)*, RE DA COPPE *(king of cups)*, CAVALIERE DA COPPE *(knight of cups)*, REGINA DA DENARI *(queen of cups)*. Ace of coins *carries the maker's name and city:* FANTINI FRANCESCO/IN NOVARA.

Collection of the author

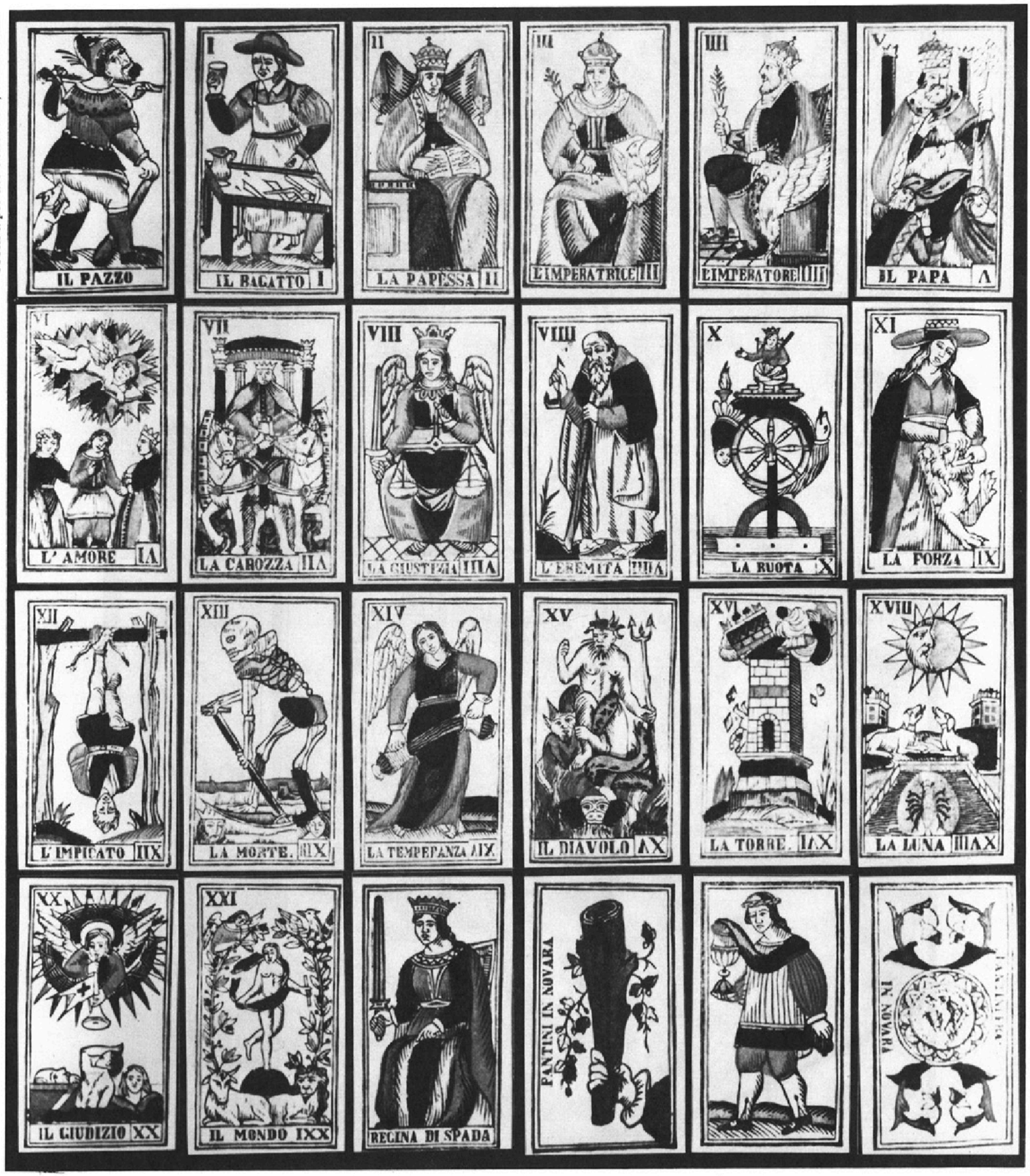
Oletto Tarot TOP ROW: ***0*** **PAZZO** *(Fool) chases a butterfly.* ***1*** **BAGATTO** *(Juggler) displays his wares while lifting a baton.* ***2*** **LA PAPESSA** *(The Popess) is a severe woman whose head seems to be shaved.* ***3*** **L'IMPERATRICE** *(The Empress) holds a shield on which is an eagle with a crossed globe on its belly.* ***4*** **L'IMPERATORE** *(The Emperor) holds the same scepter as the Empress and her shield is on the side of his throne.* SECOND ROW: ***6*** **AMORE** *(Love) depicts a young man between two ladies, while Cupid flies overhead.* ***7*** **LA CAROZZA** *(The Carriage) shows a warrior in a carriage drawn by two horses.* ***8*** **LA GIUSTIZIA** *(Justice) holds her traditional tools: sword and scale.* ***9*** **L'EREMITA** *(The Hermit) holds up a lamp and uses a stick for support. A rosary hangs at his waist.* ***10*** **ROTA DE LA FORTUNA** *(Wheel of Fortune) is surmounted by a small crowned man or monkey while a doglike creature ascends and a strange figure of a human head with a collar and just a tail—no body—descends.* THIRD ROW: ***12*** **L'APPESO** *(The Hanged Man) dangles by one foot, his hands appearing behind his shoulders.* ***14*** **LA TEMPERANZA** *(Temperance) depicts an angel pouring water from one pitcher to another. Her sandaled feet protrude from her robe.* ***16*** **LA TORRE** *(The Tower) is blasted with lightning and two figures fall.* ***17*** **LE STELLE** *(The Star) kneels in a shallow pool and pours water from two pitchers.* ***20*** **L'ANGELO** *(The Angel) blows a bannered trumpet to raise four people from their graves.* BOTTOM ROW: ***21*** **IL MONDO** *(The World) portrays a woman in a wreath, with an angel, an eagle, a lion and a bull in the four corners of the card.* **RE DI SPADA** *(king of swords) has faces on his shoulders and a crown with flowers.* ***Valet of cups*** *carries a cup that is covered with his shawl.* **DAMA DI DANARI** *(queen of coins) holds a coin with the letter "D" on it.* ***Ace of coins*** *has a tax stamp at the top and the name and city of the maker*—Oletto/TORINO—at the bottom.

Collection of the author



P. Negri Tarot TOP ROW: IL MATTO *(The Fool)*, ***I*** IL BAGATTEL *(The Juggler)*, ***II*** LA PAPESSA *(The Popess)*, ***III*** L'IMPERATRICE *(The Empress)*, ***IIII*** L'IMPERATORE *(The Emperor)*, ***V*** IL PAPA *(The Pope)*. SECOND ROW: ***VI*** GLI AMANTI *(The Lovers)*, ***VII*** IL CARRO *(The Chariot)*, ***VIII*** LA GIUSTIZIA *(Justice)*, ***VIIII*** L'EREMITA *(The Hermit)*, ***X*** RUOTA DELLA FOR *(The Wheel of Fortune)*, ***XI*** LA FORZA *(Strength)*. THIRD ROW: ***XII*** L'APPESO *(The Hanged Man)*, ***XIII*** LA MORTE *(Death)*, ***XV*** IL DIAVOLO *(The Devil)*, ***XIX*** IL SOLE *(The Sun)*, ***XX*** IL GIUDIZIO *(Judgment)*, ***XXI*** IL MONDO *(The World)*. BOTTOM ROW: RE DI SPADE *(king of spades)*, *ten of batons*, RE DI COPPE *(king of cups)*, *two of cups*, *ace of coins*, *back design*.

From a private collection, Switzerland



F. Fantini Tarot TOP ROW: IL PAZZO *(The Fool)*, ***I*** IL BAGATTO *(The Juggler)*, ***II*** LA PAPESSA *(The Popess)*, ***III*** L'IMPERATRICE *(The Empress)*, ***IIII*** L'IMPERATORE *(The Emperor)*, ***V*** IL PAPA *(The Pope)*. SECOND ROW: ***VI*** L'AMORE *(Love)*, ***VII*** LA CAROZZA *(The Carriage)*, ***VIII*** LA GIUSTIZIA *(Justice)*, ***VIIII*** L'EREMITA *(The Hermit)*, ***X*** LA RUOTA *(The Wheel)*, ***XI*** LA FORZA *(Strength)*. THIRD ROW: ***XII*** L'IMPICATO *(The Hanged Man)*, ***XIII*** LA MORTE *(Death)*, ***XIV*** LA TEMPERANZA *(Temperance)*, ***XV*** IL DIAVOLO *(The Devil)*, ***XVI*** LA TORRE *(The Tower)*, ***XVIII*** LA LUNA *(The Moon)*. BOTTOM ROW: ***XX*** IL GIUDIZIO *(Judgment)*, ***XXI*** IL MONDO *(The World)*, *REGINA DI SPADA (queen of swords), ace of batons, page of cups, ace of coins.*

Collection of the author

Antonio Rossi Ligurian Piedmontese Tarocco TOP ROW: IL PAZZO *(The Fool)*, ***1*** IL CIABATTINO *(The Cobbler)*, ***2*** LA PAPESSA *(The Popess)*, ***3*** L'IMPERATRICE *(The Empress)*, ***4*** L'IMPERATORE *(The Emperor)*. SECOND ROW: ***5*** IL PAPA *(The Pope)*, ***7*** LA CARROZZA *(The Carriage)*, ***8*** LA GIUSTIZIA *(Justice)*, ***9*** L'EREMITA *(The Hermit)*, ***12*** L'IMPICCATO *(The Hanged Man)*. THIRD ROW: ***14*** LA TEMPERANZA *(Temperance)*, ***15*** IL DIAVOLO *(The Devil)*, ***16*** LA TORRE *(The Tower)*, ***17*** LE STELLE *(The Star)*, ***19*** IL SOLE *(The Sun)*. BOTTOM ROW: CAVALIERE DA BASTONE *(knight of batons)*, REGINA DA COPPE *(queen of cups)*, RE DA DENARI *(king of cups)*, *ace of coins, back design shows a heraldic crowned lion passant with the sun above him.*

Collection of the author

Pietro Masenghini Tarot TOP ROW: ***I*** **IL MATTO** *(The Fool) has a "p" for* pazzo, *"madman," on his back.* ***I*** **IL BAGATTO** *(The Juggler),* ***II*** **LA PAPESSA** *(The Popess),* ***VII*** **IL CARRO** *(The Chariot).* ***VIII*** **LA GIUSTIZIA** *(Justice) is represented by an angel holding a sword and scale.* SECOND ROW: ***VIIII*** **L'EREMITA** *(The Hermit).* ***X*** **LA RUOTA DELLA FORTUNA** *(The Wheel of Fortune) is surmounted by a scepter-bearing angel. A fox rides up on the rim.* ***XII*** **L'APPESO** *(The Hanged Man) dangles from one foot. His free leg is bent parallel to his other one.* ***XIV*** **L'INTEMPERANZA** *(Intemperance) is an unusual title for this card. An angel pours water from one pitcher to another.* ***XVIII*** **LA LUNA** *(The Moon) shines on two dogs and a crayfish.* THIRD ROW: ***XIX*** **IL SOLE** *(The Sun).* ***XX*** **IL GIUDIZIO** *(The Judgment) shows two women and a man rising from tombs amidst lightning and the trumpet blast of an angel.* ***XXI*** **IL MONDO** *(The World) portrays a woman wearing only a veil and surrounded by a wreath. In the four corners are an angel, an eagle, a bull and a lion.* ***4 of swords, 5 of batons.*** BOTTOM ROW: ***Ace of batons,*** **RE DI COPPE** *(king of cups),* ***10 of cups, 10 of coins, ace of coins.***

From a private collection, Switzerland

Mühlemann & Walther Tarot, circa 1885 to 1887 A full tarot deck was made around 1885 to 1887 by Mühlemann and Walther of *HASLE PRÈS BERTHOUD* (Hasle bei Burgdorf). The initials of the makers appear on the ten and eight of coins, as a monogram, and on the four and three of coins in block letters, and the name of the city is on Major Arcana IIII *L'EMPEREUR*, and on the two of cups and the two of coins. The designs are like those of the Swiss 1JJ deck printed by Rauch in the early nineteenth century, and the 1JJ deck by AGMüller & Cie, but with one major difference: this deck retains The Popess and The Pope instead of replacing them with Junon and Jupiter, respectively. Titles are in French.

Amedeo Candiani Tarot, late nineteenth century A woodblock printed and stencil colored tarot deck was made in the late nineteenth century by Amedeo Candiani of Novara. This deck is similar to those by Strambo (see Volume I) and Fantini. The Major Arcana are titled in Italian and Roman numbered at the upper left and lower right corners. The ace of coins has a tax stamp issued in the mid-1880s. The stamp is red for export. The exact date is illegible on the date stamp, but the year is 1906.

Fratelli Armanino Tarot, circa 1885 The designs in this seventy-eight-card tarot pack are similar, if not the same, as Gumppenberg designs engraved by C. Dellarocca circa 1823, except that now the designs have been altered so that they are double-ended. The Major Arcana cards contain Arabic and Roman numbers at the upper left and right of each card, respectively. The ace of coins bears the inscription *FABBRICA DI CARTE DA GIUOCO/FRATELLI ARMANINO—GENOVA*. The tax stamp on the inside of the coin was valid in the mid-1880s. Above the coin is a date stamp for November 8, 1885.

Tarot Classic, late nineteenth century Printed by lithography and stencil colored by hand, the Tarot Classic pack was probably made by Johannes Müller II of Schaffhausen, and dates from the late nineteenth century. The Major Arcana and court cards are titled in French and the numbering is Roman. The corners on the cards are square. The two of coins bears the inscription *FABRIQUES DE CARTES A SCHAFFHOUSE* and the four of coins has a large monogram "JR" in the center of the design. Card XIII Death carries an inverted tax stamp with the amount *20 Cts* (centimes), from the canton of Fribourg. Back design is a tarotee pattern of crisscrossing lines in black and dark blue against a tan field. Several features were added to the cards in pen and ink by an owner of the deck. A crocodile's head was added to the background of *LE MAT*. A crescent was drawn on the tiara of II *LA PAPESSE*. A tiny serpent was put at the bottom of the image of VIIII *L'ERMITE*. The added symbols match symbols on the corresponding cards of the Oswald Wirth deck, and they were probably put on the Tarot Classic deck after Wirth's deck appeared in 1889.

Mühlemann & Walther Tarot TOP ROW: **LE MAT** *(The Fool) wears a conical hat with two tassels. In his hand is a spiked club and he raises one finger of his left hand.* ***I*** **LE BATELEUR** *(The Juggler) has several objects on his table, including a bell and an open box. He holds a baton up in his left hand.* ***II*** **LA PAPESSE** *(The Popess) wears a double tiara and heavy robes. As in the Tarot of Marseilles, her robe parts to allow her hands through to hold a book in her lap.* ***IIII*** **L'EMPEREUR** *(The Emperor) is a powerful man in armor. In one hand he holds a scepter and with the other he supports a shield that reads* Fabrique de Cartes à Hasle près Berthoud. ***V*** **LE PAPE** *(The Pope) is a severe, older man with a long thick beard. On his head is a triple tiara and he holds a triple barred cross.*

SECOND ROW: ***VI*** **L'AMOUREUX** *(The Lovers) depicts a young couple embracing while an old man stands to the side. From a cloud, Cupid aims an arrow at the couple.* ***VIIII*** **L'ERMITE** *(The Hermit) is a monk in a long robe. He carries a lamp and walks with the aid of a cane.* ***XI*** **LA FORCE** *(Strength) shows a man struggling with a lion. A club lays on the ground, probably referring to the legend of Hercules and the lion of Nemea. The lion was invulnerable to the weapons of Hercules, and so the ancient hero strangled it with his bare hands.* ***XIII*** **LA MORT** *(Death) shows a skeleton with a scythe. A church steeple is in the background.* ***XV*** **LE DIABLE** *(The Devil), with two-pronged pitchfork and a horned head, harasses a woman who hides her face in her hands.*

THIRD ROW: ***XVI*** **LA MAISON DE DIEU** *(The House of God) is struck and destroyed by lightning. A figure lays on the ground among the debris while another falls from the building.* ***XVII*** **L'ÉTOILE** *(The Star) depicts a woman kneeling on a ledge. She pours water from one jug and holds another. Seven stars are arched above her.* ***XVIII*** **LA LUNE** *(The Moon) depicts, in the top part, a moonlit scene of a man serenading a woman on a balcony. In the lower part, a crayfish is on a wall.* ***XVIIII*** **LE SOLEIL** *(The Sun) shows a youth and a girl sitting together. The sun is large overhead and a palm tree is nearby.* ***XX*** **LE JUGEMENT** *(Judgment) shows three women and a man emerging from the ground to greet the angel who blows a trumpet from the clouds.*

BOTTOM ROW: **REINE DES ÉPÉES** *(queen of swords),* **VALET DE BATON** *(valet of batons),* ***II of cups, X of coins, II of coins.***

Collection of the author

Amedeo Candiani Tarot TOP ROW: IL PAZZO *(The Fool)*, ***I*** IL BAGATTO *(The Juggler)*, ***II*** LA PAPESSA *(The Popess)*, ***III*** L'IMPERATRICE *(The Empress)*, ***IIII*** L'IMPERATORE *(The Emperor)*. SECOND ROW: ***V*** IL PAPA *(The Pope)*, ***VI*** L'AMORE *(Love)*, ***VII*** LA CAROZZA *(The Carriage)*, ***VIII*** [L]A GIUSTIZIA *(Justice)*, ***VIIII*** L'EREMITA *(The Hermit)*. THIRD ROW: ***X*** LA RUOTA *(The Wheel)*, ***XI*** LA FORZA *(Strength)*, ***XII*** L'IMPICATO *[sic] (The Hanged Man)*, ***XIII*** LA MORTE *(Death)*, ***XIV*** LA TEMPERANZA *(Temperance)*. BOTTOM ROW: ***XVI*** LA TORRE *(The Tower)*, ***XIX*** IL SOLE *(The Sun)*, ***XXI*** IL MONDO *(The World)*, *page of swords, ace of coins with maker's name and city:* AMEDEO CANDIANI/NOVARA, *and tax stamp plus date stamp.*

Collection of the author

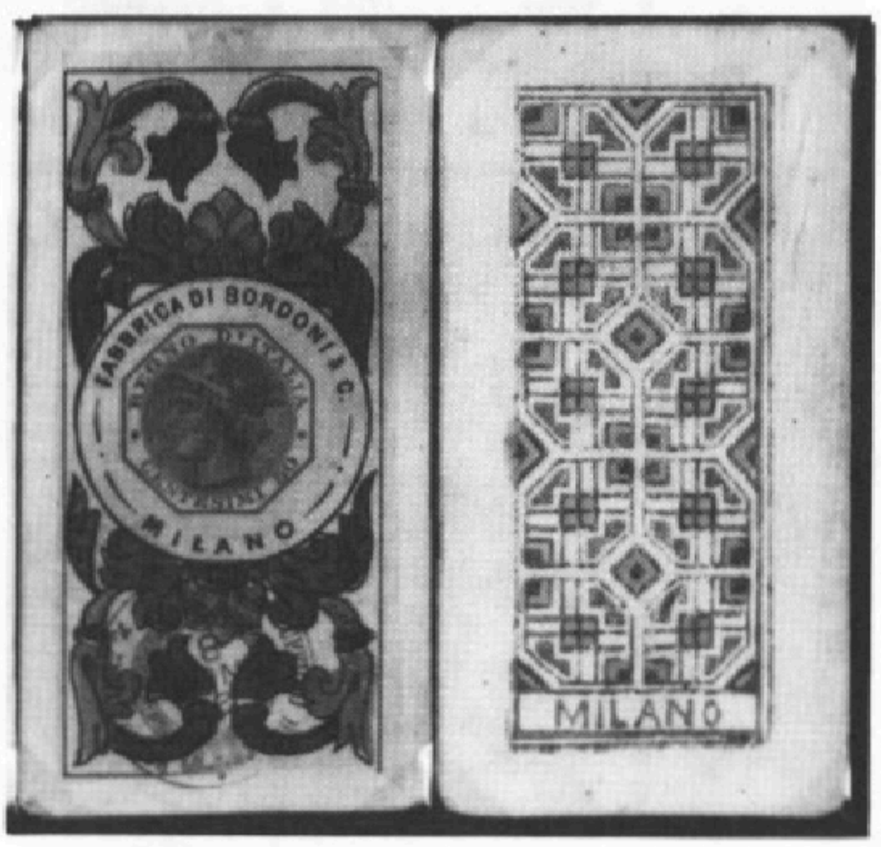
Fratelli Armanino Tarot TOP ROW: IL MATTO *(The Fool) has the initial "M" for* matto *on the back of his garment.* ***1*** IL BAGATTO *(The Juggler) holds a cup aloft and on his bench are cobbler tools and a pitcher.* ***2*** LA PAPESSA *(The Popess),* ***3*** L'IMPERATRICE *(The Empress),* ***4*** L'IMPERATORE *(The Emperor).* SECOND ROW: ***6*** GLI AMANTI *(The Lovers),* ***8*** LA GIUSTIZIA *(Justice),* ***9*** L'EREMITA *(The Hermit),* ***11*** LA FORZA *(Strength).* ***13*** IL TREDICI *(The Thirteenth) avoids the traditional title "Death."* THIRD ROW: ***14*** LA TEMPERANZA *(Temperance),* ***15*** IL DIAVOLO *(The Devil),* ***16*** LA TORRE *(The Tower),* ***17*** LE STELLE *(The Star),* ***19*** IL SOLE *(The Sun).* BOTTOM ROW: ***21*** IL MONDO *(The World).* RE DI SPADE *(king of swords) is inscribed on the upper right and lower left:* Fm Armanino Genova. *9 of swords, ace of cups, ace of coins.*

Collection of the author

Tarot Classic TOP ROW: LE MAT, ***I*** LE BATELEUR, ***II*** LA PAPESSE, ***III*** L'IMPERATRICE, ***IIII*** L'EMPEREUR. SECOND ROW: ***V*** LE PAPE, ***VI*** L'AMOUREUX, ***VII*** LE CHARIOT, ***VIII*** LA JUSTICE, ***VIIII*** L'ERMITE. THIRD ROW: ***X*** LA ROUE DE FORTUNE, ***XI*** LA FORCE, ***XIII (Death)***, ***XVI*** LA MAISON DE DIEU, ***XVIIII*** LE SOLEIL. BOTTOM ROW: ***XXI*** LE MONDE, ROI D'EPEE, VALET DE COUPE, *four of coins, two of coins.*

Bordoni Tarots, circa 1891, 1890 and 1887 At least three different back designs were used for different editions of a seventy-eight-card tarot deck by Bordoni & C., Milan. The decks were engraved and stencil colored. The Bordoni tarot with a stamp dated July 14, 1891, shows a lyre as a back design. The back design on the deck dated December 8, 1890, shows a winged, young woman holding aloft a large, decorated ring, or perhaps the Iron Crown which was worn by many kings of Italy from the year 589. The ring or crown is held above a six-pointed star and rays of light stream from it and the star. The back design of the November 2, 1887, deck is a repeating geometric pattern of squares, parallel lines and intersecting lines. The back designs on the three Bordoni decks have *MILANO* written on them. The tax stamps on the decks were valid from the mid-1880's to World War I.

Collection of the author



Bordoni Tarots, ca 1890 and 1887 *Ace of coins with date stamp* 8 DIC 90 *(December 8, 1890) and back design. Ace of coins with date stamp* 2 NOV 87 *(November 2, 1887) and back design.*

B. P. Grimaud Tarot, circa 1890 to 1917 A deck of seventy-eight cards was printed by lithography and stencil colored by B. P. Grimaud of Paris. The deck is unusual in that the figures on the Major Arcana and court cards are double-ended, as in Piedmontese packs. The designs are similar to those on tarots made in Italy, especially the Oletto deck of circa 1862. The tax stamp of April 12, 1890, appears on the two of swords, evidencing that the pack was published sometime between 1890 and 1917, when this French tax stamp was valid. The Major Arcana are without titles and have Arabic numbers at the upper left and lower right. The back design is an overall red pebble pattern. The two of coins is inscribed *B. P. GRIMAUD, PARIS.*

Alessandro Viassone Tarot, circa 1890 A seventy-eight-card tarot pack was published by Alessandro Viassone of Turin. Two tax stamps are on the ace of coins. The top one shows a crowned wreath with the Turin tax stamp office label and the date *6 SET 90* (September 6, 1890). The words *PER L'ESTERO* on the tax stamp at the bottom indicate that the deck was for export. This stamp was valid from the mid-1880s to after World War I. On the ace of coins is the name and address of the maker: *VIASSONE ALESSANDRO—TORINO—FABBRICA VIA NIZZA 104—DEPOSITO VIA ARSENALE 4.* The Major Arcana and court cards are double-ended and the cards are titled in Italian. All the Major Arcana, including *IL MATTO,* are Arabic numbered.

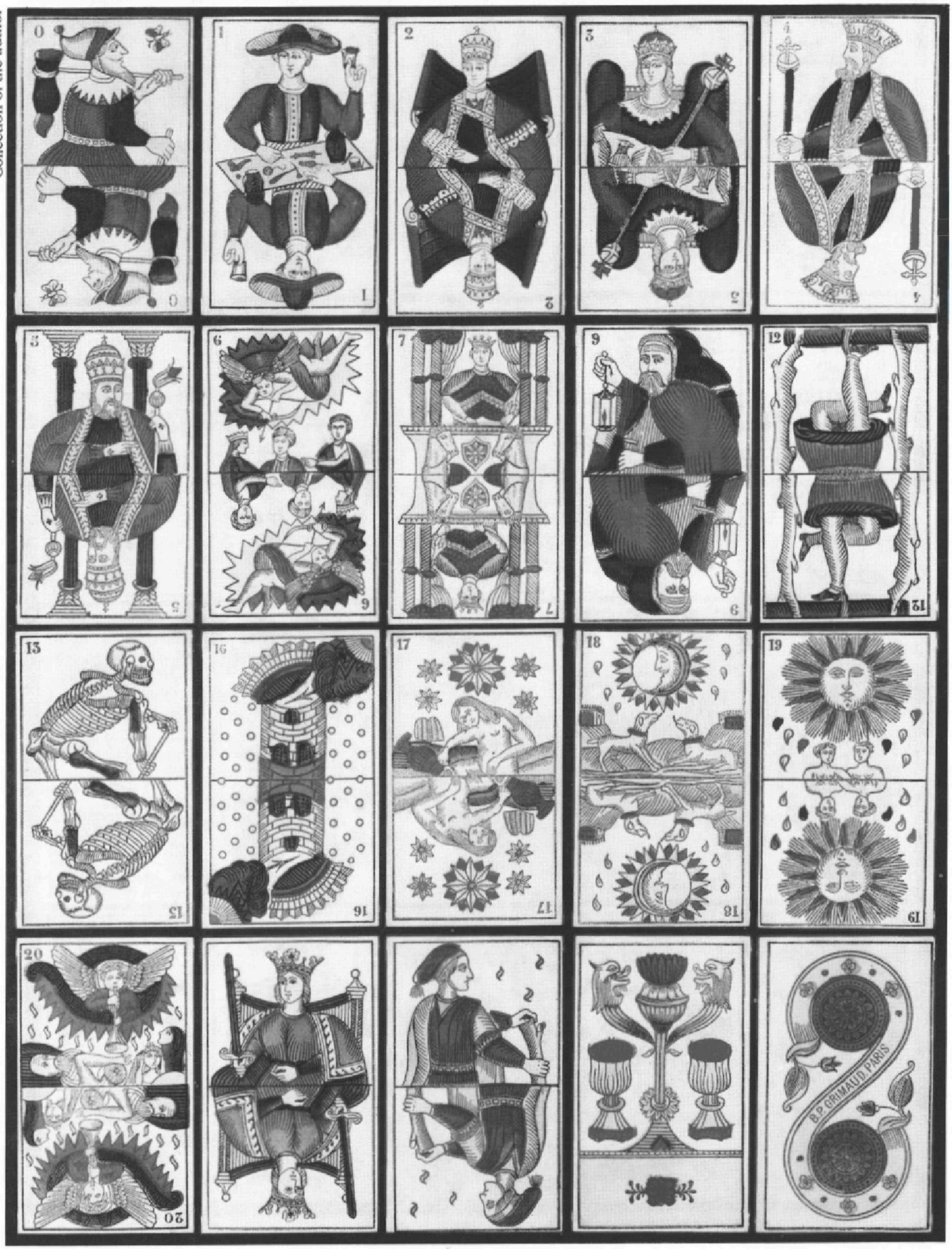
Collection of the author

B. P. Grimaud Two of Swords *The two of swords from the tarot deck by B. P. Grimaud, circa 1890 to 1917, shows the tax stamp valid from that period.*

Collection of the author

Bordoni Tarot, ca 1891 TOP ROW: IL MATTO *(The Fool)*, ***I*** IL BAGATTEL *(The Juggler)*, ***II*** LA PAPESSA *(The Popess)*, ***III*** L'IMPERATRICE *(The Empress) has a banner reading* MILANO *under her throne.* ***IIII*** L'IMPERATORE *(The Emperor)*, ***V*** IL PAPA *(The Pope)*. SECOND ROW: ***VI*** GLI AMANTI *(The Lovers)*, ***VII*** IL CARRO *(The Chariot)*, ***VIII*** LA GIUSTIZIA *(Justice)*, ***VIIII*** L'EREMITA *(The Hermit)*, ***X*** RUOTA DELLA FORT *(Wheel of Fortune)*, ***XI*** LA FORZA *(Strength)*. THIRD ROW: ***XII*** L'APPESO *(The Hanged Man)*, ***XIII*** LA MORTE *(Death)*, ***XIIII*** LA TEMPERAN *(Temperance)*, ***XV*** IL DIAVOLO *(The Devil)*, ***XVI*** LA TORRE *(The Tower)*, ***XVII*** LE STELLE *(The Star)*. BOTTOM ROW: ***XVIII*** LA LUNA *(The Moon)*, ***XIX*** IL SOLE *(The Sun)*, ***XX*** IL GIUDIZIO *(Judgment), two of cups is inscribed* FABBRICA DI MILANO *(Made in Milan). Ace of coins reads* FABBRICA DI BORDONI & C./MILANO *with a tax stamp valid from the mid-1880s to World War I. The date stamp, above, reads* UFFICIO DEL BOLLO STRA° [STRADORDINARIO]/ MILANO/14 LUG 91 *(July 14, 1891)*.

Collection of the author



B. P. Grimaud Tarot TOP ROW: ***0 (The Fool), 1 (The Juggler), 2 (The Popess), 3 (The Empress), 4 (The Emperor)***. SECOND ROW: ***5 (The Pope), 6 (The Lovers), 7 (The Chariot), 9 (The Hermit), 12 (The Hanged Man)***. THIRD ROW: ***13 (Death), 16 (The Tower), 17 (The Star), 18 (The Moon), 19 (The Sun)***. BOTTOM ROW: ***20 (Judgment), queen of swords, page of batons, two of cups, two of coins.***

Collection of the author

Alessandro Viassone Tarot TOP ROW: ***0*** IL MATTO *(The Fool)*, ***1*** BAGATTO *(Juggler)*, ***2*** LA PAPESSA *(The Popess)*, ***3*** L'IMPERATRICE *(The Empress)*, ***4*** L'IMPERATORE *(The Emperor)*. SECOND ROW: ***5*** IL PAPA *(The Pope)*, ***6*** GLI AMANTI *(The Lovers)*, ***8*** LA GIUSTIZIA *(Justice)*, ***9*** L'EREMITA *(The Hermit)*, ***10*** ROTA DI FORTUNA *(Wheel of Fortune)*. THIRD ROW: ***11*** LA FORZA *(Strength)*, ***12*** IL PENDUTO *(The Hanged Man)*, ***13*** *(Untitled)*, ***14*** LA TEMPERANZA *(Temperance)*, ***15*** IL DIAVOLO *(The Devil)*. BOTTOM ROW: ***16*** LA TORRE *(The Tower)*, ***17*** LE STELLE *(The Star)*, ***21*** IL MONDO *(The World)*, RE DI SPADE *(king of swords)*, *ace of coins.*

THE OCCULT TAROT

In studying the tarot, one wonders if there was originally a more mystical intention in their creation than game playing. The earliest extant tarot decks, the Italian tarocchi of the mid-fifteenth century, invite speculation with their mythological and religious images. Tarot cards were used for fortune-telling as early as 1527, in the play *Caos del Triperuno,* by Merlini Cocai. In a scene from the work, a young man, Limerno, composes sonnets based on readings of tarocchi cards done for two men and two women. It was not until the late eighteenth century, however, that the tarot was recorded as having definite occult and magical symbolism. In 1781, Court de Gebelin wrote *Le Monde Primitif,* in which he called the tarot an Egyptian work that was a mystical synthesis of all human knowledge. Etteilla (died 1791) was inspired by de Gebelin's work and popularized the idea of the tarot as an occult medium.

The enigmatic symbolism of the tarot and the study and imagination of occultists and artists since Etteilla's time have led to the creation of many fascinating tarot decks, including the nineteenth-century decks by the followers of Etteilla, and by Oswald Wirth and Falconnier. Tarock decks are now favored by card players, whereas tarot decks are used for meditation, magic and divination, or are simply enjoyed for their art. The twentieth century has seen the production of hundreds of decks by artists and occultists famous and unknown.

Oswald Wirth Original Cards, 1889 Twenty-two cards engraved and hand-painted on cardboard are apparently from the edition of 350 decks issued in 1889 by E. Poirel under the title *Les 22 Arcanes du Tarot Kabbalistique.* Each card has a title in French, and originally each had a number in Arabic and a Hebrew letter, but on many of the cards the number and letter have been obscured by dark paint. The cards are framed with a colored border, with no apparent symbolic scheme used in choosing the colors. The Hebrew letters, where still visible in this deck, were altered on cards 8 *LA JUSTICE,* 9 *L'ERMITE,* 10 *LA ROUE DE FORTUNE,* 12 *LE PENDU,* 14 *LA TEMPERANCE,* 16 *LE FEU DU CIEL,* 17 *LES ETOILES* and 19 *LE SOLEIL.* Apparently they were changed to reflect the system of correspondences for tarot cards and Hebrew letters as put forth by the twentieth-century occultist Aleister Crowley. In fact, this deck probably once belonged to Crowley himself. Five Oswald Wirth cards from another pack, in the author's collection, have borders that are not as heavily painted, and one can see that the original letters and numbers correspond to those in the 1889 Papus book, *Le Tarot des Bohemiens,* in which Wirth's original designs were reproduced.

Card 12 *LE PENDU* (The Hanged Man) is signed and dated, *OSWALD WIRTH/PARIS 1889.* According to Wirth, The Hanged Man signifies the pure renunciation of the self to a higher power, and perhaps Wirth wished to ally himself with such an aspiration by signing that card.

Oswald Wirth revised his deck and published the new designs in 1927 in the book *Le Tarot: des Images du Moyen Age* (reprinted in 1966 by Tchou Editeur). The designs were printed as decks in 1966 by Tchou Editeur, Paris, and in 1975 by U.S. Games Systems, Inc., New York. The changes made for the 1927 Wirth cards are noted in the caption of the 1889 deck.

Wirth's deck is one of the first occult decks based on the traditional Tarot of Marseilles. When Arthur Edward Waite created the Rider-Waite Tarot, Wirth's deck was clearly a strong influence.

Falconnier Tarot, 1896 Twenty-two Major Arcana illustrate the book *Les XXII LAMES HERMÉTIQUES DU TAROT DIVINATOIRE: Exactement reconstituées d'après les textes sacrés et selon la tradition des Mages de l'ancienne Égypte (The XXII Hermetic Pages of the Divinatory Tarot: Exactly reconstituted after the sacred texts, and after the tradition of the Magi of ancient Egypt).* The black and white designs are by Maurice Otto Wegener, and the text by R. Falconnier.

The book, in French, was first published in 1896, and was republished in 1976 by Collection Belisane, Nice, France. The designs of the original edition were intended to be cut out of the book, pasted onto cardboard, and colored by hand. The reprint is accompanied by twenty-two Major Arcana already in card form. An actor in La Comédie-Française, R. Falconnier set out to create a "Hermetic Tarot" faithful to the images of Egyptian sacred art. In the preface, the author refers to the work of Etteilla, Levi, Papus, Oswald Wirth and Stanislas de Guaita. Interestingly, he cites the 1760 Tarot of Marseilles by N. Conver (see Volume I, *The Encyclopedia of Tarot*) as one that is closest to the "traditional" tarot.

The designs of Falconnier and Wegener probably inspired several Egyptian decks of the twentieth century. Comte C. Saint-Germain published in 1931 a deck with designs almost identical to those of Falconnier and Wegener. C. C. Zain (Elbert Benjamine) also may have been inspired by Falconnier and Wegener, as evidenced by the designs of the Sacred Tarot, first published in 1936, now published as the Church of Light Tarot. The cards of the Egipcios Kier deck also bear some elements of the work of Falconnier and Wegener.

Letters from a magical alphabet, the Alphabet of the Magi, are in the lower right corners, but there are no titles or numbers on the cards. The titles and numbers given here are from the book, as are the following descriptions.

Falconnier concludes the introduction to his work by offering his tarot to occultists "who may be surprised that a comedian would pursue such abstract studies, but after all, the theater is a modern tarot, which revives the past and often predicts the future evolution of the human spirit." The thought is a reminder that the *triumphs,* the original tarots, may have been based on figures of medieval drama and Renaissance festivals and that the tarot is a natural reflection of the drama of life in the world.

Pen and Ink Designs, circa 1901 Twenty-two Major Arcana drawn in ink and colored by hand seem to have been copied from the designs of Oswald Wirth, either from Wirth's edition of 350 decks issued by E. Poirel, or from the illustrations of Wirth's cards that appeared in *Le Tarot des Bohemiens,* by Papus. Both Papus's book and Wirth's deck were published in 1889. The hand-written signification at the bottom of each card is taken from Papus's book, while the divinatory meanings written on the right margin of each card are from *Practical Astrology,* by Comte de Saint-Germain. William Keller's date of 1880 for this deck appears early, and the deck was probably made after 1889. Each card is titled in French, numbered, and has a Hebrew letter. A zodiacal or planetary sign appears on each of the cards except for 0 *LE FOU,* 1 *LE BATELEUR* and 13 *LA MORT.* The pictures are more crudely drawn and colored than the Papus book illustrations or Wirth's cards. In the caption, differences between this deck and the original Wirth cards are noted, and the significations and the divinatory meanings are translated from French.

Oswald Wirth Tarot TOP ROW: ***0* LE FOU** *(The Fool) shows a man, in a jester's costume and a sloping hat, dragging one stick while carrying a bundle over his shoulder with another stick. A cat sinks its teeth into his leg, but he hardly notices. He walks blindly toward a precipice, where a crocodile awaits him. His face is anguished and he represents dissipation.* ***1* LE BATELEUR** *(The Magician) stands at a table holding a baton in the air. His suit is multicolored and his hat forms a lemniscate, symbol of mental power and will. On his table are three coins, a sword and a cup. Wirth equated these symbols of the suits of the Minor Arcana with the precepts of occult work: "To know [cups], to dare [swords], to will [batons], and to be silent [coins]." Wirth's revised edition of this card shows only one coin on the table and the ground is more hilly.* ***2* LA PAPESSE** *(The Popess) has the Hebrew letter beth. She is seated before two columns between which a cloth is hung. On her head is a triple tiara topped with a crescent moon. Her cloak is fastened in front with a band, and under it, on the front of her dress, are two strips of cloth that cross. In her left hand are the keys of the sun and the moon, symbolic of reason and intuition. In her right hand is a book which she holds partially open. The book can be understood only if the Popess offers the keys she holds. The handles of the keys are a double ring and three interlocking rings, while in the revised design the handles are triangular and trilobate. The floor is checkered. In the revised design the face of the Popess is more veiled and she wears a double tiara. The side of her throne on the revised design is a sphinx.* ***3* L'IMPERATRICE** *(The Empress) has the letter gimel, faintly visible on the right of the title. The winged lady sits on a bench, and around her crowned head are twelve stars, nine of which are visible, for the signs of the zodiac. She holds a shield emblazoned with an eagle, symbol of the mind sublimated to the spiritual, and she holds the scepter of her rule by power of her purity, sweetness and beauty. A crescent moon is under her foot. A major change that Wirth made in his revision was turning the crescent so that its points are down.* ***4* L'EMPEREUR** *(The Emperor) sits on a cube with one leg crossed behind the other, holding an ornate scepter and a globe. The symbolic scepter indicates a force that is both expansive and elevating, a noble aspiration. On the breastplate of his armor is a sun and a moon. The revised deck gives the Emperor a more elaborate scepter and takes the armor from his legs. A heraldic eagle, with a lyre symbolic of the Greek god Apollo on its breast, is on the side of the throne.*

SECOND ROW: ***6* L'AMOUREUX** *(The Lovers) has the letter vau and the zodiacal sign of Taurus. A man stands at a fork in the road, his hands crossed over his chest. On his left is a woman wearing a floral wreath on her head, while on his right is a woman wearing a crown and a dress with winglike sleeves. Above, Cupid, in the midst of a large luminary, blindly aims an arrow at the man. The revised design removes the blindfold from Cupid's eyes.* ***VII* LE CHARIOT** *(The Chariot) shows a blond warrior standing in a chariot. His epaulets are crescent moons, and on his crown are three stars. He holds a scepter in his right hand. The chariot is draped with a cloth on which are ten stars and a sun disk in the center. On the front of the chariot is a winged sun disk, and below, a symbol of the unity of the sexes. The sphinxes that draw the chariot are really one animal, joined at the waist. The revised design shows three stars on each side of the front of the canopy and a star on the extreme left and right.* ***VIII* LA JUSTICE** *(Justice) has the letter lamed painted over the original letter on the card, heth. A woman sits on a throne that has high sides, and in her left hand is a scale. She holds a sword upraised in her right hand. A tall, rounded crown is on her head, and a flat chain of metal squares is draped around her shoulders. The design was altered in 1927 to change the necklace into rounded braided links and the crown became more cylindrical.* ***9* L'ERMITE** *(The Hermit) had the letter teth which was altered to yod. He wears a long, hooded robe and holds up a lamp. A coiled snake is at his feet, and in his left hand is a bamboo cane. The design remained essentially unchanged by Wirth in his revision.* ***10* LA ROUE DE FORTUNE** *(The Wheel of Fortune) has its original letter, yod, changed to kaph. Anubis, the Egyptian god of the dead and, to Wirth, genius of good, ascends the wheel, while Typhon, the genius of evil, descends. A sphinx bearing a sword balances the wheel at the top. Two serpents at the base of the wheel recall the caduceus that Anubis holds in one of his hands.*

THIRD ROW: ***11* LA FORCE** *(Strength) shows a woman in a crown with a lemniscate brim holding open the jaws of a lion. She wears a dark cape with a large collar. The claws of the lion bristle out in the revised edition, and the mane of the lion is curlier.* ***12* LE PENDU** *(The Hanged Man) has the letter teth painted over the lamed that was originally on the card. He hangs by one foot, with the other foot crossed behind him. Money falls from two sacks in the crooks of his arms. The gallows from which he hangs is supported by two logs with a total of twelve severed branches, signifying the twelve signs of the zodiac.* ***13* LA MORT** *(Death) shows a skeleton who rakes the ground with a scythe to harvest the heads of a king and a woman, and hands and a foot. The skeleton Wirth revised has a grin on its countenance.* ***14* LA TEMPERANCE** *(Temperance) has the letter mem painted over nun. An angelic woman with wings pours water between two vases. A disk is on her forehead. A flower droops in the background.* ***15* LE DIABLE** *(The Devil) is a creature with the head of a goat, the wings of a bat, women's breasts and goat legs. It stands on a pedestal made of a cube. In its right hand it holds a torch and in the left a lamp. The symbol of the planet Mercury is at its loins. Chained to the pedestal are a male and a female demon. The revised edition shows a devil with a scaly lower torso, replacing the skirt of this card.*

BOTTOM ROW: ***17* LE FEU DU CIEL** *(Fire of Heaven) originally had the letter ayin, which is now painted over with kaph. Two men, one crowned and one bareheaded, fall from a crumbling tower as lightning strikes from the sun. Sixteen bricks and sixteen tear shapes fall. The revised edition shows seven bricks and sixteen multi-colored circles falling.* ***17* LES ETOILES** *(The Stars) portrays a nude woman who kneels on the bank of a pond, pouring water from two vases, one giving to the ground and the other to the pond. A butterfly is perched on a flower nearby. Above, eight stars shine, one larger than the others. The stars have eight points each. A cliff is visible at the front of the scene. The Hebrew letter is altered and unrecognizable.* ***18* LA LUNE** *(The Moon) has a dotted inner frame. A wolf and a dog howl at the moon from the foot of two towers. A path dwindles into the distance among the hills in the background. The moon sheds drops of blood, while a crayfish crawls from a pond.* ***20* LE JUGEMENT** *(Judgment) shows three figures, one with back turned, emerging from the ground with hands folded in prayer. Above, an angel among the clouds blows a trumpet decorated with a banner of a cross. The angel wears a round headdress on the front of which is a disk. Rays stream from the cloud.* ***21* LE MONDE** *(The World) depicts a lightly veiled woman standing on one foot in the center of a wreath. She holds two wands in one of her hands. At the four corners of the pictures are a man, an eagle, a lion and a bull.*

Aleister Crowley Collection, Humanities Research Center, University of Texas, Austin, Texas

Falconnier Tarot TOP ROW: ***I* Le Mage** *(The Magician) stands upright, wearing a white robe of purity. He wears a circle of gold around his head as a symbol of eternal light, and his right hand holds a scepter topped with a circle as an emblem of fertile intelligence. He lifts this emblem to the sky to indicate his aspirations toward wisdom, science and morality. His left hand extends toward the earth to indicate that he dominates matter. In front of him, on a cube, are a cup for the passions of humanity, a sword with which to fight error, and a coin of gold as recompense for hard work. Around his waist a serpent bites its tail as a symbol of eternity. The ibis on the cube is the symbol of vigilance.* ***II* Le Sanctuaire** *(The Sanctuary) represents occult science as a woman seated between the two pillars of good and evil. She is crowned with a lunar crescent and her face is veiled, because the truth is not visible to the profane. On her chest is a solar cross, an emblem of universal generation, and on her knee a scroll is partially covered with her mantle, since the mysteries of sacred science are shown only to initiates. Her tiara represents the power of intelligence illuminated by wisdom, the crescent moon. The moon is to her right.* ***III* La Nature** *(Nature) is represented by a woman seated on a cube covered with eyes, emblematic of the vision of Hermes. Her feet rest on a crescent moon, because matter is subject to spirit. She is crowned with twelve stars for the zodiac; the solar aura that surrounds her head indicates the force of creative intelligence. She holds in one hand a scepter surmounted by a globe in token of her dominance of the world, and in her other hand she supports an eagle whose head turns toward her, reflecting the wish of the human spirit to return to its initial principle: God. (Although the bird is described as an eagle in the book, it actually seems to be the Egyptian vulture goddess Nekhebet, the protectress of the royal family.) Venus rules the card.* ***IV* Le Vainqueur** *(The Victor) is a man wearing a helmet, symbol of the power to conquer. He is seated on a cube of accomplishment. The scepter he raises is that of the mages, earned through study of the sacred, and his left hand points toward his material dominion. The dove on his chest symbolizes innocence and his crossed legs form a triangle indicating the power of the human spirit within the three measures of infinity: height, breadth and depth. The cat on the cube symbolizes the thought of the mage, which can see through the darkness of night.* ***V* L'Hiérophante** *(The Hierophant), the high priest of Isis, is seated between two columns of the sanctuary, which symbolize law and the liberty to obey or disobey. One of his hands rests on a cross with two arches and one bar, the symbol of creative genius that traverses the three worlds: spiritual, intellectual and physical. With his other hand he makes the sign of silence. At his feet two kneeling men representing good and evil are submissive to the sovereign of the arcana. The symbol of Jupiter is on his left.*

SECOND ROW: ***VI* L'Epreuve** *(The Ordeal) shows the neophyte hesitating between two routes and trying to choose between two women who symbolize Vice and Virtue. From the sky, a cat-being aims an arrow at the flesh of the figure of Vice, warning of the punishment that follows the person who chooses the easy way of Vice over the austerity of Virtue. Taurus rules this card.* ***VII* Le Triomphe** *(Triumph) depicts a warrior in a chariot with four pillars, which symbolize the four elements and support a starry canopy. The cubical chariot is the monument of the warrior's victory over obstacles. The warrior wears a circle of gold on his head for eternal light. In his right hand he holds the sword of victory and, in his left hand, a scepter whose top is a square (for matter), a circle (for eternity) and a triangle (for spirituality). He wears a cuirass as an emblem of strength, and it is ornamented with three square angles for judgment, will and action. The sphere supported by two spread wings on the front of the chariot indicates the exaltation of the power of intellect in the infinity of time and space. Two sphinxes are yoked to the chariot, one white for good, and the other black for evil; the two submit to the mage who is triumphant in his ordeal. The symbol on the upper left is of the sun and the symbol on the right is Gemini.* ***VIII* La Justice** *(Justice) shows a woman seated on three steps of the three worlds. She is crowned with iron, for she is inflexible, and a blindfold over her eyes indicates that she does not make allowances for the social position of the guilty. She holds the scale and the sword with which she judges and punishes. The lion symbolizes the strength of Justice and the sphinx on the lion's back, the eyes of God that look into the hearts of the wicked. The winged tortoise is the repentance that lifts the weight of guilt, and the winged genie is the divine justice that determines human justice. The symbol of Venus is on the left and the symbol of Cancer is on the right.* ***IX* Le Sage** *(The Sage) walks with the lamp of intelligence discreetly covered with his mantle. He carries a staff that symbolizes strength acquired with experience. The symbol on the left is of Jupiter and on the right is the symbol of Leo.* ***X* Le Sphinx** *(The Sphinx) shows the wheel of destiny mounted on one side by the winged, owl-headed deity Knephta, the genius of goodness, and on the other side by the evil Typhon, who appears on card XV. The winged sphinx at the top represents the four forces of human will: to know, to dare, to act and to be silent. It holds in its claw a javelin of supreme justice. At the foot of the wheel's support are two serpents, the antagonism between opposing but equal forces. Mercury is on the left and Scorpio on the right.*

THIRD ROW: ***XI* La Force** *(Strength) shows a young woman opening the jaws of a lion. She wears an elaborate headdress of serpents, an eagle and birds' wings. Her strength is drawn from the training of her will and from her life's experiences. She is ruled by Mars.* ***XII* Le Sacrifice** *(The Sacrifice) depicts a man who hangs by one foot from a pole resting between the trees, each of which has six severed limbs. His hands, bound at the wrists, release four gold coins and one of his legs is crossed over the other. The hanged man is murdered for an ideal. The inverted triangle formed by his legs indicates that he is a victim of evil. He releases the gold coins, making his ideas accessible to others, and they will grow at the right time. The twelve branches of the trees symbolize the twelve signs of the zodiac, which are reborn without ceasing in the course of the years. The moon is on the left and Libra is on the right.* ***XIII* La Mort** *(Death) shows a skeleton armed with a sickle. This arcanum depicts the fictional end of men, who are reborn through their sons as nature is constantly born from organic matter. The rainbow symbolizes the immortality of the spirit.* ***XV* Le Thyphon** *(The Typhon) is the genius of evil, with the body of a hippopotamus, the head of a crocodile, the feet of a goat, the breasts of a woman and the genitals of a man. From its navel a serpent emerges, symbolizing the birth of evil. He rises among chaos and ruin. In one hand he raises the torch of destruction, and in the other he bears the scepter of division and hate, formed by an angle pointing down around a circle. At his feet are two people with goats' heads, symbolizing the enchainments of vice; they have fallen like beasts. The horn on Typhon's nose indicates the revolt against the divine spirit. Saturn and Sagittarius are at the top of the card.* ***XVI* La Pyramide** *(The Pyramid) is struck on its tip by lightning. Two men, one crowned, fall from the top into the void. This arcanum symbolizes the conflict of directed evil forces, and the destruction of human pride and false science. Jupiter and Capricorn, at the bottom, rule the card.*

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BOTTOM ROW: ***XVII* L'Étoile** *(The Star) depicts a young, nude woman who symbolizes truth, one leg on the earth and the other in the sea. She pours two cups of Benevolence and Love, the balm that soothes the suffering of humanity. The sea represents the bitterness of sad days. Above the maiden is a star with eight points, symbol of the Universe and the divine triad. In the center is the emblem of the occult law, "That which is above is as that which is below." Seven smaller stars represent the seven planetary types of humanity. Behind her is a flower, a symbol of hope, and the butterfly above is the symbol of adversity. Above the butterfly is Mercury.* ***XXII* La Nuit** *(The Night) shows two pyramids, the white representing true science, and the black representing false science. Two dogs in the foreground howl at the moon, which is partially obscured by clouds. The dogs symbolize good and evil. A scorpion is between the dogs as the emblem of perversity, the great mystery of vice. On the white pyramid are Venus and Aquarius.* ***XVIII* L'Amour** *(Love) shows a young man and a young woman under the rays of a brilliant sun. They hold each other's hands and stand in a circle of flowers. The symbol within the sun is that of universal generation. Jupiter and Pisces rule the card.* ***XIX* Le Réveil** *(The Awakening) is sounded on a trumpet by an angel who flies over the grave of a family. The dead are judged, and the sleeping soul is awakened from error and passiveness. Saturn rules the card.* ***XXI* L'Athee** *(The Atheist) is a blind man carrying a beggar's purse over his shoulder. He has a staff and walks beside a fallen obelisk, behind which a crocodile with open jaws waits. He is the atheist who does not see divine light: he carries the crimes of his errors and faults. His staff does not guide him as he goes obliviously toward the crocodile. The obelisk represents the ruin of his works. An eclipse is above him.*

Pen and Ink Designs TOP ROW: ***0* LE FOU** *(The Fool) has the Hebrew letter shin. His signification is "Impulsive act; folly," and divinatory meanings are "Blind presumption, success followed by failure, ambush."* ***1* LE BATELEUR** *(The Magician) has the Hebrew letter aleph. The signification is "Male consultant" and the divinatory meanings are "Creative will, preparations, mysterious things."* ***2* LA PAPESSE** *(The Popess) has the Hebrew letter beth and the moon as her symbols. The artist of these designs left out the crossed bands of cloth on the front of the Popess's dress under her robe. The signification is "The female consultant," and the divinatory meanings are "Antagonism, division, struggles from women."* ***3* L'IMPERATRICE** *(The Empress) has the letter gimel and the planet of Venus. The signification is "Action; initiative," and the divinatory meanings are "Perfect love, harmony, marriage, fecundity, action."* ***4* L'EMPEREUR** *(The Emperor) is matched with the letter daleth and the planet Jupiter. His signification is "Volition" and divinatory meanings are "Realizations, accomplishments, durable things, finances, protection."*

SECOND ROW: ***5* LE PAPE** *(The Pope) has the letter heh and the zodiacal sign of Aries. The signification is "Inspiration," and divinatory meanings are "Strife, suffering, fire, evil inspirations, anger."* ***6* L'AMOUREUX** *(The Lovers) has the letter vav and the zodiacal sign of Taurus. The signification is "Love," and the divinatory meanings are "Indecision concerning marriage, danger of seduction or adultery."* ***8* LA JUSTICE** *(Justice) has the letter heth and the zodiacal sign of Cancer. The signification is "Justice," and the divinatory meanings are "Moral debt, contest, rupture, separation, trial."* ***9* L'ERMITE** *(The Hermit) has the letter teth and the zodiacal sign Leo. The signification is "Prudence," and the divinatory meanings are "Autocracy due to merit, experience gained, strength and wisdom, mysteries."* ***11* LA FORCE** *(Strength) corresponds to the letter kaph and the planet Mars. The claws of the lion are completely retracted, while on the original Wirth cards they protrude slightly. The signification is "Strength," and the divinatory meanings are, "Success through audacity, obstacles surmounted."*

THIRD ROW: ***12* LE PENDU** *(The Hanged Man) has the letter lamed and is under the sign of Libra. On Wirth's design, sacks of money appear in the crooks of the figure's arms. The signification is "Ordeal; sacrifice," with the symbol for personality, as Wirth described it, between the words. The divinatory meanings are "Position reversed, danger of violent or public death (by women)."* ***13* LA MORT** *(Death) has the letter mem. The signification is "Death" and the divinatory meanings are "Ambitions, hopes disappointed; Arcane of the reaper, of the destroyer."* ***14* LA TEMPERANCE** *(Temperance) has the letter nun and the zodiacal sign of Scorpio. The woman on this card is a frowning brunette, while Wirth's figure is a gentle faced blonde. The signification is "Temperance; economy," while the divinatory meanings warn, "Great peril in one's position, if one lacks initiative and decision."* ***15* LE DIABLE** *(The Devil) has the letter samek and the sign for Sagittarius. The 1889 illustrations in the Papus book, the original cards and the revised 1927 designs by Wirth show the devil with its left arm inscribed* Solve, *upraised, holding a lamp, while the right arm, inscribed* Coagula, *is lowered and holds a torch. This design reversed the function of the arms and neither arm is inscribed. The signification card 15 gives is "Immense force; sickness," and the divinatory meanings are "Predestination, fatality affecting children or marriage."* ***16* LE FEU DU CIEL** *(The Fire of Heaven) has the letter ayin and the symbol of Capricorn. Eleven bricks and an indeterminate number of tear shapes fall; the original Wirth card shows sixteen bricks and sixteen tear shapes. The significator is "Ruin; deception," while the divinatory meanings are "Reversal of position, danger of catastrophe."*

BOTTOM ROW: ***17* LES ETOILES** *(The Stars) has the letter pe and the planetary sign of Mercury. The pen and ink design seems to show the figure pouring water from both vessels into a pond, whereas Wirth's originals show the water flowing into the pond from one vessel and on the land from the other vessel. The signification is "Hope" and the divinatory meanings are "Arcane of hope; favorable or miserable according to the sign."* ***18* LA LUNE** *(The Moon) has the letter sadhe and the symbol of Aquarius. Apparently the person copying the cards misunderstood the original image, substituting in the background a wall for the two hills traversed by a road. The signification is "Hidden enemies; danger," and the divinatory meanings are "Impeded love, false security because of women, hidden dangers."* ***19* LE SOLEIL** *(The Sun) has the letter qoph and corresponds to the sign of Gemini. The signification is "Material happiness, fertile marriage," and the divinatory meanings, "Good fortune, happy marriage, honors, glory, fame."* ***20* LE JUGEMENT** *(Judgment) corresponds to the letter resh and the planet Saturn. The signification is "Change of position," and the divinatory meanings are "Fatal destiny, delays, impediments, obstacles that keep arising."* ***21* LE MONDE** *(The World) has the letter tau and the sign of the sun. The signification is "Success assured," and the divinatory meanings are "Great elevation, considerable honors, in spite of circumstances."*

Cary Collection of Playing Cards, The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut

ETTEILLA (Pseudonym of Alliette)

Etteilla, an occultist who lived during the stormy days of revolutionary France, is still famous today for his esoteric studies and for the decks that bear his name. His birthdate is unknown. He worked as a hairstylist and as an algebra teacher, but after reading Court de Gebelin's work, he plunged wholeheartedly into the occult. He used Etteilla, his name spelled backward, as a nom de plume. A large following favored him and paid well for services such as astrological readings, card readings, custom-made talismans, classes and personal spiritual counseling. Etteilla's dignified bearing and circumspect manner of reading for his clients added to his popularity. He died on December 12, 1791. Subsequent opinions about him have ranged from cynical to idolatrous. Whether through his personal celebrity or through authentic learning and wisdom—or a combination of the qualities—Etteilla is a major figure in the history of tarot.

Etteilla apparently did not publish any decks during his lifetime. In his 1783 and 1785 books, *Les Tarots ou Manière de se Récréer avec le Jeu de Cartes Nommées Tarot,* four cards—9 *LA JUSTICE,* 10 *LA TEMPÉRANCE,* 11 *LA FORCE* and 12 *LA PRUDENCE*—were illustrated, and the illustrations strongly resemble the popular version of the Etteilla Tarot published by Grimaud.

It cannot be determined whether the rest of the designs in Grimaud's deck, the most popular version of the Etteilla tarots, were directed by Etteilla. The Grimaud designs are apparently based on the deck issued by an unknown publisher around 1800. It may be that the other cards in the Grimaud deck were designed independently by a follower of Etteilla, perhaps even after Etteilla's death. Another version of the Etteilla designs, called *78 Tarots Egyptiens Grand Jeu de L'Oracle des Dames,* was published by Delarue and differs significantly from the Grimaud version, although it follows the same numbering system. These cards date from after 1890, a century after Etteilla died. The designs of the 1890s deck were used on Tarocco Egiziano. They were also issued in facsimile in 1983 by Héron-Boéchat Frères of Bordeaux.

Etteilla Illustrations, 1783 and 1785 The four cards 9 *LA JUSTICE,* 10 *LA TEMPÉRANCE,* 11 *LA FORCE,* and 12 *LA PRUDENCE,* representing the four cardinal virtues, are the only designs that appear as illustrations in Etteilla's original books published in 1783 and 1785. The designs are similar to cards from subsequent so-called Etteilla decks.

Etteilla Tarot, circa 1800 One of the Etteilla decks was published at the end of the eighteenth century or in the early nineteenth century. The deck is packaged in a green original box (not shown) that has a label reading *Le Grand Jeu de Cartes Soixante-Dix-Huit Tarots, pour Dire La Bonne Aventure. L'Art de tirer les Cartes et les Tarots, ou l'explication de ce jeu, est en 1 vol. in-18, et coûte 3 fr. pris à Paris, et 3 fr. 50 c. franc de port, chez Mongie aîné, libraire, Boulevard Italien, No. 10.* (The Great Game of Seventy-Eight Tarot Cards, for Telling Fortunes. The art of telling the cards, or instruction for the game, is in one volume, and cost 3 francs in Paris and 3 francs, 50 centimes to send, at Mongie Bookseller, Boulevard Italien, No. 10.) The hand-colored cards follow the designs shown on the current Grimaud deck, with identical pictures, except that there is no sun on card 1 and the figures on 14 *Force Majeur* (not shown) are nude on this deck and clothed on the Grimaud deck. An unusual feature of this deck is that all Major Arcana cards (1 through 21 and 78) except numbers 1 and 8, plus the court cards and the tens and aces of each suit are titled in script on the pictures. For example, *Le Pape* and *La Papesse* are on the king and queen of cups. The suit of swords features court cards showing the aristocracy of Germany, the suit of batons, France, the suit of cups, the pope and the popess with a Roman knight and the pope's valet. The suit of coins shows the sudan of Egypt, the queen of Sheba and a vagabond (the valet). The aces feature mystical objects. The backs are blank.

Etteilla Illustrations ***9* La Justice** *(Justice) was illustrated in* Maniere de se Récréer avec le Jeu de Cartes Nommées Tarots; Pour servir de premier Cahier à cet Ouvrage, *published in 1783. It shows a woman seated on a throne, holding a scale that has a globe weight on one side and a triangular pan on the other. She holds a knife in her right hand. Her body is oriented toward the left of the card, while her head is turned to the right, and she wears sandals. Her expression is gentle and happy. The* Justice *card published by Grimaud shows a more severe woman seated toward the right, facing the left. She holds the same kind of scale, and a knife is outstretched in her left hand. Her feet are completely covered and drapes border the top of the picture. More of the floor and background show in the card, but the throne is essentially the same.* ***10* La Tempérance** *(Temperance) was shown in* Maniere de se Récréer . . . Pour servir de troisiéme Cahier . . ., *published in 1783. A winged figure stands with one foot on a globe and the other on a triangular slab. A solar disk is on its forehead and it pours liquid from one jug to another. The figure wears a strapped jumper over a long-sleeved top with a ruffled collar. The card from the deck shows a more delicate winged figure, also wearing a solar disk, in the same pose. The attitude of the figure in the deck is stiff, whereas in the book illustration the figure bends from the hips to create a more graceful stance. The word "THOT" is written on the figure's waistband on the Grimaud card.* ***11* La Force** *(Strength) was published in* Maniere de se Récréer . . . Pour servir de second Cahier . . ., *published in 1785. A crowned woman sits on a throne with a lion meekly laying its head in her lap. Her elbow rests on a wooden tripod. The main difference between this illustration and 11* Force *of the deck is the lion's expression. In the book, the lion looks pathetically up at the woman, whereas in the deck he stares out of the card.* ***12* La Prudence** *(Prudence) was illustrated in* Manière de se Récréer . . . Pour servir de quatrieme Cahier . . ., *published 1785. Both the picture in the book and the picture on the card show a woman wearing a headscarf and carrying a tau cross twined by serpents. The woman in the book wears a loose mantle over her dress and she lifts her skirts as she steps over a serpent. The figure on the card lifts her dress as she approaches the serpent. Rocks and greenery are in the background of the card.*

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Collection of the author

German Etteilla Tarot, mid-nineteenth century An Etteilla deck was published in the mid-nineteenth century, with German titles in script on the cards. The cards are printed by lithography and hand-colored. On the first twelve cards, except for card 7, the meanings at the bottom of the cards are printed upright, and on the rest of the cards they are printed upside down, or reversed. The four elements and each of the "seven days of creation," *(schoepfungstag)* are designated on the cards. A previous owner of the deck hand-wrote in a marbled-paper-covered booklet English translations of most of the card titles. The designs on the cards are like those by Z. Lismon. Arabic numerals appear in the upper left and lower right corners, and symbols of the zodiac appear in the left margin of the first twelve cards. Cards 13 through 17 bear two numbers, one the number of each card and the other an esoteric number. Back design in red is a repeating pattern of a star of six tear drops surrounded by a circle of dots.

Etteilla Tarot, mid- to late nineteenth century A pack of seventy-eight Etteilla cards was made by an unknown publisher in the second half of the nineteenth century. The cards were printed by lithography and stencil-colored, with surfaces polished. The absence of a tax stamp makes it likely that the deck was published before 1890. The designs are identical to those of the current Grimaud pack, except for the titles, and probably the same plates were used for both packs. Cards show standard Etteilla designs, with Arabic numerals in the lower right and upper left corners, and upright and reversed meanings on the tops and bottoms. Cards 1 through 12 have the signs of the zodiac printed in their upper left margins. Cards 2 through 8 show the "seven days of creation" and cards 2 through 5 correspond to one of the four elements, as indicated at the top and bottom of each card. Back design (not shown) is a blue swirl with eight arms.

Etteilla Tarot, ca 1800 TOP ROW: **L'Homme pour qui on consulte** *(Male consultant) shows the sky through a break in storm clouds, without the sun that is shown on the Grimaud pack.* ***4*** **Dépouillement** *(Privation);* **Air** *shows a woman pouring water from two jugs to form a pond* (La Piscine). *Above her is a star in a circle and the symbols of the planets Saturn, Mercury, Mars, the Moon, Venus and Jupiter. In the upper right corner is another star.* ***5*** **Voyage; Terre** *(Earth) depicts a woman holding a bough and encircled by a snake biting its tail. A pyramid is on each side of her. The card is called* L'Evangile *(The Evangelist). The four symbols of the gospel writers, the man (Mark), the eagle (John), the bull (Luke), and the lion (Matthew), surround the circle.* ***9*** **La Justice** *is represented by a woman, in spite of the title "Salomon." She is crowned and holds a scale and a knife.* ***10*** **La Temperance; Le Prêtre** *(The Priest) shows* L'Ange de l'Apocalypse *(The Angel of the Apocalypse) pouring water from one jug to another. She stands on a triangle and a globe and on her waistband is written "Thot."*

SECOND ROW: ***11*** **La Force** *(Strength);* **Le Souverain** *(The Ruler) is labeled "David," but shows a woman seated on a throne, with a lion docilely resting its head in her lap. On her dress is the word "Thot."* ***12*** **La Prudence** *(Prudence);* **Le Peuple** *(The People) portrays a woman walking outdoors carrying Aaron's rod—a tau cross twined by two serpents. She lifts her skirts cautiously as she sees a serpent in her path. "Thot" is written on her dress and the title of the card is "Moyse" (Moses).* ***13*** **Mariage; Union** *shows* Le Grand Prêtre *(The High Priest) uniting two young people in matrimony.* ***15*** **Maladie** *(Disease) shows Aaron, the magician of the Old Testament who helped free the Israelites from the bondage of the Egyptians by surpassing the feats of the Egyptian magi, but later incurred the wrath of Jehovah by casting the Golden Calf.* ***53*** **Espion** *(Spy);* **Imprévue** *(The Unexpected) shows* Le Soldat Allemand *(German soldier) wearing a cuirass and a wide-brimmed hat and carrying a sword.*

THIRD ROW: ***63*** **Extreme; Grossesse** *(Pregnancy) shows* L'épée de St. Pierre *(the sword of Saint Peter) as the ace of swords.* ***23*** **Femme de Campagne** *(Woman of the Country);* **Bonne Femme** *(Good Woman) is* La Reine de France, *the queen of France.* ***35*** **Naissance** *(Birth);* **Chute** *(Failure) shows a hand holding a staff and, at the bottom, a suit sign with the caption* La verge de Moïse *(the staff of Moses).* ***36*** **Homme Blond** *(Blonde Man);* **Homme en Place** *(Man of Rank) is* Le Pape, *the pope, and he gazes into a large cup.* ***37*** **Femme Blonde** *(Blonde Woman);* **Femme en Place** *(Woman of Rank) is* La Papesse, *the Popess.*

BOTTOM ROW: ***40*** **La Ville** *(The City);* **Courroux** *(Wrath) are the meanings for the ten of cups, labeled* Les dix Coupes ou Carreaux. *Normally the cups are equivalent to hearts* (coeurs), *but here they are associated with* carreaux *(diamonds).* ***47*** **Réussite** *(Success);* **Expédition** *shows three cups. The number on the card is a feature that is shown only on this card and on the seven of cups.* ***64*** **Homme Brun** *(Brunet Man);* **Homme Vicieux** *(Vicious Man) is* Le Soudan d'Egypte, *the Sudan of Egypt. He sits on a throne, leaning forward and holding a large coin.* ***68*** **La Maison** *(The Home);* **Loterie** *(Lotterie) is* Les dix Ecus ou Coers, *and associates coins (ecu was a French coin equaling three francs; it is now out of currency) with hearts* (coeurs). *At the bottom a compass and the sun and the moon are shown in a quadrant.* ***78*** **Folie** *(Folly) is* L'Alchimiste ou le fou *(The Alchemist or the fool). He carries a sack on the end of a stick and a bell hangs from his belt. A dog follows him.*

Collection of the author

German Etteilla Tarot TOP ROW: ***1*** Etteilla; Der Forschende *(The Search)*; *zodiacal sign is Aries.* ***2*** Aufschluss *(Elucidation)*; Feuer *(Fire)*; *Taurus.* ***3*** Vorsatz *(Plan)*; Wasser *(Water)*; *Gemini.* ***4*** Beraubung *(Deprivation)*; Luft *(Air)*; *Cancer.* ***5*** Reise *(Rest)*; Erde *(Earth)*; *Leo.* SECOND ROW: ***7*** Unterstützung *(Support)*; Vermehrung *(Increase)*; *Libra.* ***9*** Die Gerechtigkeit *(Justice)*; Die Obrigkeit *(Government)*; *Sagittarius.* ***10*** Die Maesigkeit *(Temperance)*; Die Geistlichkeit *(The Spirit)*; *Capricorn.* ***11*** Die Stärke *(Strength)*; Der Souverain *(The Ruler)*; *Aquarius.* ***12*** Die Klugheit *(Prudence)*; Das Volk *(The People)*; *Pisces.* THIRD ROW: ***13 (14)*** Heirath *(Marriage)*; Vereinigung *(Union)*. ***14 (15)*** Höhere Macht *(Major Force)*. ***15 (16)*** Krankheit *(Sickness)*. ***16 (17)*** Gericht. Meinung *(Sage Opinion)* ***17 (13)*** Sterblichkeit *(Death)*; Das Nichts *(Nothingness)*. BOTTOM ROW: ***24*** Abreise *(Departure)*; Trennung. Zank. Hass. *(Separation, Quarreling, Hatred)*. ***36*** Blonder Mann *(Blond Man)*; Mann aus dem Ort *(Local Man)*. ***48*** Liebe *(Love)*; Sehnsucht *(Yearning)*. ***68*** Das Haus *(The Home)*; Lotterie *(Lottery)*. ***(Unnumbered)*** Thorheit *(Folly)*.

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Etteilla Tarot, mid- to late nineteenth century TOP ROW: **1** Etteilla, Questionnant *(Male Questioner), sign of the zodiac is Aries.* **2** Eclairissement *(Light)*, Feu *(Fire), Taurus.* **3** Propos *(Design)*, Eau *(Water), Gemini.* **5** Voyage, Terre *(Earth), Leo.* **7** Appui *(Support)*, Protection, *Libra.* SECOND ROW: **9** La Justice, Le Legiste *(Juror), Sagittarius.* **10** La Temperance, Le Prêtre *(The Priest), Capricorn.* **11** La Force, Le Souverain *(The Ruler), Aquarius.* **12** La Prudence, Le Peuple *(The People), Pisces.* **13** Mariage *(Marriage)*, Union. THIRD ROW: **14** Force Majeure *(Major Force).* **15** Maladie *(Sickness).* **16** Jugement *(Judgment).* **17** Mortalité *(Death)*, Néant *(Nothingness).* **18** Traitre *(Traitor).* BOTTOM ROW: **19** Misére *(Misery), Prison.* **20** Fortune, Augmentation *(Increase).* **22** Homme de Campagne *(Man of the Country)*, Homme Bon et Sévere *(Just and Severe Man).* **76** Embarras *(Embarrassment)*, Lettre *(Letter).* **78** 0 Folie *(Folly).*

Collection of the author

Z. Lismon Etteilla Tarot, late nineteenth century TOP ROW: ***1*** **Le Chaos** *(Chaos); Etteilla;* Le Questionnant *(The Male Questioner).* ***2*** **La Lumière** *(The Light);* Éclaircissement *(Light)* (ler jour de la création) *(first day of creation);* Feu *(Fire)* (2e élément) *(second element).* ***3*** **Les Plantes** *(The Plants);* Propos *(The Plan)* (3e jour de la création) *(third day of creation);* Eau *(Water)* (ler élément) *(first element).* ***5*** **L'Homme et les Quadrupèdes** *(Mankind and the Animals);* Voyage (6er jour de la création); Terre *(Earth)* (4e élément). ***7*** **Les Oiseaux et les Poissons** *(The Birds and the Fish);* Appui *(Support)* (5e jour de la création); Protection.

SECOND ROW: ***4*** **Repos** *(Rest); Etteilla* (7e jour de la création); La Questionnante *(The Female Questioner).* ***9*** **La Justice;** La Justice; Le Légiste *(The Juror).* ***10*** **La Tempérance;** La Tempérance; Le Prêtre *(The Priest).* ***11*** **La Force** *(Strength);* La Force; Le Souverain *(The Ruler).* ***12*** **La Prudence;** La Prudence; Le Peuple *(The People).*

THIRD ROW: ***14*** **Le Diable** *(The Devil);* Force Majeure *(Major Force);* Force Mineure *(Minor Force).* ***15*** **Le Magicien ou le Bâteleur** *(The Magician or the Juggler);* Maladie *(Sickness).* ***17*** **La Mort** *(Death);* Mortalité *(Mortality);* Néant *(Nothingness).* ***21*** **Le Despote africain** *(The African Despot);* Dissension; Arrogance. ***28*** **Le Huit de Bâton** *(Eight of Batons);* Partie de Campagne *(Picnic);* Disputes Intestines *(Indigestion). On the bottom of the card a hand holds the eight of diamonds.*

BOTTOM ROW: ***57*** **Le Sept d'Épée** *(Seven of Swords);* Espérance *(Hope);* Sages Avis *(Sage Opinion).* ***39*** **Le Valet de Coupe** *(Page of Cups);* Garçon Blond *(Blond Youth);* Penchant *(Propensity).* ***64*** **Le Roi de Denier** *(King of Coins);* Homme Brun *(Brunet Man);* Homme Vicieux *(Vicious Man).* ***68*** **Le Dix de Denier** *(Ten of Coins);* La Maison *(The Home);* Jeu de Hasard *(Game of Chance).* ***78*** **La Folie ou l'Alchimiste** *(Folly or the Alchemist);* Folie *(Folly).*

Z. Lismon Etteilla Tarot, late nineteenth century A seventy-eight-card Etteilla deck from the middle or second half of the nineteenth century was probably published by Z. Lismon of Paris. A booklet of instructions titled *Art de Tirer les Cartes,* by Julia Orsini, is included with the deck. The cards have a blue frame within a white border and are hand-colored. Each card has its title on the left and right margins, and upright *(droit)* and reversed *(renversé)* meanings on the tops and bottoms, and Arabic numerals in all four corners. The designs are standard, with the "seven days of creation" given on cards 2 through 8, along with the four elements on cards 2, 3, 4 and 5.

A subsequent edition was published by Z. Lismon of Paris under the title *Jeu des 78 Tarots Egyptiens, Livre de Thot.* Except for the misspelling of "Eteilla" on card number one, the deck is identical to the previous edition. The deck can be dated to the late nineteenth century by the tax stamp on the two of swords, which was valid between 1890 and 1917. Another edition of the Lismon deck published after 1890 has the correct spelling of the name "Etteilla." The Lismon deck was accompanied by the eighty-four-page booklet titled *Art de Tirer des Cartes,* by Julia Orsini.

Most of the cards in the Lismon decks are like those of the Grimaud deck, but there are variations. On the Lismon decks, 10 *La Temperance* shows a woman standing beside a small elephant. She wears classical robes and holds a bridle, which symbolizes restraint. 12 *La Prudence* is represented by a woman holding a handmirror twined with a snake, and a book. She is dressed in classical clothes that reveal her legs and belly. An owl and an hourglass are at her feet on the right. 15 *Le Magicien ou le Bateleur* (The Magician or the Juggler) manipulates a small figure with his finger and a wand. 21 *Le Despote africain* (The African Despot) has Negro facial features and holds an ostrich feather fan. The designs on cards 10, 12 and 15 resemble the Delarue deck of the 1890s, in contrast to the Grimaud deck. The pips show a symmetrical arrangement of wands, cups, swords and coins in the top panel, and in the lower panel everyday objects, medallions, men's heads and allegorical women, respectively. Back design (not shown) is a blue lattice with a white dot in the middle interspersed with crosses.

Etteilla Prints, late nineteenth century Seventy-eight designs for tarot cards were printed on book paper, hand-painted and bound. The designs are almost exactly the same as those of the deck published by Z. Lismon of Paris in the middle or second half of the nineteenth century. The only apparent differences between the book prints and Lismon's deck are that the titles are printed on the sides of the book pictures in italic letters, whereas Lismon's deck shows the titles in Roman letters, and Lismon's deck has an additional blue border within the margin of each card.

Delarue Etteilla Tarot, circa 1890 to 1900; Grimaud Etteilla Tarot Delarue of Paris published an Etteilla deck around the turn of the century. The tax stamp on the two of swords is illegible, but to judge by the spacing of the letters, it was the stamp valid from 1890 to 1917. The original title was *78 Tarots Egytiens Grand Jeu de L'Oracle des Dames.* A case for the same deck in the British Museum indicates that the designer of the deck was G. Regamey and the lithographer was Haugard-Mauge. Cecilia Fawn Nichols, a psychic and cardreader, has studied the 1890s deck and offers several insights that are valuable in the interpretation of the deck. Nichols applies the Biblical seven days of creation, although they are not shown as captions on the 1890s designs, as they are in the Grimaud deck.

The Grimaud pack presently available was probably based on designs from the late eighteenth century and its Minor Arcana are more occult. The Grimaud numbered suit cards have two panels: the top panels have the suit signs—batons, cups, swords or coins—arranged in symmetrical patterns. The bottom panels show numerological symbols in the suit of wands, but are blank in the suits of cups and swords. In the suit of coins, astrological symbols and allegorical figures are in the bottom panels, and the disks in the upper panels bear astrological symbols. The two of wands shows two green sticks crossed in the mountains. The two of cups shows an alchemical flask twined with two snakes. Flames shoot from its mouth and it is flanked by two chalices. An ocean is in the background. The two of swords shows two swords crossed over a desert landscape. The two of coins is in a volcanic landscape. The ace of coins portrays Apollo.

Etteilla Illustrations by Dumont, 1875 The book *L'Art de tirer les cartes,* by Antonio Magus, was published in 1875 and included illustrations of Etteilla cards that have interesting variations from the most popular types of Etteilla decks. The engraver of the black and white illustrations was Dumont, whose signature appears on card 1. Each card is printed on a separate page and is accompanied by commentary. The Minor Arcana are matched with illustrations of regular playing cards, with correspondences of spades for swords, diamonds for batons, hearts for cups and clubs for coins. Etteilla's name appears on card 1 (not shown). The author apparently had great respect for Etteilla, for he calls card 1 the most excellent card, "King Thoth." Many of the cards are different from those of the most popular Etteilla decks.

4 *LE CIEL* shows God the Father in heaven, floating above the earth. 5 *L'HOMME ET LES ANIMAUX* shows Adam in innocence among animals. Some of the animals correspond to those shown on the 1890s Delarue deck; Adam leads a horse and in the background are a lion, an elephant, a sheep and a llama. 8 *REPOS* shows God the Father seated on clouds above the earth. 9 *LA TEMPERANCE* depicts a hermit kneeling in a grotto. 11 *LA FORCE* shows an image popular in nineteenth-century Italian tarots: a nude man holding open the jaws of a lion. 12 *LA PRUDENCE* shows a woman regarding herself in a mirror that is twined with a serpent. The author described the figure on 13 *LE GRAND PRETRE* as an Egyptian priest and called this the card of marriage because, he says, the Egyptians considered marriage sacred and fundamental. 14 *LE DIABLE* is horned and holds a trident. He rides a winged, scaly monster over flames. 15 *LE MAGICIEN OU LE FAUX DEVIN* is a man in a long robe and tall, peaked hat. 16 *LE JUGEMENT DENIER* shows skeletons roused from their graves. 17 *LA MORT* is a skeleton on horseback, riding through the clouds. 19 *LE TEMPLE FOUDROYE* is a church struck with lightning. Unlike Etteilla, who considered the temple pagan, Magus shows a temple with a cross on its peak.

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Etteilla Prints TOP ROW: ***1.*** Le Chaos, ***2.*** La Lumière, ***3.*** Les Plantes, ***4.*** Le Ciel, ***5.*** L'Homme et les Quadrupèdes. SECOND ROW: ***8.*** Repos, ***9.*** La Justice, ***10.*** La Tempérance, ***12.*** La Prudence, ***14.*** Le Diable. THIRD ROW: ***16.*** Le Jugement dernier, ***17.*** La Mort, ***19.*** Le Temple foudroyé, ***20.*** La Roue de Fortune, ***21.*** Le Despote Africain. BOTTOM ROW: ***22.*** Le Roi de Bâton, ***27.*** Le Neuf de Bâton, ***36.*** Le Roi de Coupe, ***52.*** Le Chevalier d'Épée, ***65*** La Reine de Denier *is also titled* La Reine de Trèfle, *"the queen of clubs."*

Delarue and Grimaud Etteilla Tarots *1* **Le Chaos** *(shown in Volume I), according to Nichols, shows the world in its chaotic beginning, rather than depicting the solar system, as suggested in Volume I. Before creation, all was "without form, and void; and darkness was on the face of the deep" (Gen. 1:2). Nichols also offers the belief that this card is appropriate to the male querent, since men generally will not consult a cardreader until they are in a state of confusion. Grimaud's card 1 (Volume II) shows the sun breaking through heavy clouds similar to those shown in the center of the card from the Delarue deck.*

Delarue card 2 **La Lumière** *(The Light) (Volume II) shows a great light, resembling the sun, for the first day of creation, when God said, "Let there be light . . ." (Gen. 1:3). On this day also night and day were divided from one another. At the top of card 2 of the Grimaud deck (Volume II) a star is shown radiating flames and light. Below, two children hold hands at the base of an obelisk.*

On the third day of creation, which corresponds to Delarue card 3 **Les Plantes** *(The Plants) (Volume I) God separated the earth from the waters and said, "Let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed and the fruit tree yielding fruit . . . ." (Gen. 1:11) The moon is also shown on this card and on card 3 of the Grimaud deck (Volume I), although Genesis relates that the moon was created on the fourth day. The Grimaud deck depicts two dogs at the base of two towers. A crayfish is in the background while the moon shines in a cloudy sky. This card is similar to card 18 The Moon of traditional tarot packs.*

4 Le Ciel *(The Heavens) of Delarue (Volume II) shows the second day of creation, when God "made the firmament, and divided the waters which were under the firmament from the waters which were above the firmament . . . And God called the firmament Heaven." The card shows a geocentric scheme of the solar system, with the moon in the second ring along with two stars, and the sun in the fourth ring. On card 4 of the Grimaud pack (Volume II), a woman pours water from two vases onto the ground. A butterfly is near her and above are various planetary sigils. Card 4 corresponds to 17 The Star of the traditional tarot.*

Delarue card **5 L'Homme et les Quadrupedes** *(Man and the Animals) (Volume I) shows a man with a club standing within a snake biting its tail. Nichols points out the snake is an ancient symbol of wisdom and this representation shows the past and future joined as a sign that one has attained wisdom. The most curious point of this card is that instead of the traditional quaternity—the angel or man, the eagle, the lion and the bull, which have astrological and biblical correspondences—a lion, a horse, a bull and an elephant are shown. On the sixth day of creation, the animals and Adam, the first man, were made. Card 5 of the Grimaud pack (Volume I) shows a woman instead of a man inside the serpent. She holds a palm and stands between two small pyramids. In the four corners are the four evangelical animals, with the appropriate signs of the zodiac above each of them. This card resembles 21 The World of traditional tarot decks.*

Delarue card **6 Les Astres** *(The Stars) (Volume II) shows the zodiac around a geocentric scheme of the universe. This card corresponds to the fourth day of creation, when the sun and moon and stars were created. The Grimaud card 6 (Volume II) depicts a brilliant sun shining on the earth, with stars above, the moon rising and the sigils of Aries and Libra in the sky.*

On the fifth day, to which **7 Les Oiseaux et les Poissons** *(The Birds and the Fish) and the Grimaud card 7 (Volume I) correspond, God said, "Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life, and fowl that may fly above the earth in the open firmament of heaven." The cards in both packs are essentially the same, with the 1890s pack showing land and water, and having an ornamental panel at the bottom of the scene.*

Repos, *the eighth Delarue card (Volume I), represents the seventh day, on which God rested. Eve, who is pictured here holding the fatal apple given to her by the serpent on the tree, was created on the sixth day. Nichols feels that Eve aptly represents the woman consultant, whose curiosity drives her to seek knowledge. Card 8 in the Grimaud pack (Volume I) shows a woman surrounded with mysterious rings of energy. Since only her hair covers her, she is still in a state of innocence, as contrasted with Eve of the 1890s pack who is clothed in leaves.*

The woman representing **La Justice,** *card 9 of the Delarue pack (Volume I), wears a red robe, the color of Mars, which indicates, as Miss Nichols says, that one has to fight for justice at times. On the Grimaud pack (Volume I), the figure of* La Justice *holds a knife instead of a sword and she is crowned. The scale has one pan, and balancing it is a solid weight attached by a chain, as if to imply that justice is immutable.*

La Tempérance, *card 10 of the Delarue pack (Volume II), portrays a woman holding a chalice and a bridle, the virtue of temperance being restraint in all things.* La Tempérance *in the Grimaud pack (Volume I) shows the more familiar image of the angel pouring water between two pitchers.*

Delarue's 11 **La Force** *(Strength) (Volume I) shows a woman with a lion at her feet. The woman symbolizes strength, since she has tamed the beast.* La Force *in the Grimaud pack (Volume I) shows a crowned woman allowing a lion to rest its head in her lap. On her belt is written, "THOT."*

Card 12 of the Delarue pack is **La Prudence** *(Volume I) and portrays a woman holding a hand mirror, on which a snake is coiled, and a book. The snake's head is in front of the mirror, symbolizing that Wisdom is self-reflecting.* La Prudence *in the Grimaud deck (Volume I) shows a young woman carrying a caduceus and lifting her skirts as she encounters a serpent in her path. About the Prudence card, Etteilla said* (Maniere de se Recreer . . . de second Cahier . . .) *that cardmakers, in ignorance, made this card into a picture showing a man upside down, mistaking the remnants of a serpent for a noose, and adding a gallows, creating a hideous image. The pose of the figure on The Hanged Man cards when reversed, he went on, referring to Court de Gebelin, is actually that of one walking with great caution, lifting one foot after another, with the knowledge that there is a dangerous reptile in the area.*

13 **Le Grand Pretre** *(The High Priest) in the Delarue pack (Volume I) shows a priest joining an older man and a young woman in marriage. Card 13 shows essentially the same scene in both decks, but in the Grimaud pack (Volume I) the groom is a youth. The priest wears a miter.*

Delarue card 14 **Le Diable** *(The Devil) (Volume I) dances on a small hill. He has ragged wings, a strange, masklike face, a reptilian tail and clawed feet. In Grimaud's pack (Volume II) the scene resembles that of 15 The Devil in traditional tarots. A winged creature with woman's breasts, a beard and animal feet stands on a pedestal to which a male and a female demon are chained. The creature holds a torch.*

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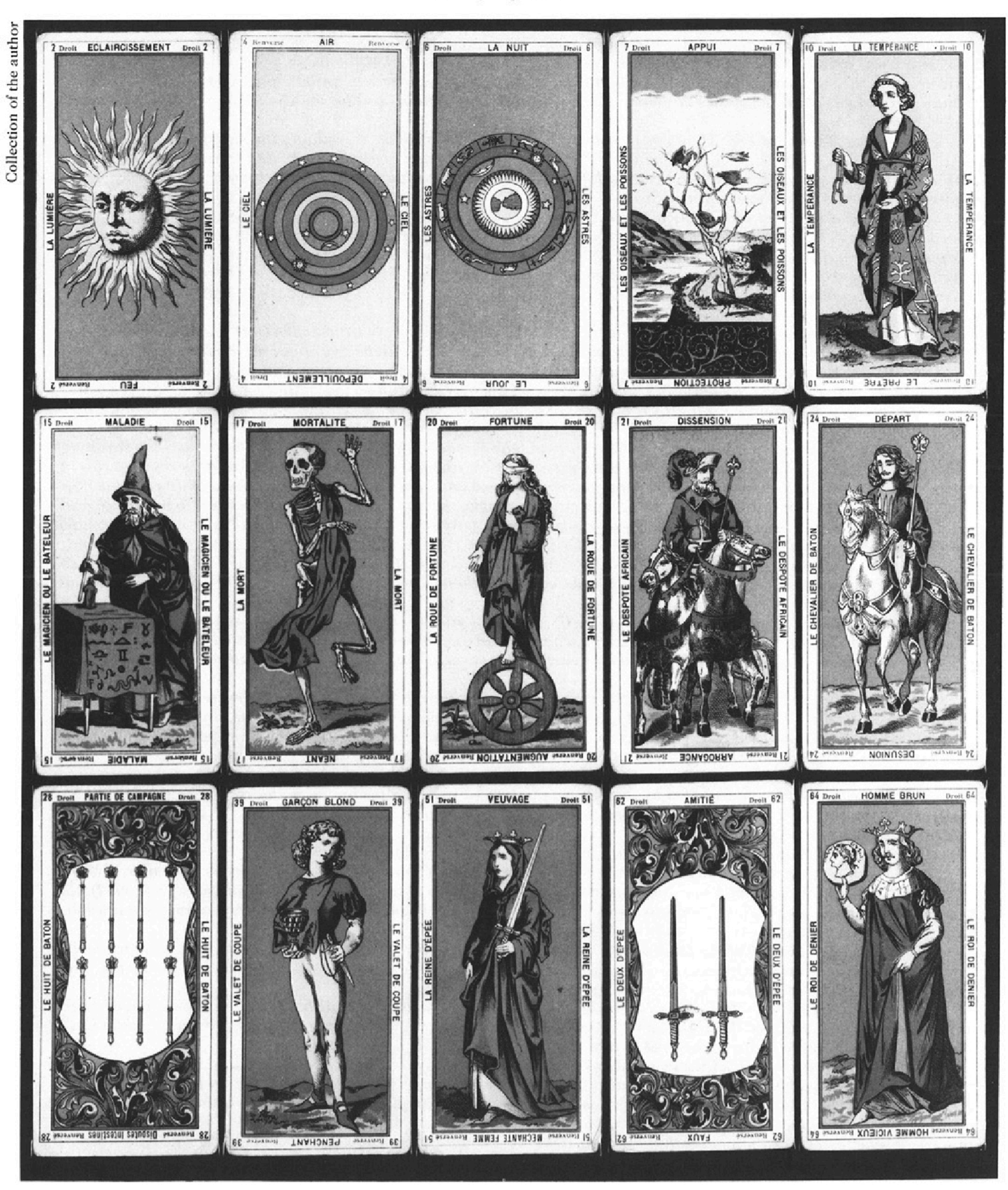

Delarue Etteilla Tarot, circa 1880-1890

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Grimaud Etteilla Tarot, contemporary

15 **Le Magicien ou le Bateleur** *(The Magician or the Juggler) by Delarue (Volume II) shows a man holding a wand, with a small image of a man on a table. Various sigils—astrological and runic—are on the tablecloth. The Magician seems to be guiding the small man on the table, indicating that he may symbolize Fate. Both cards 15 are similar, but in the Grimaud pack (Volume I) the magus has coins, an urn and perhaps cards on the table, on the corners of which are rams' heads. He appears to be the same man as the priest on card 13.*

16 **Le Jugement Dernier** *(The Last Judgment) by Delarue (Volume I) shows two nuns and two priests debating. In the background is a man who extends his hands heavenward as if in supplication to the avenging angel with sword and tongues of flame in the sky. Another man seems to be importuning the group. Grimaud's card 16 (Volume I) shows people being agitated by an angel who blows one trumpet and holds two others. Unlike the 1890s deck, the people on this card all seem to be aware of the angel.*

Card 17 by Delarue, **La Mort** *(Death) (Volume II), bears a dancing skeleton. In* Les Tarots . . . *Etteilla describes the number seventeen as ten, the number of the divine circle, plus seven, the number of the true science through which the individual may one day enter the divine circle. Etteilla considered death a means of self-purification. In the Grimaud pack (Volume I) the figure representing Death is also a skeleton. He has a full robe and holds a scythe while pointing toward the ground, making a much grimmer picture than the merrily dancing 1890s skeleton. In the background are funereal structures, and a large black bird flies overhead.*

The eighteenth card of the Delarue pack is titled **Le Capucin** *(Volume I). Miss Nichols brings to the card the story of the Capucin monk who worked as a spy for Cardinal Richelieu (1585–1642), chief minister to Louis XIII. Richelieu was allegedly in love with the queen, Louis' wife, and he commissioned the priest to be her confessor and then report to him, so that he would know her secrets. This story is behind the meaning of the card,* traitre, *"betrayal." The priest carries a lantern; Etteilla said he must use an artificial light because he is deprived of true light. 18* Traitor *of the Grimaud pack (Volume I) seems to follow the description in Etteilla's book* Les Tarots . . ., *which says the man on the card holds a lamp in spite of the light of the sun. Etteilla does not mention a dog, which appears in the 1890s deck.*

19 **Le Temple Foudroye** *(The Lightning Struck Tower) by Delarue (Volume I) shows a medieval town destroyed by divine fire. In the Grimaud deck (Volume II), lightning destroys a temple that, to Etteilla, symbolized idolatry. When the Delarue deck was published, reforms in the educational system of France created extreme tension between the state and the church. This may be indicated in the picture of the secular building crashing onto the church. The Roman architecture of the building on card 19 of the Grimaud pack (Volume II) may be what Etteilla had in mind when he described the "temple of idolatry."*

Fortune, *number 20 of the Delarue pack (Volume II), shows a woman blindfolded and balancing on a wheel that, Miss Nichols says, symbolizes the seven phases of human life with its seven spokes—infancy, childhood, adolescence, adulthood, middle age and old age, with senility completing the cycle with a return to infantile habits. Card 20 in the Grimaud pack (Volume I) is ruled by a crowned monkey holding a sword. On the hoop below, a man and a mouse circle.*

The last card in the 1890s deck before the Minor Arcana is **Le Despote Africain** *(The African Despot) (Volume II). He rides a chariot pulled by two spirited horses. The despot is a white man, and the card may be a comment on the colonial interest, which was growing at the time, of France in Africa. The twenty-first card of the 1890s pack and the Grimaud pack (Volume II) are very similar, except that in the Delarue pack the man is not armed, as he is in the Grimaud pack.*

Card 78 (Volume I), which Etteilla also called card 0, in the Grimaud pack shows a vagabond carrying a pouch and a cane. A bell hangs at his waist. Bells were used by town criers to draw attention but were also rung by lepers to warn people to keep their distance. A dog follows the man. Card 78 of the Delarue deck, **La Folie ou L'Alchimiste** *(Folly or the Alchemist) (Volume I), shows a court jester with a pouch at his waist. He covers his eyes so he is walking blindly, but as Nichols points out, it is clear that he can easily peep between his fingers.*

Etteilla Illustrations by Dumont *78* LA FOLIE OU L'ALCHIMISTE *and* *20* LA ROUE DE FORTUNE.

XVI

TAROCK PACKS

THE GAME OF TAROCK became very popular in Europe during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The pack used to play the game usually consists of seventy-eight cards, like the tarot pack, although some packs have only fifty-four cards. The twenty-two trumps, with twenty-one numbered cards and one unnumbered "joker," show a variety of scenes and have no iconographic pattern, as do the Major Arcana of tarot decks. The suit cards, with king, queen, knight and valet, and cards numbered 10 through ace, in seventy-eight-card packs, almost always have French suits of spades, clubs, hearts and diamonds. The shortened fifty-four-card pack is the same, except that the six through ace of spades and clubs and the five through ten of hearts and diamonds are omitted.

Since the choice of pictures on the trumps of tarock packs is unlimited by tradition, artists have been free to draw trump images from whatever they felt was of popular interest. Thus, tarock packs are a varied record of the past. Some decks show fanciful mythological creatures, while others attempt more realism in portraying animals, many exotic to Europeans. Occupations and street scenes are shown, as are views of European cities or areas, and also Oriental scenes. Many decks take history as their topic; others focus on popular culture and fashion. A few decks are purely artistic; for example, the Chambéry Flowers Tarock beautifully embodies the art nouveau style.

Modern day tarocks follow the tradition of depicting current images, as seen in the Walt Disney Tarock and the Gendarmerie Tarock. The nostalgic and romanticized scenes of the genre tarocks popular in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are brought "up-to-date" with the satirical Circus Tarock.

The following tarock packs are illustrated in this chapter.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Animal Tarock, Jean Friderich Mayer, 1752–1783/1978 reprint by Hagen & Sørenson A/S
Animal Tarock, Andreas Benedictus Göbl, late eighteenth century
Animal Tarock, François-Jean Vandenborre, circa 1770–1780/1978 reprint by Carta Mundi
Animal Tarock, Claude Rochias, circa 1770
Geographical Tarock, M. l'Abbé Desprotte, 1780
Mythology Tarock, Claude Burdel, circa 1780
Animal Tarock, Leonzi Schaer, circa 1790
Occupations Tarock, Philipp Wespin, late eighteenth or early nineteenth century
La Fontaine Tarock, Peter Friedrich Ulrich, late eighteenth century/1980 reprint by Edition Leipzig
Drama Tarock, late eighteenth or early nineteenth century

NINETEENTH CENTURY

Fish Tail Tarock, Hermann Berend Zimmermann, early nineteenth century
Animal Tarock, J. DuPort, circa 1815–1820
Animal Tarock, "J.A.W.," circa 1821
Carl Holdhaus Genre Tarock, 1824
World Scenic Tarock, Mathias Koller, circa 1825
F. Gumppenberg Tarock, circa 1820–1825/1982 reprint by Edizioni del Solleone
Classical Deities Tarock, Jos. Schneider, circa 1830
Animal Tarock, Jacob Holmblad, circa 1830
Animal Tarock, Joseph Dimler, 1834
Vienna Scenic Tarock, J. G. Uffenheimer, 1834
Animal Tarock, Max Uffenheimer, circa 1837
Rebus Tarock, Max Uffenheimer, 1845
Tarocco della Corona Ferrea, Ferdinando Gumppenberg, circa 1840/1979 reprint by Edizioni del Solleone
Revolution of 1848 Tarock, Joseph Glanz, 1848
Salzburger Tarock, Ignatz Preisinger, circa 1850/1983 reprint by Druckhaus Nonntal
Encyclopedic Tarock, mid-nineteenth century
Classical Deities Tarock, mid-nineteenth century
Ritter Genre Tarock, Ritter & Cie, second half of nineteenth century
Topsy-Turvy Tarock, Theodor Otto Sutor, after 1854/1982 reprint by Edition Leipzig
Military Tarocks, Joseph Glanz, 1854, 1858, 1865
Austro-Hungarian Tarock, Joseph Glanz, 1864
Hunting Tarock, Ferd. Piatnik, 1856
Austrian Scenic Tarock, V. Ferd. Pittner, circa 1865
Danish Scenic Tarock, Lauritis Peter Holmblads, circa 1837–1890
Waverly Tarock, Joseph Glanz, 1863
Viennese Types Tarock, Josef Glanz, circa 1866–1877
Costume Tarock, Joseph Glanz, 1865
Hungarian Tarocks, nineteenth century

Ludwig Jos. Jaeger Genre Tarock, circa 1877–1881
Cancan Tarock, Ferd. Piatnik & Söhne, circa 1880
Patriotic Tarock, 1882–1899
Josef Glanz Genre Tarock, circa 1882–1899
C. Titze & Schinkay Genre Tarock, 1885
Classical Deities Tarock, LeQuart, late nineteenth century
Classical Deities Tarock, B. P. Grimaud, circa 1890–1917
Piatnik Genre Tarock, circa 1900
Gigerl Tarock, Josef Glanz, late nineteenth century

TWENTIETH CENTURY

Animal Tarock, G. Geûens-Willaert, circa 1910
Chambéry Flowers Tarock, B. P. Grimaud, 1910
J. Müller & Cie Genre Tarock, circa 1910
POW Tarock, 1914–1918
Green Spade Tarock, August Petrtyl & Son, 1922
Aug. Denk & Co. Genre Tarock, early twentieth century
Hermansen Tarock, Emil Jensen, 1939–1945
Western Playing Card Company Genre Tarock, circa 1940
JMS Genre Tarock, circa 1960
Catel & Farcy Genre Tarock, 1960s
Tarocky 165, circa 1969
Alpine Tarock, Heraclio Fournier, S.A., 1977
Walt Disney Junior Tarock, Grimaud Ducale, 1979
Circus Tarock, Editions Glenat, 1980
Tahitian Tarock, Michèle Feltrin, circa 1980
Gendarmerie Tarock, B. P. Grimaud, circa 1980
Maxim's Tarock, B. P. Grimaud, circa 1982
Louis Vuitton Tarock, Heron/Boèchat Fréres, circa 1982
Lanvin Tarock, B. P. Grimaud, 1985

Animal Tarock by Mayer, 1978 facsimile of deck circa 1752 to 1783 In 1978 the Danish printing company Hagen & Sørenson A/S, Odense, issued a reprint of a Danish animal tarock pack for the firm's seventy-fifth anniversary. The limited edition is of unknown quantity. The original deck, by Jean Friderich Mayer, was issued sometime between 1752 and 1783 and is presently housed in the National Museum in Copenhagen. It is believed to be the oldest extant printed deck from Denmark. The prototype of the deck was probably imported from Belgium, where Vandenborre and other cardmakers made similar animal tarocks.

The original cards were made from woodcuts and were stencil colored by hand. The trumps and court cards have full-length figures. The trumps are Roman numbered at both ends, but the pip cards (not shown) are unnumbered. The ace of spades (not shown) carries an almost indistinguishable tax stamp. The back design of the reprint is a diamond pattern in red on a white field. The reprint was issued in a paper wrapper that matches the back design, and was accompanied by a forty-two-page booklet by K. Frank Jensen. The page of clubs identifies the original maker by a shield that reads: *Par Jean Friderich Mayer.* Below that is the Danish heraldic shield of three lions surrounded by hearts.

Animal Tarock by Göbl, circa 1765 to 1792 A seventy-eight-card tarock pack was made by Andreas Benedictus Göbl of Munich toward the end of the eighteenth century. Göbl is known to have been active from 1765 to 1792. The maker's name is on the valet of clubs, *Andreas Benedictus Göbl,* and the city is on the king of diamonds, *MINCHEN.* Three tax stamps appear on the deck. On the seven of spades and the ace of spades is a stamp labeled *IMPOST,* "duties," and it shows a crown over a circle on the inside of which are two crossed swords in one half and a pattern on the right. On the ace of spades is another stamp labeled *LEIPZIG,* for the German city of that name. Additional writing at the top is illegible. The trumps of the deck depict different kinds of animals. The designs are original in style, but they bear a resemblance to the tarot decks by Mayer and Ioia, both German contemporaries of this deck. The pictures on many cards are naive and charming. For example, card XV shows a turtle with a bouquet of flowers on its back.

Animal Tarock by F.-J. Vandenborre, 1978 facsimile of deck circa 1770 to 1780 Carta Mundi of Belgium published a facsimile of a seventy-eight-card animal tarock pack originally woodblock printed and stencil colored by hand, circa 1770 to 1780, by François-Jean Vandenborre of Belgium. The full-length trumps depict animals in outdoor scenes between double-ended Roman numerals. The courts are double-ended. The valet of spades contains a ribbon text, *De chez F. I. Vandenborre* and, similar to the Mayer deck, the valet of hearts holds a standard that shows the monogram "VDB." The back design shows a repeating pattern of suns within hexagons, printed in blue on a white background.

Animal Tarock by Claude Rochias, circa 1770 The seventy-eight-card tarock pack made around 1770 by Claude Rochias of Neuchâtel (Neuenburg), Switzerland, is typical of Germanic animal tarocks made around the end of the eighteenth century. The deck is woodblock printed and stencil colored. At least three other makers published packs almost identical to that of Rochias: F. Bouchard of Switzerland or Belgium, Leonzi Schaer of Switzerland and an unknown maker. Several other animal tarocks, including the one by Göbl, have essentially the same scenes, with different compositions and details. The cardmaker's name is on the valet of clubs.

Geographical Tarock by M. l'Abbé Desprotte, 1780 Published in 1780 by the M. l'Abbé Desprotte at Parma, Italy, the seventy-eight-card Geographical Tarock pack with French titles depicts different countries and continents on the trump cards. Each card is woodcut printed and stencil colored. A thin border includes the designations *NORD* (north), *EST* (east), *SUD* (south) and *OVEST* (west). The suit equivalents are outlined by the *Explication* card. Swords are represented by Italy, staves by Germany, cups by France and coins by Spain. The pip cards of each suit are numbered I through X and the four court cards are numbered XI through XIV. The cards are also divided by color: the trumps are blue, Italy is gray, Germany is pink, France is green and Spain yellow. The back design shows one large and two small armillary spheres with the names Florence above and Tofani below. The cards were made in a time when much of the world was unexplored, and maps often faded off into mysterious blankness.

Collection of the author

Mayer Animal Tarock TOP ROW: ***Joker** wears harlequin pants and plays a recorder. **I** Harlequin holds a glass and a sausage, **II** stag, **III** dog, **IV** camel, **V** wolf.* SECOND ROW: ***VI** Wolf with a bird, **VII** wolf reclining, **VIII** unicorn, **IX** boar, **X** heraldic ostrich, **XI** lion.* THIRD ROW: ***XII** Monkey praying to the moon and eight stars, **XIII** caged bird outside, **XIV** wolf, **XV** rooster, **XVI** hen laying eggs, **XVII** wild cat.* BOTTOM ROW: ***XVIII** Horse, **XIX** sheep, **XXI** bear, knight of spades, jack of clubs, jack of hearts with banner reading "F.J.M.," initials of maker.*

Collection of Gene Hochman

Göbl Animal Tarock TOP ROW: ***Joker, I** Fool carrying a sausage in his left hand, **II** hart, **III** a carnivorous animal capturing a rabbit, **IV** camel, **V** fox or wolf eating a bird.* SECOND ROW: ***VIII** Unicorn, **X** lion, **XI** lion, **XII** monkey eating fruit in the moonlight, **XIII** alligator with a human in its mouth, **XIV** wolf.* THIRD ROW: ***XV** Turtle with a basket of flowers on its back, **XVI** frog swimming, **XVII** cat holding a fish in its mouth, **XIX** lamb resting, **XX** goat, valet of spades with a small dog jumping on his leg.* BOTTOM ROW: *Seven of spades, ace of spades, valet of clubs holding a small child or statue, queen of hearts, knight of hearts, king of diamonds wearing a Turkish turban.*

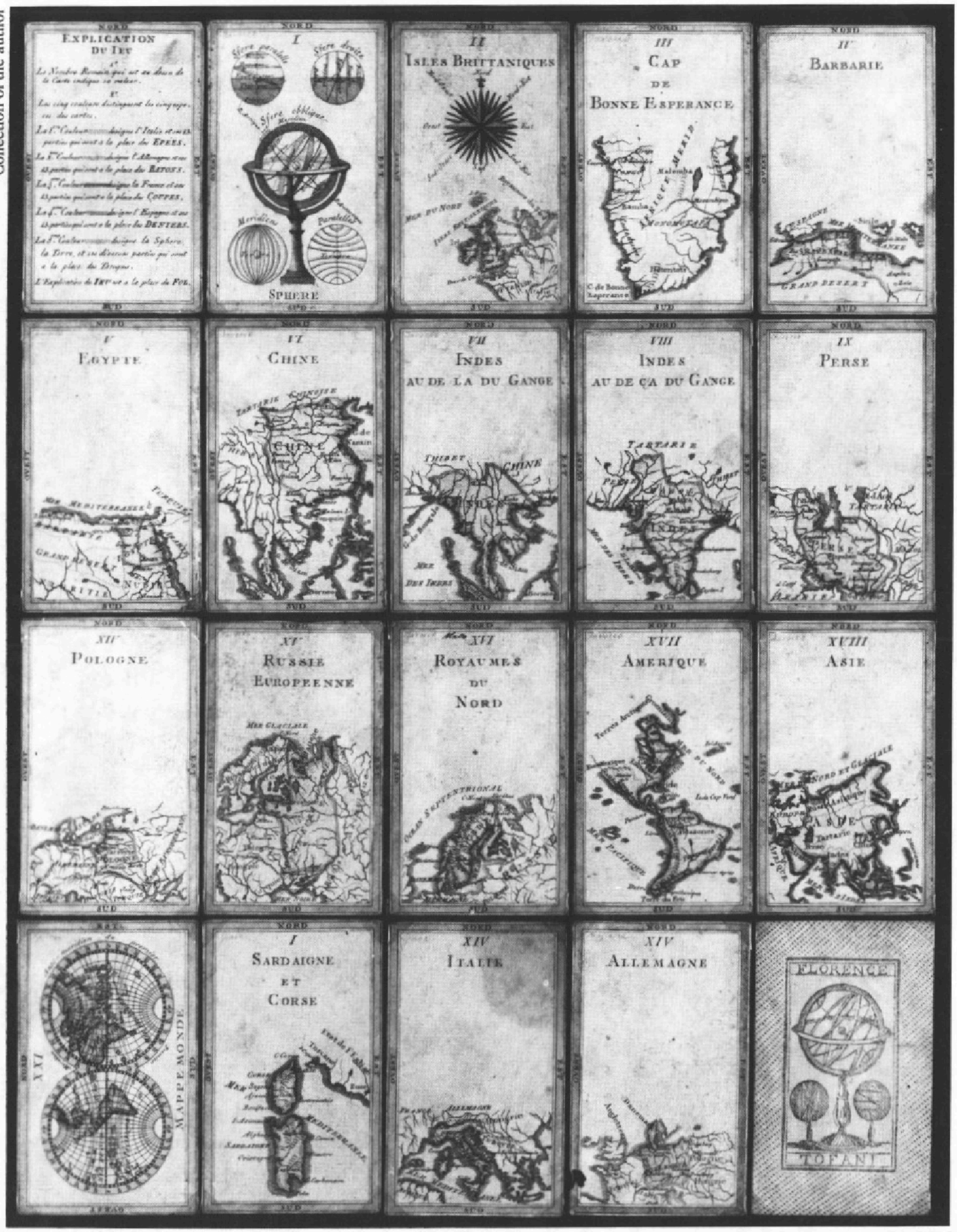
Collection of the author

Vandenborre Animal Tarock *The trumps and courts of this tarock made in Belgium circa 1770 to 1780 are very similar to those of the Mayer Tarock made in Denmark circa 1752 to 1783.*

From a private collection

Rochias Animal Tarock TOP ROW: *Unnumbered "Excuse" card shows a harlequin playing a flute. I Comic figure armed with a sword and a sausage, II hart, III dog, IV camel.* SECOND ROW: ***VII** A timid rabbit, **VIII** unicorn, **X** lion, **XI** lion, **XII** a monkey eating fruit.* THIRD ROW: ***XIII** Man-eating crocodile, **XIV** hyena, **XVII** cat eating a fish, **XIX** lamb, **XX** prancing goat.* BOTTOM ROW: ***King of spades** wears a breast medallion that shows a person's head emerging from thick coils. **Valet of spades** enjoys the eager affection of a dog. **Valet of clubs** holds a child or statue of a child in his right arm. **Knight of hearts** rides a spirited horse. **Queen of diamonds** holds a shield on which is a flower.*

Collection of the author



Geographical Tarock TOP ROW: *EXPLICATION DU IEU (Explanation of the game) replaces the Fool;* **I** *SPHERE;* **II** *ISLES BRITTANIQUES (British Isles);* **III** *CAP DE BONNE ESPERANCE (Cape of Good Hope);* **IV** *BARBARIE (Barbary).*

SECOND ROW: **V** *EGYPTE (Egypt);* **VI** *CHINE (China);* **VII** *INDES AU DE LA DU GANGE (India east of the Ganges River);* **VIII** *INDES AU DE ÇA DU GANGE (India west of the Ganges River);* **IX** *PERSE (Persia).*

THIRD ROW: **XIV** *POLOGNE (Poland);* **XV** *RUSSIE EUROPEENNE (Western Russia);* **XVI** *ROYAUMES DU NORD (Northern Kingdoms);* **XVII** *AMERIQUE (America) depicts only the Eastern seaboard and the Southwest of North America, and most of what is now Canada is designated* Terres Arctiques *(Arctic Lands);* **XVIII** *ASIE (Asia).*

BOTTOM ROW: **XXI** *MAPPE MONDE (Map of the world) shows the two hemispheres;* **I** *(of the suit of Italy) SARDAIGNE ET CORSE (Sardinia and Corsica);* **XIV** *ITALIE (Italy);* **XIV** *ALLEMAGNE (Germany); back design.*

Collection of Historisches Museum, Basel

Mythology Tarock by Claude Burdel, circa 1780 Fifty-one cards remain from a seventy-eight-card tarock pack made around 1780 by the Swiss cardmaker Claude Burdel of Fribourg. The initials "C.J." appear on the title panel of card XIIII and probably represent the engraver. The charming pictures on the trumps depict animals in mythological context, with titles under the pictures and Roman numerals in garlanded ovals at the tops. The full-length court cards show figures in costumes of the rococo period. The valets fill heraldic rather than military roles.

Animal Tarock by Leonzi Schaer, circa 1790 Seventy-five cards and a rare example of a wrapper remain from a deck made by Leonzi Schaer of Mumliswil. The woodblock deck was printed and stencil colored around 1790, and it bears a strong resemblance to other animal tarocks of its time. Roman numerals are at the top and bottom of each trump. The maker's name is on the valet of clubs, *LEONZI SCHAER*, and the city is on the king of diamonds, *A MUMLISWIL* (of Mumliswil). The identification on the king of diamonds is in French, but the wrapper is in German: *FEINEKARTEN/BEY LEONZI SCHAER IN MUMLISWIL CANT. SOLOTHURN* (fine cards by Leonzi Schaer of Mumliswil, canton Solothurn). The wrapper bears an elaborate decoration of a lion in an oval surrounded by thick ribbons, with a medal overhead topped by a five-pointed star.

Occupations Tarock by Wespin, late eighteenth or early nineteenth century The trump cards from this fifty-four-card pack published in the late eighteenth century by Philipp Wespin of Munster, Germany, depict scenes of people at various occupations. The cards are copper engraved and stencil colored. The valet of hearts contains a message in French giving the name of the maker: *Fabrique de Philipp Wespin a Münster*. The Fool card and the numbered trumps are full-length figures with double Roman numbers, and no titles are given. Pet dogs and cats appear on trumps I, X, XI and XVI. The scenes offer interesting glimpses into eighteenth-century life. For example, card XIII shows the kind of tables used by tailors, who sat on them, legs dangling in the holes, and card XI depicts hairdressers who, as now, are dressed stylishly.

La Fontaine Tarock, 1980 reprint of late-eighteenth-century tarock In 1980 Edition Leipzig reproduced a seventy-eight-card pack published in the late eighteenth century by Peter Friedrich Ulrich of Leipzig. The pictures on the twenty-two trump cards are based on the fables by the French writer La Fontaine (1621–1695). La Fontaine's fables featured animals as the protagonists. The court cards of the four suits are based on allegories of the continents, with spades representing America, clubs representing Africa, hearts representing Europe, and diamonds representing Asia. The maker's advertisement, in German, appears on the kings of the court cards in order of hearts, diamonds, clubs and spades: "All sorts of fine playing cards are made by Peter Friedrich Ulrich, Merchant in Leipzig." Another La Fontaine deck with different designs was published in Leipzig by Industrie Comptoir prior to 1930.

Burdel Mythology Tarock TOP ROW: ***EXECVSE M** shows a jester holding a plaque. **NI** (for No 1?) depicts a boy wearing knee breeches and holding an inscribed coin. **II ZEPHYRE** is the personification of the gentle west wind. Two ducks are in the air, and a grasshopper is below. **III LEDA** is the mortal woman ravished by Zeus when he took the form of a swan. **IIII DIANE**, the hunter goddess, is symbolized by a slain hart and two hounds. **V EVROPE** was abducted by Zeus and taken to Crete. Zeus took the form of a white bull. **VI PAN** is the god of nature, and is shown as a faun playing panpipes.*

SECOND ROW: ***VII CERES**, the goddess of grain, is symbolized by a hen perched on a sheaf of wheat. **VIII VULCAIN**, whose attribute is a lion, was the lame blacksmith of the gods. **VIIII CORYDON** was a conventional name in pastoral poetry for a lovesick youth, or for a shepherd or rustic. The picture shows a sheep reclining near a bucket, a pouch and a flowered staff. **X NEPTVNE** is represented with horses and a trident. **XI L'AVRORE**, or Dawn, shows a rooster crowing as the sun rises. **XII IVNON** shows the traditional attributes of the goddess, peacocks. **XIII PALLAS** is the Roman name for the warrior goddess Athena, who was also the goddess of wisdom. An owl was one of her attributes.*

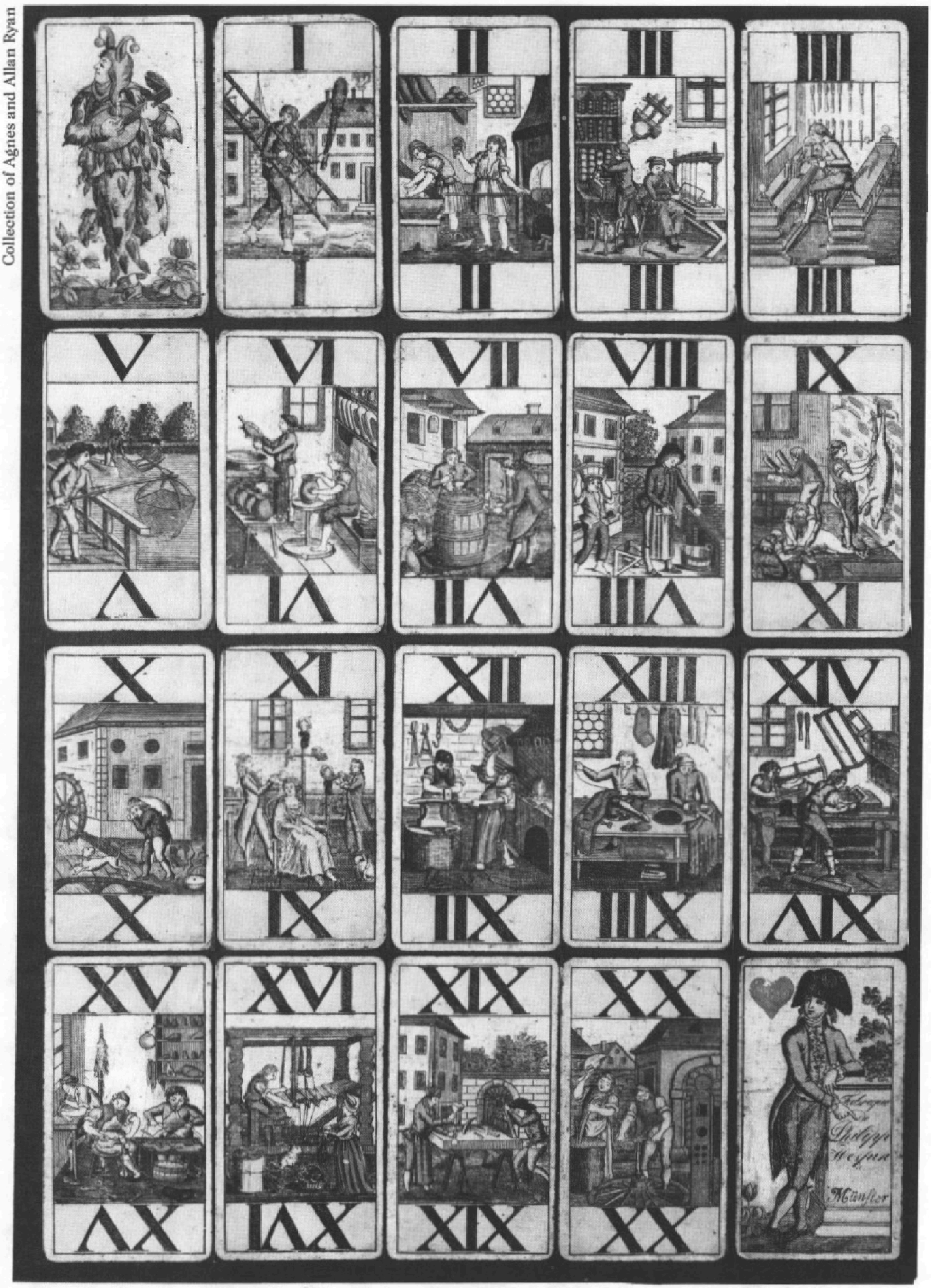
THIRD ROW: ***XIIII FLORE**, has an asterisk and the letters "C.J." near the title. Flora, the personification of spring, is symbolized on this card with a rabbit, generally recognized as a fertility symbol. **XV BACCHVS** shows a leopard reclining with grapes around him. A thyrsus, the pinecone staff used by Bacchanalians, is in the foreground. **XVI MERCVRE** shows a winged helmet with a caduceus leaning against it. Above is a medallion inscribed with the symbol for Mercury. **XVII VENVS** held sacred, among other animals, the goat. Above the goat is the symbol of Venus. **XVIII SATVRNE** depicts a mule with a cloth over it and a sickle behind it. Above is a symbol of Saturn within a sun. **XVIIII MARS** is symbolized by a lion who looks up toward an eight-pointed star with lightning bolts between the points. **XX JVPITER** shows an eagle clasping lightning bolts. Both the eagle and lightning are attributes of Jupiter or, in Greek, Zeus. An inverted symbol of Jupiter is above the bird.*

FOURTH ROW: ***XXI LE MONDE** is a globe on which a monkey sits holding a hand mirror, probably referring to the popular morality that the works of the world are vanity.* **ROY DE PICQVES** *straddles a throne on which is the Fribourg coat of arms.* **DAME DE PICQVES. VALET DE PICQVES** *has his back turned.* **DAMMES DE TREFL** *has its title on a plaque.* **CHEVALIER DE TREFL** *holds a plaque that reads,* DE LA FABRIQUE DE BVRDEL A FRIBOURG EN SVISSE *(from the factory of Burdel in Fribourg, Switzerland).* **ROY DE COEVR.**

BOTTOM ROW: **DAMMES DE COEVR** *portrays a woman holding a flower. Her feet extend over the title panel.* **CHEVALIER DE COEVR. VALET DE COEVR** *carries a herald's staff.* **ROY DE CARO** *carries the title on a plaque rather than in a panel.* **DAMMES DE CARO. CHEVALIER DE CARO. VALET DE CARO** *extends a letter in his left hand.*

Schaer Animal Tarock *Cards and wrapper from deck made around 1790 by Leonzi Schaer of Mumliswil, Switzerland*

Collection of Agnes and Allan Ryan



Wespin Occupations Tarock TOP ROW: *The joker stands on one leg and is dressed in a gaily decorated costume with pompom hat. I Chimney sweep, II bakers making pretzels, III bookbinders, IIII woodturner.* SECOND ROW: *V Fishermen, VI potters, VII coopers, VIII bricklayer, IX butchers.* THIRD ROW: *X Miller, with watermill in background, XI hairdressers, XII blacksmiths, XIII tailors, XIV cabinetmakers.* BOTTOM ROW: *XV Cobblers, with same apron as seen on I* Il Bagattello *of nineteenth-century Italian tarot decks, XVI weavers, XIX woodcarvers, XX wheelwrights, the* unter *or valet of hearts.*

Collection of the author

Drama Tarock, late eighteenth or early nineteenth century The trumps of a seventy-eight-card tarock pack, published in Germany during the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, depict full-length theatrical scenes with titles in German or French. The cards were made from finely engraved plates and colored by hand with stencils. Card IX shows the English Shakespearean actor, David Garrick (1717–1779), playing Macbeth. Several of the cards refer to Gil Blas de Santillone, the lovable rogue popularized by the French novelist "Le Sage" under the title *Histoire de Gil Blas de Santillone,* which was published in four volumes between 1715 and 1735. Some of the cards have no captions. The pages of hearts and diamonds bear the initial "B," which probably stands for any one of several Backofens of Nuremberg, active as cardmakers in the eighteenth century. The initials could also represent Baumgartner of Leipzig (1819–1838), or even the Brothers Bechstein, active in Altenburg around 1830. The trumps are an overall brownish color, except for the jester, which is stencil colored as are the courts and pip cards. The surface of each card is highly polished and the edges of all the cards are finished in gilt. Back design (not shown) is a repeating blue sunburst of twelve rays within a diamond against a white field. The original two-piece pasteboard box has two compartments, with half of the deck held in each compartment.

Fish Tail Tarock by Zimmermann, early nineteenth century The Fish Tail Tarock was probably published by Hermann Berend Zimmermann of Lübeck in the early nineteenth century. The German city of Lübeck, across the Baltic Sea from Denmark, was an important trading center at the time. Another edition of the deck, illustrated in *Tarocke mit Französischen Farben* (Stuttgart, 1984), has large Arabic numbers instead of Roman numerals. The Arabic numbered deck has a wrapper on which is written, *Hermann Berend Zimmermann in Lübeck.* The double-ended trump cards are Roman numbered and the abbreviation "No" appears with each number. Except for trump cards II and IX, which picture aquatic animals, one half of each trump card shows an animal, with the other half depicting the same animal with a fish or mermaid tail. The foliage and background vary on the two scenes of each card. A Danish tax stamp of a shield with lions appears above the suit mark on the ace of diamonds. This stamp was valid during the mid-nineteenth century and indicates that the deck was imported to Denmark.

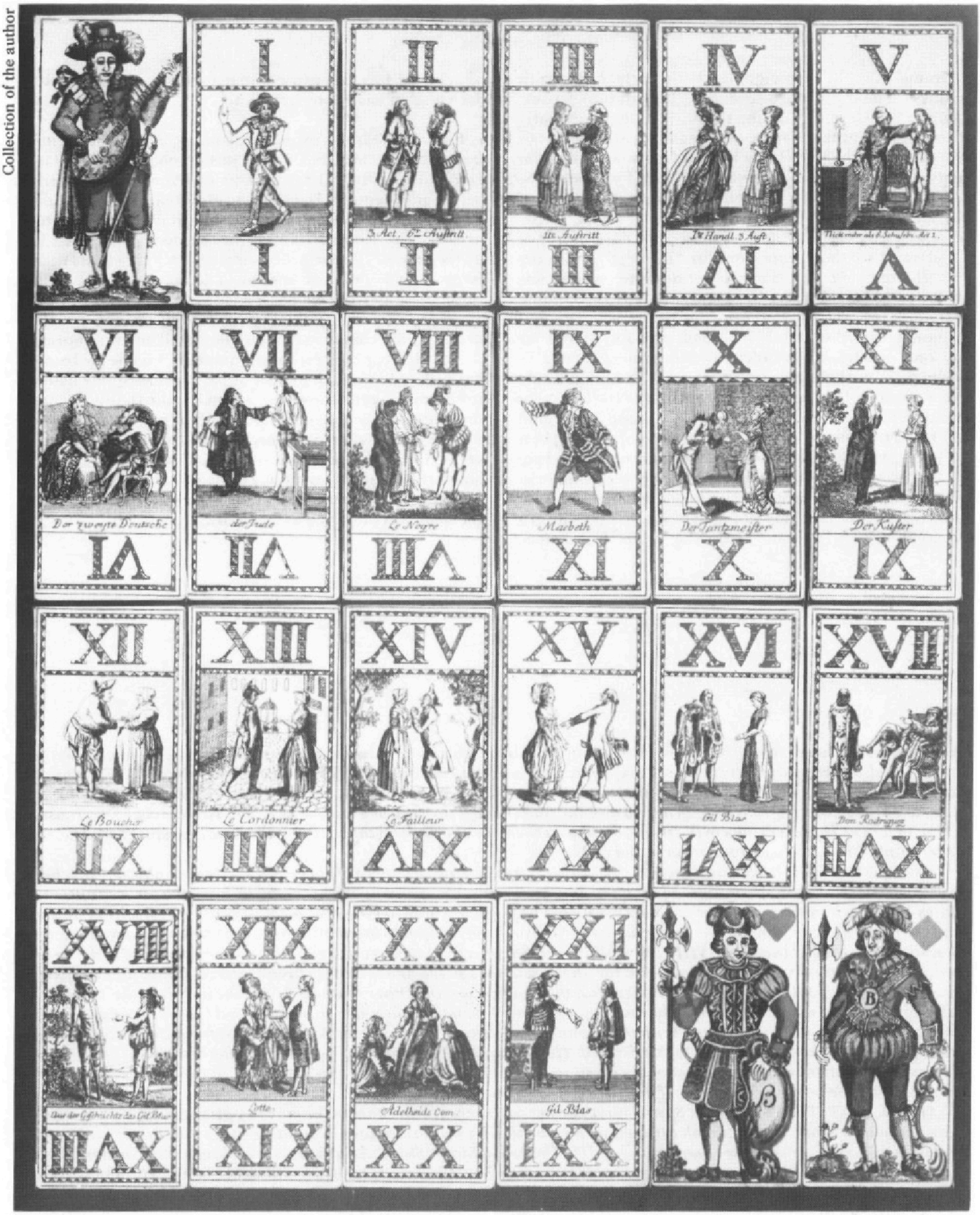
La Fontaine Tarock TOP ROW: ***Joker*** *is unnumbered and shows a masked harlequin playing a lute.* ***I*** *depicts Eulenspiegel, a medieval peasant clown of German folklore, making the sign of the cuckold in a mirror.* ***II*** *"The Fox and the Grapes." A fox, who cannot reach some grapes he wants, declares them to be sour anyway.* ***III*** *"The Frog and the Ox." A frog wishes to be as big as an ox. In her vanity she puffs herself up until she bursts.* ***IIII*** *"The Two Fowls." Two roosters fight over a hen. The loser sulks in the shadows, but as the winner crows on the roof in pride a vulture spies him and ends his triumph. Thus, the survivor wins in the end.*

SECOND ROW: ***V*** *"The Raven and the Fox." A fox tricks a raven out of a piece of cheese the bird was holding in his beak. By using flattery, the fox persuades the raven to sing and, when the raven opens his beak, he loses the piece of cheese.* ***VI*** *relates how the lion employed the ass to serve as his hunting horn. Bragging and seeking praise for flushing animals from the undergrowth, the ass gets a sarcastic reprimand from the lion, who reminds him that he is only a donkey, after all, and not the king of the forest.* ***VIII*** *"The Wolf Turned Shepherd." A wolf tries to disguise as a shepherd in order to prey on a flock. However, when he tries to lure the sheep with his voice he inevitably breaks into a howl, and so betrays himself. A wolf can only be what he is.* ***IX*** *"The Fox, the Monkey and the Other Animals." After the lion dies, the animals try on his crown to see who will be king. The monkey, after much twisting, manages to fit it around his waist, and so is king. The jealous fox lures him into a trap with the promise of treasure. When the monkey asks to be freed the fox asks how he can expect to rule them if he cannot save himself. The animals agree that few are fit to wear the crown.* ***X*** *"The Wolf and the Lamb." A wolf looking for prey accuses an innocent lamb of wrongdoing. No matter what the lamb says to defend himself he will be borne off by the wolf, for the wolf is stronger.*

THIRD ROW: ***XI*** *"The Fox and the Stork" have dinner together. The fox cheats the stork by giving it soup in a shallow plate, which the stork cannot drink through its long beak. The stork retaliates by inviting the fox to dinner and serving food in high jugs which the fox cannot reach.* ***XIII*** *"The Ass in Lion's Skin." A donkey wears a lion's skin and terrifies the neighborhood, but when its trick is uncovered it gets a beating. All are astonished by the spectacle of a lion in cowering flight.* ***XIV*** *"The Jay Dressed in Peacock's Plumes." A vain jay, having found plumage shed by a peacock, dresses himself up and parades before his friends. However, the charlatan is exposed and he earns ridicule instead of the admiration for which he had hoped.* ***XV*** *"The Sick Lion and the Fox." When the lion is ill he notifies all his subjects, the other animals, that he wishes them to visit him, and he guarantees their safety. However, the clever fox doesn't go, for he sees the footsteps of the courtiers leading into the lion's den, but not leading out.* ***XVIII*** *shows a stork pulling a bone from a wolf's throat to save him from choking. When she asks her fee, the wolf replies that she should be glad enough to get away with her life.*

BOTTOM ROW: ***XXI*** *"The Bear and the Two Friends." Two men in need make a deal to kill a bear and sell the skin to a furrier. However, their plan is rudely interrupted by the ferocious attack of the bear.* ***King of spades*** *shows an American Indian chief. He carries a spear and a spade-shaped club.* ***King of clubs*** *wears a leopard skin and a feathered turban while holding a spear and a baton.* ***King of hearts*** *is in armor, with a short sword.* ***King of diamonds*** *is well-armed with a bow and arrows, a sword, an ax and a spear. He wears a brocade jacket, knee pants and a hat with a long feather.*

Collection of the author



Drama Tarock TOP ROW: **Joker** *plays a stringed instrument.* ***I*** *is a comical figure with a bat and a flask.* ***II*** 3 Act. 6r Auftritt *(Act III, scene 6);* ***III*** iir Auftritt *(second scene);* **IV** Ite handel, 3 aupt, *(Act I, scene 3);* **V** Nicht mehr als 6 Schusseln, Act 1 *(No more than six rounds, Act I).*

SECOND ROW: **VI** Der zweyte Deutsche *(The two Germans);* ***VII*** Der Jude *(The Jew);* ***VIII*** Le Negre *(The Negro);* ***IX*** Macbeth; ***X*** Der Tantzmeister *(The Dance Teacher);* ***XI*** Der Kuster *(The Sexton).*

THIRD ROW: ***XII*** Le Boucher *(The Butcher);* ***XIII*** Le Cordonnier *(The Cobbler);* ***XIV*** Le Tailleur *(The Tailor);* ***XV*** *(untitled) shows a man and a woman on stage;* ***XVI*** Gil Blas; ***XVII*** Don Rodriguez.

BOTTOM ROW: ***XVIII*** Aus der Geschichte des Gil Blas *(from the story of Gil Blas);* ***XIX*** Lotte; ***XX*** Adelheide Com.; ***XXI*** Gil Blas; *valet of hearts; valet of diamonds.*

Collection of K. Frank Jensen

Zimmermann Fish Tail Tarock TOP ROW: ***No. I** Harlequin, **No. II** whale on both ends, **No. IIII** horse, **No. V** boar, **No. VII** monkey sampling a fruit.* SECOND ROW: ***No. VIII** camel, **No. IX** swan in the water and on land, **No. X** unicorn, **No. XI** sheep, **No. XII** rabbit.* THIRD ROW: ***No. XIII** dog, **No. XV** cat, **No. XVII** goat, **No. XVIII** giraffe, **No. XIX** bull.* FOURTH ROW: ***No. XX** hog, king of spades, queen of clubs, knight of hearts, ace of diamonds with tax stamp barely visible above the suit sign.*

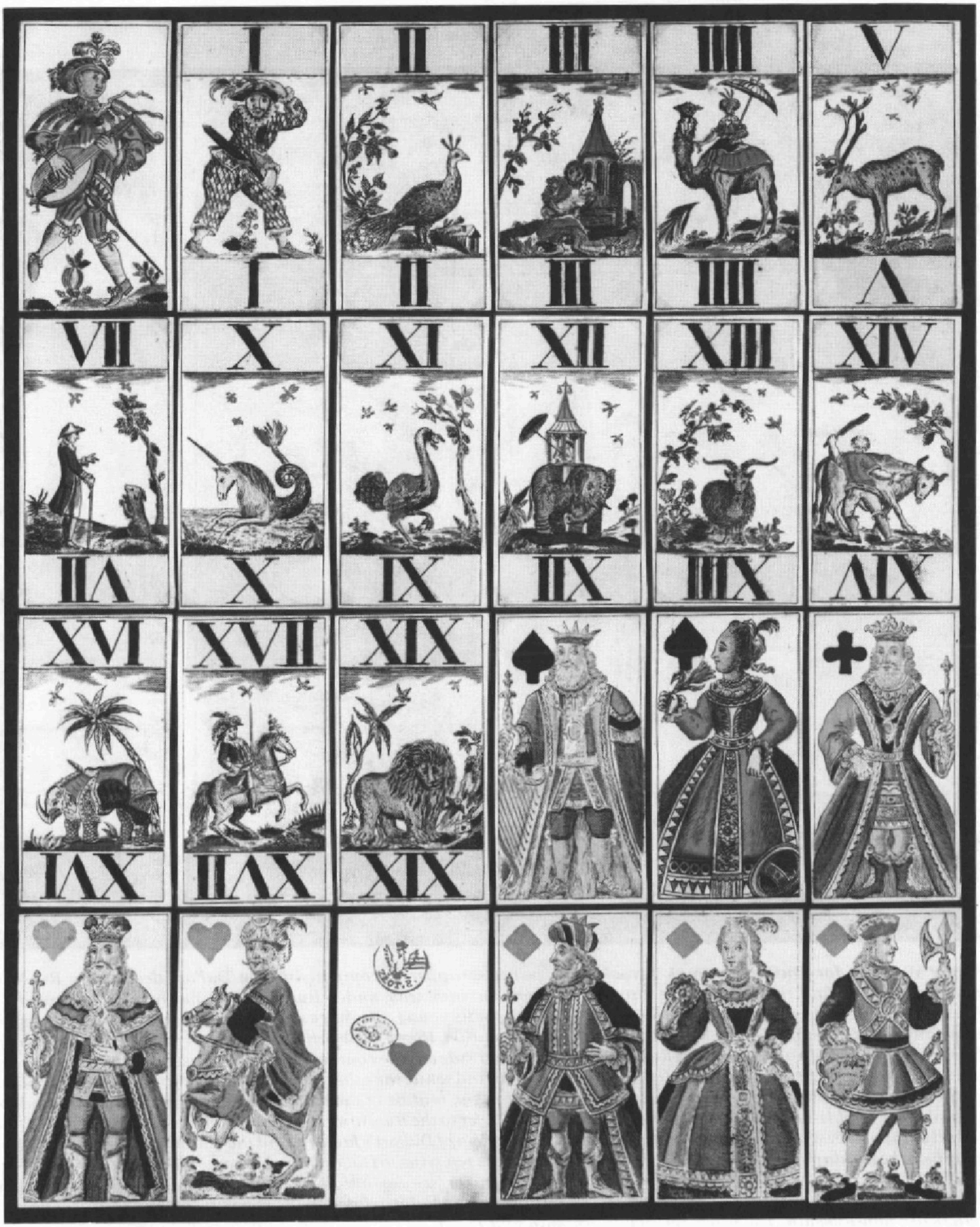
Animal Tarock by J. DuPort, circa 1815 to 1820 A seventy-eight-card pack with French suit signs was engraved and stencil colored by hand, circa 1815 to 1820, by J. DuPort of Warsaw. The knight of diamonds carries a shield bearing in French the name and place of the maker, *Fabrique de Cartes de J. DuPort a Versovie* (Warsaw). DuPort was a cardmaker of French origin who founded the very important Fabryka Kart Kraiowa (National Card Factory) in 1780. Two tax stamps appear on the ace of hearts. The large round Polish stamp depicts the crowned Polish eagle above the Polish text that reads *Zlot. 8,* for currency 8 zloty. The oval Russian stamp with the Russian imperial eagle has the amount in both Russian and Polish: *1 ruble, 20 kopecks.* There is no specific date indicated for publication on the cards. However, Poland's development as a country has been closely tied to its neighbors, especially Russia, and a knowledge of Polish history helps to determine the approximate date of publication of this deck. In 1772, Poland was partitioned for the first time among Russia, Prussia and Austria. The second partition took place in 1793, and the third partition, occurring in 1795, virtually dissolved Poland as a separate nation and forced the resignation of King Stanislas II. However, Russia took primarily eastern provinces, and none of these partitions provided for Russian occupation of Warsaw. In 1807, Napoleon created the Warsaw dukedom under the rule of Saxony. The 1815 Congress of Vienna, after Napoleon's defeat, gave the largest part of Poland to Russia, and the tsar held the title, king of Poland. In 1830 the Poles revolted against Russian rule and drove the Russians out of Warsaw, but the Poles were defeated the following year when Russia reoccupied Warsaw. Thus, the existence of J. DuPort as a cardmaker in Warsaw combined with Polish and Russian tax stamps on the ace of hearts, and the presence of Russian imperial eagles on the wrapper with its inscription confirming that the taxes were for the benefit of the Russian empire, all suggest that the tarot pack by DuPort was probably made during the early nineteenth century. If not made for the local Warsaw population, it was surely suitable for the occupying Russians, or the pack may have been exported to Russia.

Except for the unnumbered card and card I, the designs on the trump cards are full-length figures of animals, with Roman numerals on each end. A few animals are mythological, and several of the scenes depict the animals accompanied by human and fanciful figures either standing or riding. The ostrich as pictured on XI is a common heraldic device and, in keeping with the legendary prowess of its digestive system, clutches a horseshoe in its beak. The court cards are full-length figures dressed in ornate costumes with jewels; the kings, knights and pages wear headdresses, probably indicating different domains. It was typical in French suited packs to transform the king of diamonds into an oriental ruler, and in this pack he is seen as a sultan. The design of the knight of hearts is identical to an illustration in an eighteenth-century Polish book, which identifies the figure as John III Sobieski (1624–1696), king of Poland, who was famous for his victory over the Turks at the Battle of Vienna in 1683. Interestingly, the knight of hearts wears a headdress decorated with an Islamic quarter moon. Andreas Benedictus Göbl produced a deck very similar to this pack at the end of the eighteenth century.

Collection of the author

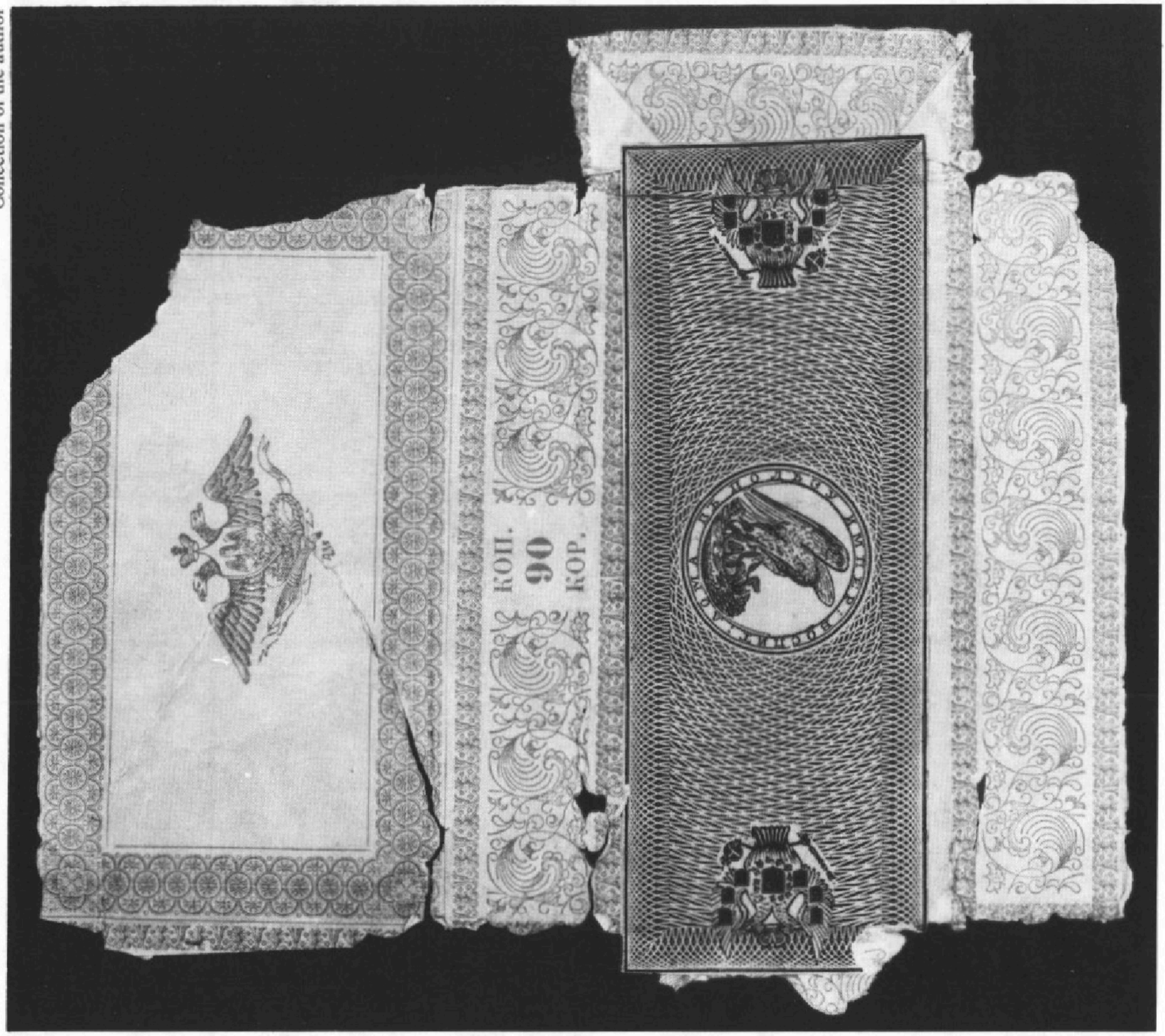
Page of Hearts, DuPort Animal Tarock *The page or knave of hearts holds a shield bearing the coat of arms of Stanislaus II (Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski, 1732–1798), the last king of independent Poland (1764–1795). The quartered shield depicts the eagle of Poland in the first and third quarters and the so-called "chase of Lithuania" in the second and fourth quarters. The small shield in the center contains a picture of an ox, the coat of arms of the Poniatowski family, and at the top appears a royal crown.*

Collection of the author



DuPort Animal Tarock TOP ROW: *Joker playing a lute, in a costume of breeches, knee hose, capelet, and a floral ornamented headdress;* ***I*** *harlequin with sword wearing a checkered costume;* ***II*** *peacock;* ***III*** *a monkey or hairy beast clutching a bundled child in front of a gatehouse with another child perched at the pinnacle;* ***IIII*** *crowned camel ridden by a sultan holding a parasol;* ***V*** *long-antlered elk.* SECOND ROW: ***VII*** *Man with walking stick in front of a ground hog;* ***X*** *unicorn with mermaid's tail;* ***XI*** *ostrich clutching a horseshoe;* ***XII*** *elephant bearing a covered throne and a man;* ***XIII*** *ram;* ***XIV*** *cow or ox being herded by a club-wielding peasant.* THIRD ROW: ***XVI*** *Fantastical rhinoceros with scaly legs and a spiral horn protruding from his back;* ***XVII*** *military officer mounted on horseback;* ***XIX*** *lion with a bone on the ground before him,* ***king of spades, queen of spades, king of clubs.*** BOTTOM ROW: ***King of hearts, knight of hearts*** *with Islamic or Turkish headdress,* ***ace of hearts*** *with two tax stamps,* ***king of diamonds*** *with sultan's headdress,* ***queen of diamonds, page of diamonds*** *holding a halberd and a shield which identifies the cardmaker and city. To the right of the text on the shield, and reading perpendicular from the side of the page, there appears to be the number "15," perhaps for the year 1815. A similar deck owned by Albert Field contains three tax stamps on the ace of hearts; the round and oval stamps similar to the stamps on this pack, plus an octagonal stamp.*

Collection of the author



Paper Wrapper for DuPort Animal Tarock *The paper wrapper accompanying the DuPort deck bears Russian markings indicating the cards were produced when Warsaw was under Russian occupation. The wrapper is illustrated with the device of a pelican feeding and caring for its young, the entire scene encircled by a round panel with Russian text that means "For the Benefit of the Empire, Education, Home." The pelican is probably an emblem of the card factory. The double-headed imperial Russian eagles at either side are the coats of arms of the Russian empire; the center shield on the eagle's breast normally depicts the eagle of Poland while the other shields represent arms from other parts of the Russian empire. The double-headed eagle located in the middle of the back of the wrapper is more difficult to identify. The double-headed eagle and the crown probably refer to the Russian empire in which the cardmaker lived, the shield at the center with the pelican apparently was the emblem of DuPort's factory, and the bottom portion of the device may have been adapted from Napoleon's imperial eagle, thus referring to DuPort's French origin. Beneath the device, the unidentified initials "AM" are probably not those of the engraver, whose initials would more readily have appeared on one of the cards rather than on the wrapper. The initials are probably related to the Polish origin of the deck since the letters are non-Russian. The price, written in Russian and Polish on the wrapper, indicates 90 kopecks.*

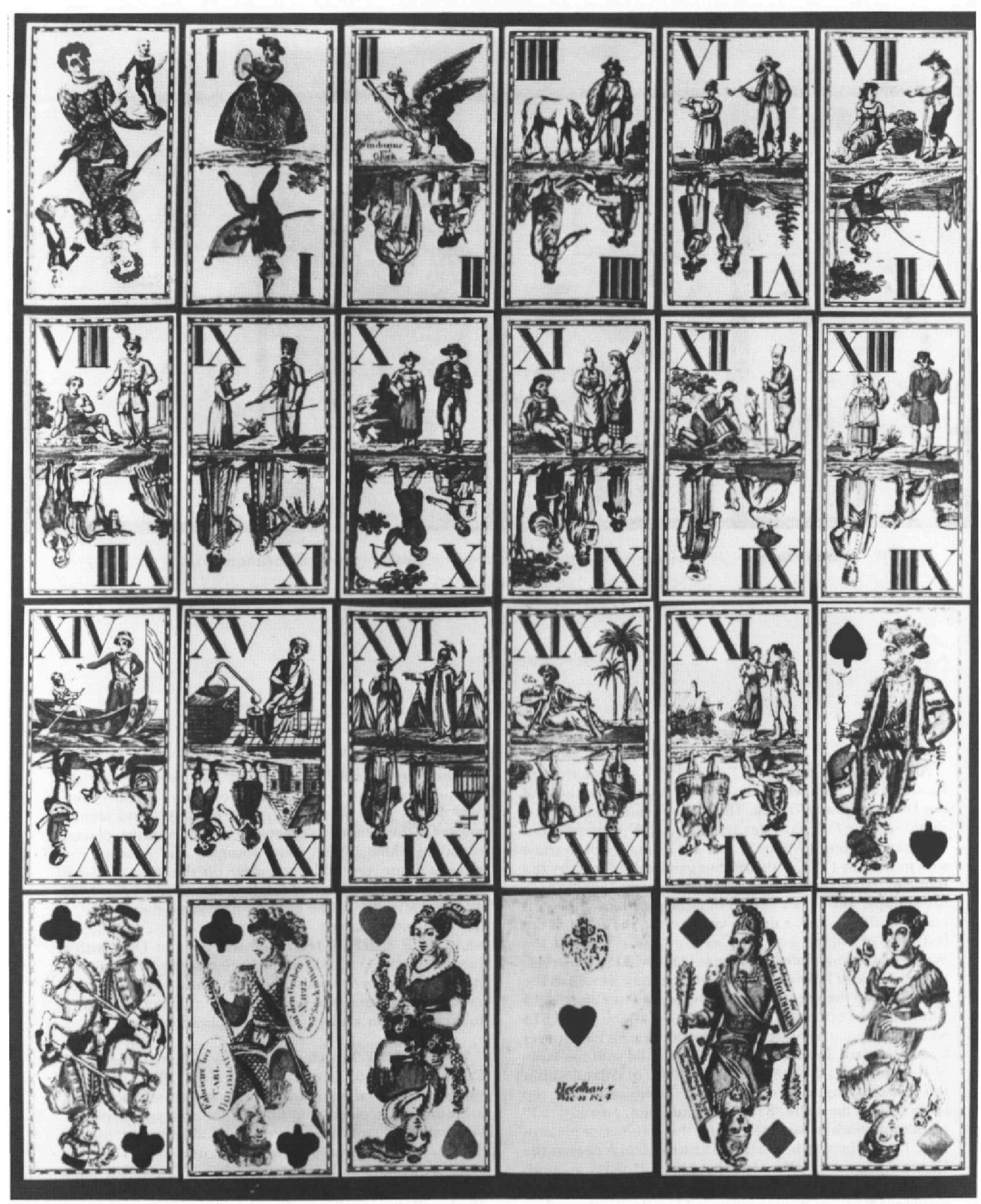
Collection of Albert Field

"J.A.W." Animal Tarock *Four cards from Polish animal tarock, probably by Jan Abraham Willing (Willink?)*

Animal Tarock by "J.A.W.," circa 1821 Four cards are shown from a pack whose designs are identical to those of the DuPort Animal Tarock. The page of diamonds bears a shield reading *Fabrique de Cartes de J.A.W., Versovie.* Jan Abraham Willing (Willink?) was a cardmaker in Warsaw who joined, in 1791, with another cardmaking firm by the name of Jedrzej Rafalowicz. The ace of hearts depicts three tax stamps. The upper stamp of octagon shape shows an eagle within an oval, a device used during the reign of the last king of Poland and later as the official arms of the Warsaw dukedom under Saxon rule (1807–1815). However, the presence of Russian letters and currency, as well as the crown above the eagle, indicate the pack dates after 1815 when Russia occupied Poland, or maybe to the year 1815 when the Russians entered Warsaw but the arms had not yet been changed. The tax stamp in the middle with the large eagle represents the arms of the kingdom of Poland within the Russian empire after 1815. The identification of the letters above the eagle "ST:KA" is uncertain, possibly "ST" stands for Stanislas, or it designates the tax office or place of sale. The oval stamp beneath the heart suitmark depicts the Russian imperial eagle with the amount of tax in both Russian and Polish: *1 ruble, 20 kopecks.* Thus, this pack would seem to date from the year 1815 or shortly thereafter.

Genre Tarock by Carl Holdhaus, 1824 The images of the genre tarock by Carl Holdhaus of Vienna are typical of the *Industrie und Glück* (Industry and Fortune) tarocks that proliferated in the nineteenth century. The fifty-four-card tarock pack was copperplate engraved and stencil colored. The trumps depict people of various places, including China, Tyrol, Italy, Hungary and Austria. The maker's name and address appear on the valet of clubs: *Fabriciert bei Carl Holdhaus/auf den Graben No. 1122 im 5 Stock in Wien.* The maker's name and the date 1824 are on the ace of hearts. The tax stamp on the ace of hearts reads, *14 K KARTEN 1824,* and was valid in 1824 with a duty of 14 kreuzer. Card I shows Harlequin and Columbine, the usual figures seen on this card in *Industrie und Glück* tarocks. The joker is also a common type, depicting a clown holding a hat on which a miniature clown dances.

World Scenic Tarock by Mathias Koller, circa 1825 The fifty-four-card tarock pack of circa 1825, made by Mathias Koller of Vienna, features scenes of the world, some of specific places and some of general types of places. The engraved cards are colored by hand with stencils, and the double-ended trumps have Roman numerals. The court cards are double-ended and ornately engraved. The name and city of the cardmaker appear on the valet of clubs: *Math. /Koller/in Wien.* The *Glück* eagle on card X is similar to the eagle of *Industrie und Glück* tarocks. Back design (not shown) has double crescents and swirling dots in grey on a cream background.



Holdhaus Genre Tarock *The various countries in the trump scenes reflect the cultural exchange among Western Europe, Eastern Europe and Asia in the nineteenth century.*

Collection of the author

Koller World Scenic Tarock TOP ROW: ***I*** *is a jester with a net on his hair, thumbing his nose in a defiant posture.* ***IIII*** F. Schwarzenb. Gebäude *(buildings)*/Diana Tempel *(Diana's temple);* ***V*** Africaner *(African)*/Lemberg; ***VI*** Josephsplatz *(in Vienna)*/Ruine *(ruins);* ***VII*** B. Zeughaus *(armory)/a small castle, untitled.* SECOND ROW: ***IX*** Fort/Ofen *(Buda, Hungary);* ***X*** Ostiace *(Asian)*/Glück *(Fortune);* ***XIV*** Oedenburg/*untitled windmill;* ***XVI*** Virginier *(Virginian)/Oriental killing a dragon;* ***XVII*** Aegipcier *(Egyptian)/boy fishing near village.* THIRD ROW: ***XVIII*** Leichtthurm *(Lighthouse)*/Indianer *(Indian);* ***XIX*** Pressburg *(Bratislava, Czechoslovakia)*/Peruaner *(Peruvian);* ***XXI*** Canarier *(Canary Islander)*/Porzellanthurm *(Chinese tower); king of spades in Oriental costume; queen of spades with a tulip.* BOTTOM ROW: *King of clubs; queen of clubs; valet of clubs; king of hearts; knight of hearts.*

F. Gumppenberg Tarock, *Mestieri e Vedute di Milano*, 1982 reprint of circa 1820 to 1825 deck A seventy-eight-card pack produced in 1982 by Edizioni del Solleone in a limited edition of 1000 decks is a facsimile of the deck created by Ferdinando Gumppenberg between 1820 and 1825. Occupations and scenic views of Milan illustrate trumps III through XXI. The court cards and pip cards have French suits. Trump cards are double-ended, with Roman numerals on each end. The court cards are also double-ended. The tax stamp on trump II shows the Iron Crown and the crown of Rudolph of the Austrian empire, with the text "F.I." for Franz I of Austria, and the amount, 70 centesimi, with "Lombardia" at the bottom. This stamp was valid from November 1, 1823, to January 26, 1840.

F. Gumppenberg* Mestieri e Vedute *Tarock TOP ROW: ***Excusée** depicts a man with butterfly wings and a stocking cap. With one hand he points to the ground, while the other hand holds a whirligig and a glass. **I** shows a harlequin doffing his hat. **II** A putto holds a scroll that reads,* Gumppenberg Fabric. in Milano. *On the other end is an allegorical picture symbolizing Milan, with the Iron Crown on a rock, a flag showing the imperial eagle on the side, and a ship in the background. **III** View of the village of Gravedona at Lake Como shows the Gaglio Palace on the right. Reversed, the card shows the royal printing house and bookkeeping palace, which were located outside the Porta Nuova city gate but are no longer standing. **IV** Ticenese gate is seen from the Cittadella suburb. Reversed, a view of Lecco has Mount Saint Martin in the background. **VII** Compote seller wheels his cart around the city during the winter. Reversed, costermonger carries baskets of produce and a small scale to sell her wares from the market.*

SECOND ROW: ***VIII** A knifegrinder uses a wheel operated with a foot pedal. Most knifegrinders came from Valtellina. Reversed, chimney sweeps carry their tools on their backs in large sacks. **IX** The chair mender announces himself with a loud yell and works along the streets. Reversed, roast chestnut vendors are still seen in cities today. In Gumppenberg's time, they carried the nuts in baskets over their shoulders. **X** "Miscitt's mother" was an old woman who tended and fed stray cats around the city. "Miscitt" is a pet name for small cats in Milanese dialect. In every large city one hears of a kind-hearted woman who takes care of a flock of cats. Reversed, the unidentified postern may be the Ludovico Gate Postern, which no longer exists. **XI** Fontana Place shows a fountain in the foreground and the old law courts, which are now the police department, in the background. Reversed, Scala Theater is seen from Santa Margherita suburbs. **XII** Umbrella sellers came from Lake Como, where they made their waxcloth umbrellas. Reversed, a cobbler carried his tools on his back so he could work wherever he found business. **XIV** A beggar goes about with a bowl for alms. Beggars were called "poor Christs" in Milanese dialect. A singer with a guitar performs on the street, on the other end of the card.*

THIRD ROW: ***XV** A card player sits alone with his cards and a wine decanter. "Meneghino and Gerolamo's jealousies" is taken from a calendar for 1818 and are characters from a popular drama. They usually wore pigtails, which are missing here, and Meneghino is shown without his usual hat. **XVI** A print seller is shown with a basket on his arm and a box on the ground. The "noble dwarf" may have been a character about town at the time the deck was printed. **XVII** A poulterer carries his wares slung over his shoulder and arms. A wine vender delivers wine to his customers' doors, dispensing it from a large can. **XIX** A man rides the* draisienne, *or velocipede, which appeared in Milan in 1818 and was much talked about. A tavern folk singer sits in the innyard on a wooden bench, a decanter on the table near him. **XX** A servant in livery shows a woman visitor to the home of her host. The numbering of the houses in Milan, while perfectly logical in its own right, was incomprehensible to people from outside the city. The reverse depicts a man with two infants in his arms, confronted by another man who is waving a stick. The scene, which was popular in prints of the time, represents hunger, in the form of the man who is going to forsake the babies, and love, who admonishes him to care for them. **XXI** portrays the dog Tofino who was written about in a newspaper story of Sunday, March 28, 1819. Tofino belonged to an Italian dragoon. They went to war in Spain together and the master was killed in an explosion. Tofino somehow returned to Milan and would not move from the sentry box where his master had stood guard. The citizens fed the old and blind dog, and he died on September 20, 1819. Tofino is shown curled up on the ground with another dog nearby. The reverse shows an elephant killing his trainer, an event that was talked about far and wide. On March 15, 1819, an elephant from the zoo of the king of Württemberg was transported to the Riva degli Schiavoni in Venice. It refused to disembark from the boat, and, after mauling its trainer, was loose on the streets along the Riva. It was finally killed by a gunshot.*

BOTTOM ROW: ***Queen of spades** wears a dress with a cloak over it, and jewels bedeck her hair. **Knight of clubs** wears armor and carries a sword. **Page of hearts** is interesting in that he bears the coat of arms of the Visconti family, who ruled Milan from 1311 to 1447. The heraldry is of a serpent swallowing a man. **Ace of hearts** reassures the player that the deck conforms to the rules of tarot. **King of diamonds** wears a Turkish turban and carries a sun and moon scepter. **Ace of diamonds** says* Proprierta ed Invenzione di Gumppenberg in Milano *(Property and Invention of Gumppenberg of Milan).*

Collection of the author

Classical Deities Tarock by Jos. Schneider, circa 1830
Double-ended Major Arcana and court cards appear in the tarock pack by Jos. Schneider of Hungary. The name of the maker is on trump II: *Fabricirt von Jos. Schneider,* and the address is on the page of clubs: *in der kleinen Kreutzgasse N. 520, in Pesth.* This deck dates from the first half of the nineteenth century, circa 1830. The cards are printed from engravings and stencil colored by hand. The cardboard surface is polished and the back design is mottled maroon. Card titles for the Major Arcana III through XXI appear in very small letters in the center of the top and bottom borders. The titles, sometimes Latinized, identify classical Roman and Greek deities. A pack with almost the same designs, but made from different plates, was produced by Carl Titze of Vienna in 1851.

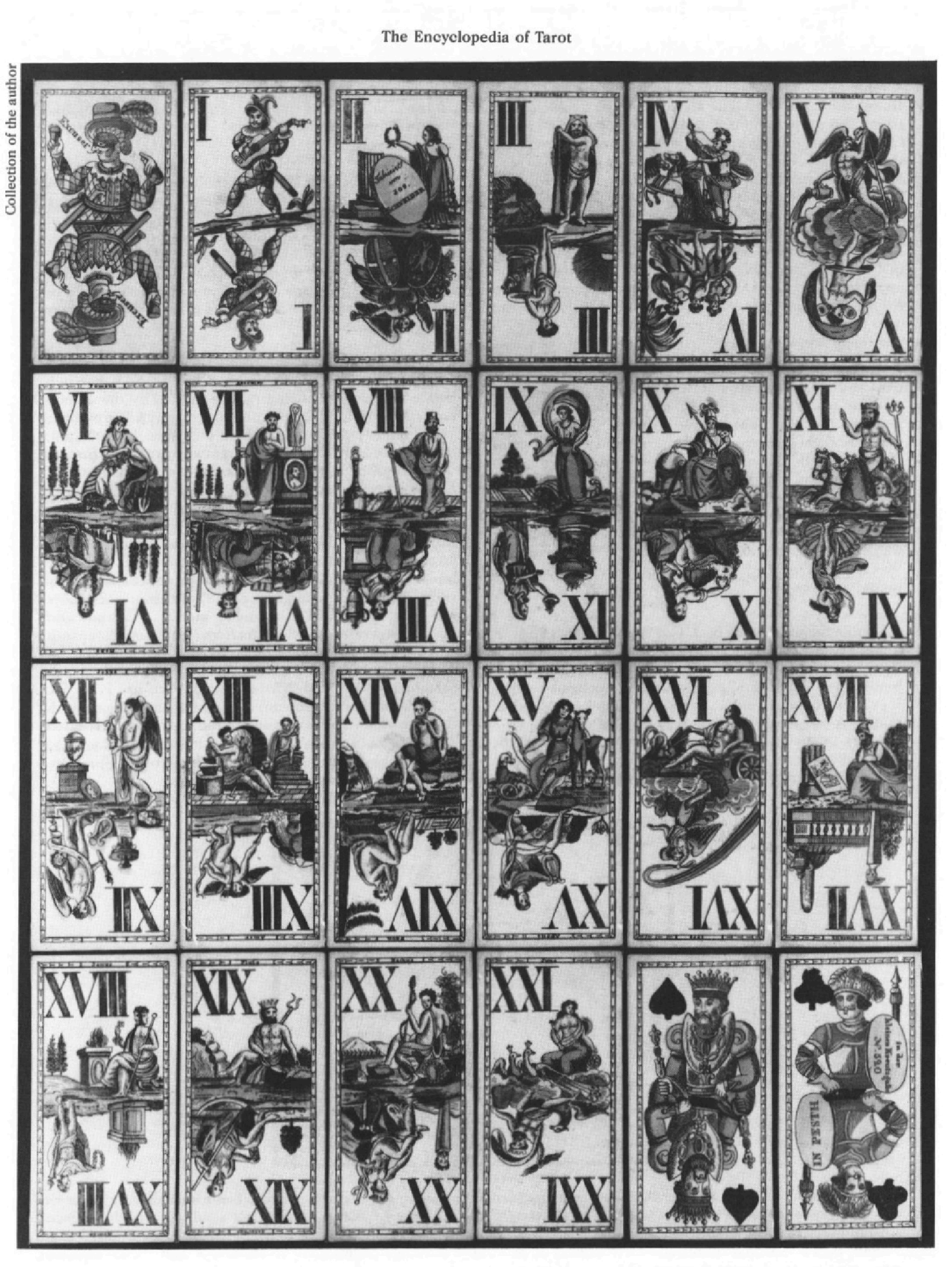
Schneider Classical Deities Tarock TOP ROW: ***Joker** is the* Excuser, *indicating his role of excusing the player using him from following suit or trumping in the game of tarot. He is a masked harlequin holding a flask and a glass. **I Harlequin** plays a guitar. **II** shows a woman holding a wreath above a broken column and a round plaque. In her left hand is a caduceus. Reversed, a winged figure blows a long trumpet and stands before a large crown, a cornucopia and two heraldic shields, one of which shows the double-headed eagle beneath a crown. **III Hercules** wears the hide of a lion over his shoulders, with the lion's head as a helmet. Reversed, Harpokrates is an Egyptian deity (Herupakhrat) adapted by the Greeks as an embodiment of the splendor and vigor of the morning sun. He holds his fingers to his lips in a gesture that was interpreted by the Greeks to mean silence. **IV Mars,** the Roman god of war, is shown in a chariot with his attributes of shield, armor and spear. Reversed,* Die 3 Gracien, *"the three Graces," were three sisters who were goddesses of spring and dawn. **V Ganimedes** (Ganymede) was a mortal boy whose beauty drew the love of Zeus. The god took the boy to Olympus on an eagle and made him cup-bearer to the deities, replacing Hebe. The boy's father was given six horses as compensation for the loss of his son. Reversed, Zephyr is the gentle west wind and has small butterfly wings.*

SECOND ROW: ***VI Pomona** was a goddess of fruit trees. To personify abundance in the cultivation of the land, she wears a garland of fruits at her waist and touches a spade. Reversed, Hebe was the daughter of Zeus and Hera and, before Ganymede, cupbearer to the deities. She became the bride of Hercules and is connected with spring's new life. **VII Aesculep** (Asclepius) was the Greek god of healing, and he bears a stick twined with a serpent, his attribute and a symbol of medicine even in modern times. A priest on the pedestal beside him is an attendant. Reversed, Aeolus was the ruler of winds, which he kept shut in a cave that he would open or keep closed as he saw fit. **VIII Osiris** was the Egyptian god of the resurrection and immortality of the soul. In the background is a sphinx on a column. Reversed, Hiecia (Hygeia) was a Greek goddess of health, shown as in tradition, with a serpent drinking from a* kantharos *(a flat cup). **IX Ceres** is the Roman goddess of corn and harvest, and is shown with a sickle and a cornucopia. Vesta was the Roman goddess of the hearth, protectress of homes, and guardian of the sacred fire that Aeneus brought from Troy. **X Minerva** was a goddess with many attributes: among them, wisdom, the guidance of heroes during war and the creation of musical instruments. She is shown armed, with a globe and a stringed instrument. Reversed, Eouropa (Europa) was a mortal woman abducted by Zeus in the form of a bull. **XI Neptun** (Neptune) is the ruler of the ocean and is shown with a trident, two horses and a boy blowing a horn. Reversed, Amphitrite is the Greek goddess of the sea and wife of Poseidon. She rides on a shell drawn by dolphins.*

THIRD ROW: ***XII Jokus** is a winged man who holds a mask before his face and carries another on a stick. Komus (reversed) holds a wreath and a torch as he gazes at symbols of various arts at the foot of a standing torch. **XIII Vulkan** was a blacksmith and the mate of Venus. He is assisted by a child, and, since he was lame, is seated. A small figure with a forging hammer dances in the oven behind him. Reversed, Amor is the deity of love and the son of Venus and Vulcan. He is winged and carries a bow and arrow. **XIV Pan** is a lusty spirit, chief of the satyrs and god of flocks, hills, pastures and wildlife. He has the legs and horns of a goat, and he plays a panpipe made of reeds. Faun (reversed) is the Roman equivalent of the satyr. **XV Diana** was the virgin goddess of hunting and of the moon. She is shown with her sacred animal—the deer—a bow, quiver, hunting horn and a hunting hound. Apollo (reversed) is the Greek god of the sun and brother of Diana. He holds his instrument—the lyre—and a bow and arrow. **XVI Venus** is the Roman goddess of love. She sits in a carriage drawn by two swans. Reversed, Irrs (Iris) is the Greek goddess of the rainbow and a messenger of the deities. She speeds over the clouds, holding a ribbon of light and color. **XVII Momus,** the Greek god of reproach and ridicule, ponders a picture showing a man in a chariot and a house. He complained that the human form was made with no windows or doors, so that intentions could not be read. Finally, he was driven from Olympus for his insolence. Terminus (reversed) was a Roman god who ruled boundaries and landmarks. A short rail, which ends on one end with a pedestal holding a head wearing winged hat and, on the other end, with an urn, symbolizes Terminus.*

BOTTOM ROW: ***XVIII Janus** was a Roman deity who ruled the heavens before being supplanted by Jupiter. His two faces symbolize an understanding of the dualities of east and west, beginnings and endings, night and day, the past and the future. He holds the key to the gates of heaven and a scepter. Near him is a pedestal with a fire on its top. Hymen (reversed) was the Greek god of marriage and conjugal happiness. He holds a torch and a bridal wreath. **XIX Pluto** was the Roman son of Saturn and lord of the dead. He also gave wealth. Saturnus (reversed) is shown in his aspect of Father Time, with sickle and hourglass. He ruled the earth with Janus in the Golden Age. **XX Bachus** was the god of nature and especially of wine. He sits by a grapevine and holds a thyrsus: a staff topped with a pine cone and twined with ivy. Mercur (Mercury) sits on a rock wearing a winged hat and holding a caduceus. Near him is a lyre, which he designed for Apollo, whose attribute it would become. The winged hat designates that he is the swift messenger of the gods, and the caduceus reflects his wisdom and skill in healing. **XXI Juno** is the queen of the heavens and wife of Jupiter. She is a source of fertility and her sacred animal is the peacock. Jupiter (reversed) is the ruler of Olympus. He wields a thunderbolt and rides an eagle, his sacred animal. **King of spades; jack of clubs.***

Collection of the author



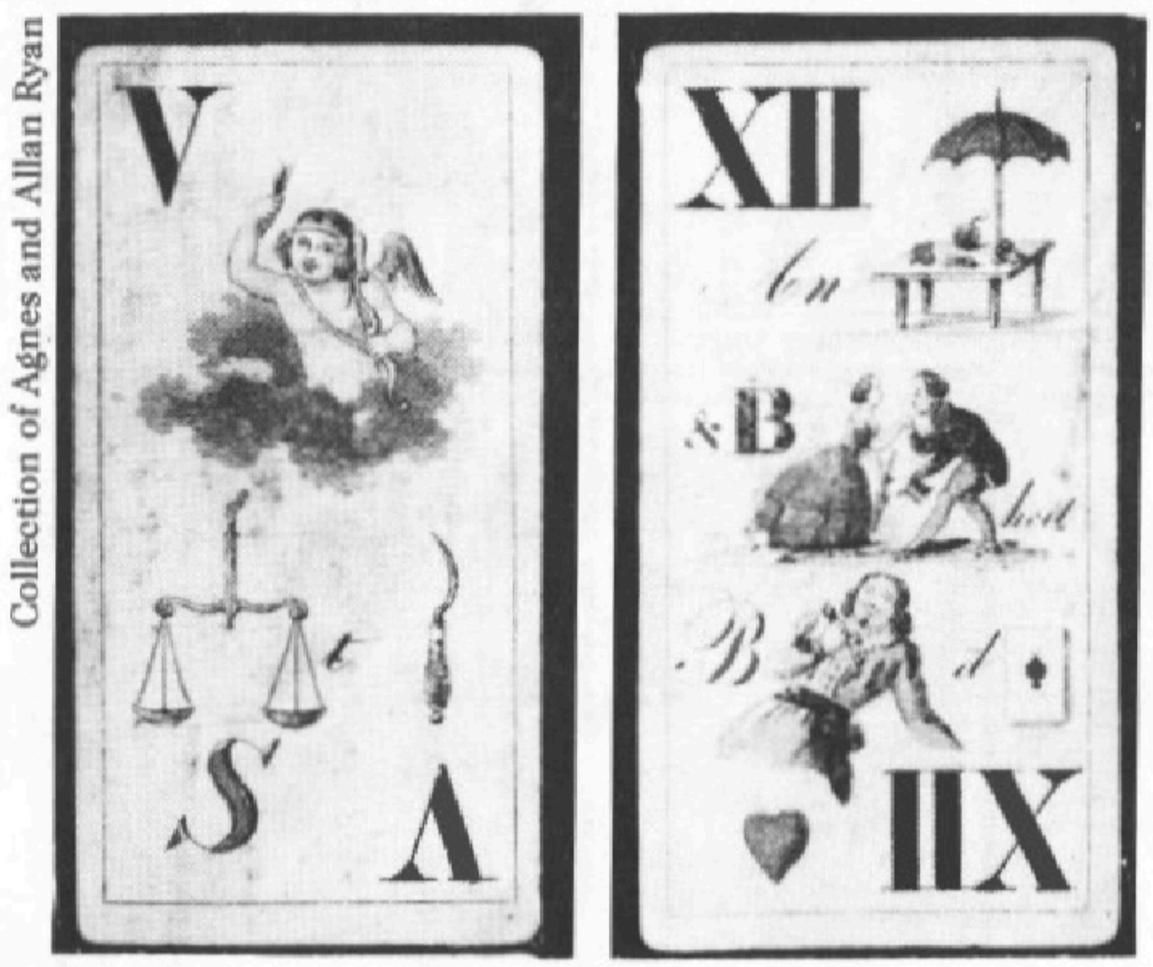
Animal Tarock by Jacob Holmblad, circa 1830 A seventy-eight-card tarock pack was published by Jacob Holmblad, circa 1830. The animals on the double-ended trump cards are traditional designs of the kind often found in schoolbooks of the period. Holmblad's animal tarock was the third of its kind published in Denmark and the first to popularize double-ended pictures in Denmark. Previously, J. F. Mayer, the first cardmaker granted the privilege to print playing cards in Denmark (1752–1783), and Süsz & Kuntze had each published an animal tarock deck with colorful full-length designs. The page of clubs contains the inscription *Jacob Holmblad, Fabrik i Kiobenhavn.* The ace of hearts contains a stamp beneath the heart that reads, *Kongl. Priv. Spillekart fabrik* (Royally privileged playing card factory).

Animal Tarock by Joseph Dimler, 1834 A fifty-four-card pack published in 1834 by Joseph Dimler of Wels, Austria, features trumps with double-ended scenes of fanciful animals engaged in various activities. Sometimes there are slight variations between each end of the card; for example, the house on trump III has a chimney on only one end of the card, and trump V shows the monkey with and without a feather on his hat. The ace of hearts contains a tax stamp with the inscription *KAR (Li)TEN/14K/1834.* The cards are woodblock printed and stencil colored. The scenes are identical with those in an 1825 deck by Jacob Wokaun of Prague. The court cards are double-ended military figures.

Vienna Scenic Tarock by J. G. Uffenheimer, 1834 A fifty-four-card pack, made in 1834 by J. G. Uffenheimer of Vienna, features on the trumps landmarks and historical buildings in Vienna and its environs. The delicate engravings are stenciled in color. Courts and trumps are double-ended. A tax stamp reading *KAR (W) TEN/1834/ 14-K* appears in black on the ace of hearts, along with the cardmaker's stamp: *J. G. UFFENHEIMER/WIEN/1834.* The name and address of the maker are shown on the valet of clubs: *J. G. Uffenheimer in Wien/Niederlage in Wien am Peter, No. 577.* An earlier version of this tarock, published in 1826, did not print the labels on the cards, but identified the scenes on a separate sheet of paper accompanying the deck.

Animal Tarock by Max Uffenheimer, circa 1837 A fifty-four-card animal tarock pack published by Max Uffenheimer of Austria, circa 1837, shows a variety of animals on the trump cards: monkeys, birds, snakes, bears, tigers, zebras and lions. The double-ended trumps are stencil colored. The unusual feature of this pack is the addition of "1/2" to the Roman numerals on one end of each trump. A thin decorative panel runs across the center of each trump card.

Rebus Tarock by Max Uffenheimer, 1845 A tarock published by Max Uffenheimer, Vienna, 1845, has full-length trumps comprising riddles formed by the combination of letters, syllables, words and pictures. The pictures are identical with rebus trumps published in Budapest, Hungary, in 1832. Catherine Hargrave, writing in *A History of Playing Cards,* believed the riddles formed the titles of novels. The riddles are difficult to solve. Fred Taylor, an American collector of Austrian playing cards, and his wife, believe they have solved the riddle on trump II: *G + Ross* (horse) + *hand + lungs + haus* (house) equals *Grosshandlungshaus,* the German word for wholesale house. It is most likely that the cards present German proverbs. Thus, card V might mean: *Liebe wagt alles* (Love will risk all). Card XII might mean: *Anstand und Beschwingtheit bestechen das Herz* (A pleasing demeanor and popularity sway the heart). The double-ended valet of clubs shows the name and address of the maker: *Max Uffenheimer in Wien/Niederlage in Wien um Peter No. 577.* The maker's stamp appears on the ace of hearts with the date 1845. The tax stamp on the ace of hearts is dated 1845 and has a duty of 20 kreuzer. If any readers unravel more of the Rebus puzzles, the author would appreciate knowing their solutions.



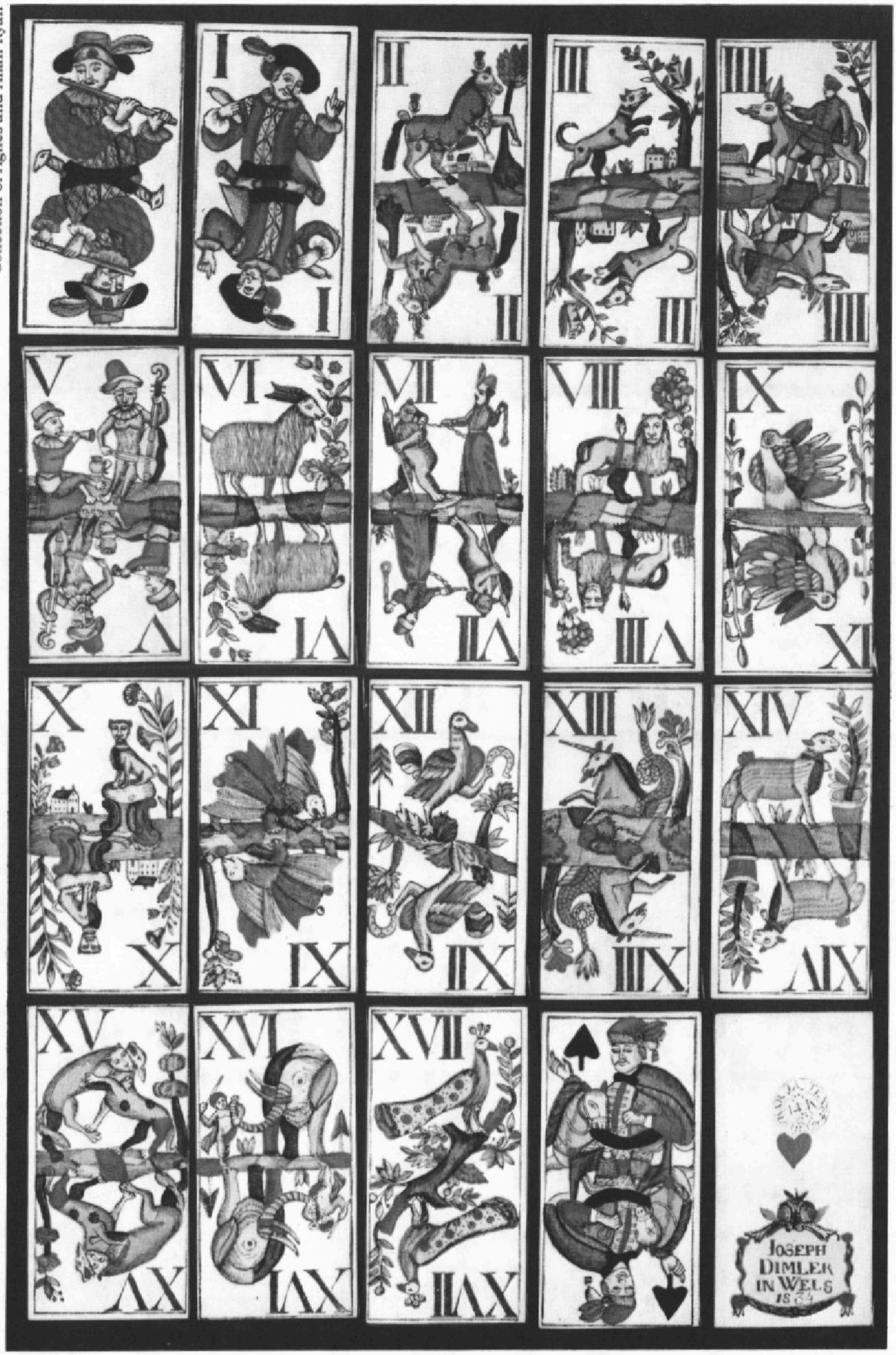
Collection of Agnes and Allan Ryan

Uffenheimer Rebus Tarock *Card V from the Rebus Tarock is possibly the German proverb* Liebe wagt alles, *or "Love will risk all."* Liebe *(Love, or Cupid)* + wagt *(*wägen, *to weigh,* wagen, *to risk)* + alles *(*Ahle, *awl,* alles, *all). Card XII may mean* Anstand und Beschwingtheit bestechen das Herz, *or "A pleasing demeanor and popularity sway the heart."* An + stand *(*stand, *booth,* anstand, *a pleasing demeanor)* + & + be + schwingt *(*schwingen, *to dance)* + heit *(*beschwingtheit, *popularity)* + be + stecht *(*stechen, *to pierce,* bestechen, *to sway)* d + as *(*as, *ace,* das, *the)* + Herz *(heart).*

Collection of K. Frank Jensen, Denmark

Holmblad Animal Tarock *Around 1830, Jacob Holmblad published this tarock deck, which was the first to popularize double-ended cards in Denmark.*

Collection of Agnes and Allan Ryan

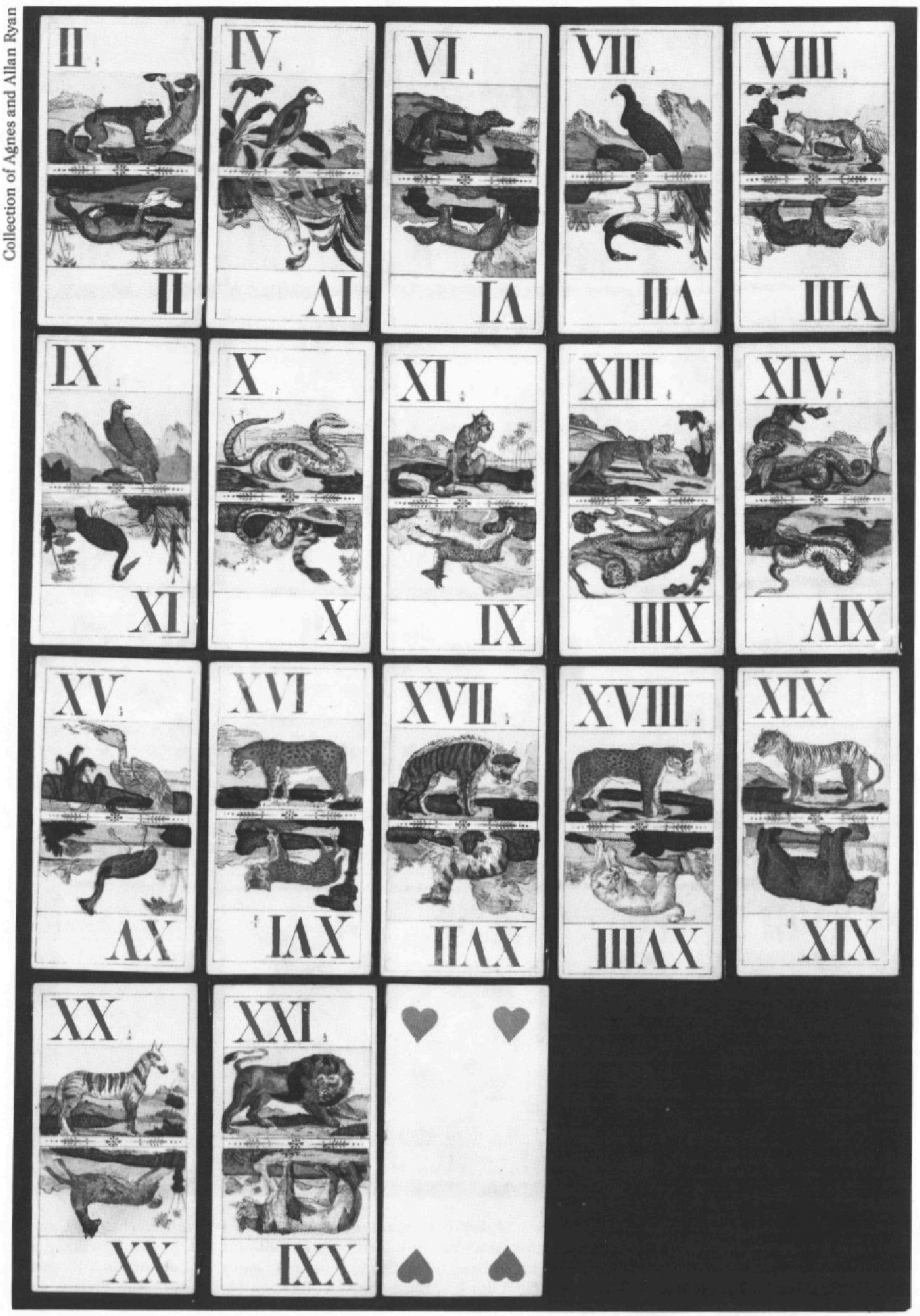


Dimler Animal Tarock TOP ROW: ***Joker** shows a clown playing a flute, **I** depicts another clown holding a sausage, **II** dancing horse, **III** dog barking at a squirrel, **IIII** farmer leading a cow.* SECOND ROW: ***V** Musical monkeys, **VI** goat, **VII** trained bear, **VIII** lion, **IX** bird with exotic plumage.* THIRD ROW: ***X** A dog or cat on a pedestal, **XI** porcupine, **XII** ostrich holding a horseshoe, **XIII** sea unicorn, **XIV** sheep.* BOTTOM ROW: ***XV** Two animals fighting, **XVI** elephant and its trainer, **XVII** peacock, knight of spades, ace of hearts.*

Collection of Agnes and Allan Ryan

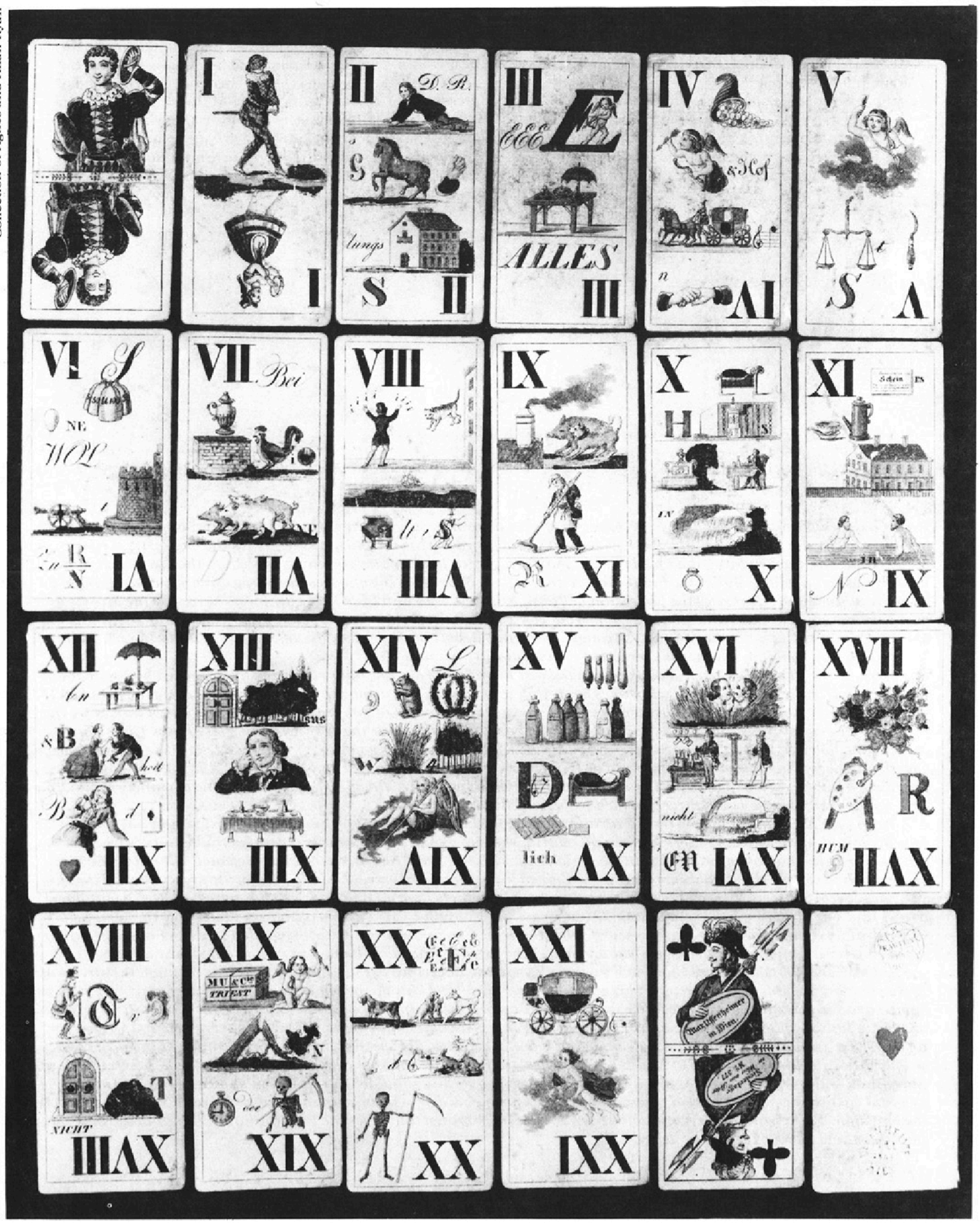
J. G. Uffenheimer Vienna Scenic Tarock TOP ROW: ***Joker is a cymbal player; I man in nightclothes; II*** Carlskirche/ Spinnerin a. Kreuze; ***III*** Eine Parthie in Laxenburg/Ritterschloss in Laxenburg; ***IV*** Pallast d. Fst. Raszoumovsky/Kettensteg im Prater. SECOND ROW: ***V*** Schloss Weilburg/Tempel in der Briel; ***VI*** Kaffehhaus auf der Bastey/Kaffehhaus in Volksgarten; ***VII*** Ansicht von Baden/Parterre z. Schönbrunn; ***VIII*** Theil der k.k. Burg/Theseus Tempel; ***IX*** Engelsbad in Baden/ Burgthor. THIRD ROW: ***X*** K. K. Belvedere/Ferdinandsbrücke; ***XI*** Sauerhof in Baden/Ruine Lichtenstein i.d. Briel; ***XII*** K. K. Lustschloss Schönbrunn/Ruine in Schönbrunn; ***XIII*** Dianabad in Wien/Pallast d.E. Beatrix; ***XIV*** Gloriette/Ursprung in Baden. BOTTOM ROW: ***XVIII*** Theater a. der Wien/Pallast d. Gr. Fries; ***XIX*** K. K. Hof-Burgtheater/K. K. Kärnthner Theater; king of spades; valet of clubs, ace of hearts.

Collection of Agnes and Allan Ryan



Max Uffenheimer Animal Tarock *The illustrations on the trumps are more naturalistic than those of most other animal tarocks of the time.*

Collection of Agnes and Allan Ryan



Uffenheimer Rebus Tarock *Dated 1845, Max Uffenheimer's tarock has word puzzles on the trumps. It was published in Vienna.*

Tarocco della Corona Ferrea, 1979 reprint of circa 1840 deck A reproduction of a tarock originally printed in Milan in 1840 was published in a limited edition of 2500 decks by Edizioni del Solleone, Lissone, Italy, in 1979. The original deck was printed on the occasion of the coronation of Ferdinand of Hapsburg as king of Lombardy and Venice. Scenes on the trumps relate the history that surrounds the *Corona Ferrea* (Iron Crown) from the year 590 to 1558. The court cards depict important persons that wore the Iron Crown. The Major Arcana are full-length, whereas the court cards are double-ended. The Iron Crown is today preserved in the Cathedral of Saint John the Baptist in Monza, Italy. It received its title from the iron band that circles the inside of the crown. A tax stamp on the valet of diamonds reads *Lomb. 1844/Lira Una Milo.* The stamp was valid for 1844.

Tarocco della Corona Ferrea TOP ROW: ***Excusée** shows a stout man wearing a stocking cap and carrying a bulging pouch in one hand and a coin in the other. Butterfly wings grow from his back. I introduces the deck with a figure in motley and blackface holding a club. He bows, indicating with his hat various cards laying on the ground. **II** shows Teodolinda, left a widow by her husband, King Autari of Longobardi, as she chooses the young duke of Turin, Agilulfo, to be her next husband. **III** relates the liberation of Italian subjects who had been held captive as slaves by the Franks for many years. Agilulfo paid a large ransom in gold to free them. **IV** shows Queen Teodolinda examining the plans for Monza Cathedral, which she founded through piety and devotion. **V** depicts the offering of gifts to the Church by Teodolinda and Agilulfo, whom she converted to Christianity around 604.*

SECOND ROW: ***VI** shows Queen Teodolinda in the last moments of her life, after ruling the kingdom left by the death of her husband. She abjures her son, who takes her hand, to be just and clement in order to earn the love of the people. **VII** portrays the deliverance of Charlemagne's enemy, King Desiderio of Longobardi, into Charlemagne's hands by the people of Pavia. In this same period, Charlemagne was coronated with the Iron Crown. **VIII** shows Charlemagne persuading the warrior king of the Saxons to be baptized, offering to act as godfather himself. **IX** tells of the coronation of Charlemagne by Pope Leo III as emperor of the West in Saint Peter's Cathedral of Rome in 800. **X** depicts Charlemagne founding a public school in Pavia. **XI** relates that Charlemagne, in his old age, shared the throne of emperor with his son, Louis, the only one of his three sons who survived him.*

THIRD ROW: ***XII** shows Ludwig the Bavarian refusing the crown of Germany after Henry V's death in 1313. Ludwig had promised his relative, Frederick, duke of Austria, that he would not raise any obstacles to the latter's election as king. **XIII** relates that, after the hard battle in which Ludwig's foe, Frederick of Austria, was defeated, the only provisions with which to refresh the soldiers were eggs—one for each man and one extra. Ludwig said in the presence of all that his valiant general Schwepperman deserved the extra egg. **XIV** depicts Ludwig freeing Frederick, who had been a childhood friend and only became his enemy later. **XV** portrays Ludwig and his wife Margaret on their way to Saint Peter's Cathedral in Rome, where he was crowned with the Iron Crown and she with the golden one. **XVI** shows Ludwig stricken with an apoplectic stroke while hunting. **XVII** portrays Charles V being appointed emperor in 1519.*

FOURTH ROW: ***XX** tells of how Charles V's opposition to the doctrines of Luther led him to ride through the streets of Main wearing the imperial robe as a show of his power and his Catholic belief. **Page of spades** wears armor with a spiked headband and holds a bow and arrow. A small sword in the upper left corner distinguishes him as a page. He is labeled in Italian "Page of the 8th century." **Knight of hearts** is an older man on horseback, wearing armor and carrying an ax. The word* cheveau *by the suit sign shows he is a knight. He is labeled "Knight of the 6th century." **Queen of spades** is Margherita (Margaret), wife of Ludwig. She is designated as queen by the small flower near the suit sign. **Page of diamonds** is dressed in courtly garb and carries a spear over his shoulder. A medallion shows the tax stamp of the original cards. The page is labeled "Page of the 16th Century." Kings (not shown) are designated with a small crown by the suit sign. **Title card** of the reproduction depicts the Iron Crown and gives the title, author and year of the original, plus the name of the current publisher.*

Collection of the author

Revolution of 1848 Tarock by Joseph Glanz, 1848 The pro-Revolution tarock pack, published in 1848 by Joseph Glanz, is a prime example of how the scenes on a tarock deck can reflect the events and emotions of the time. The revolutionary fever that shook France in 1848 was also felt in Germany, Hungary, Italy and Austria. The period of 1815 to 1848 in Austria is frequently referred to as the Age of Metternich, the powerful statesman of Austria. It was a time of reaction and the suppression of literary, as well as revolutionary, thought. This repression served to make the outbreak more violent when it did come in 1848. Although not completely successful, the revolution did force the abdication of the inept Emperor Ferdinand I in favor of his eighteen-year-old nephew, Franz Josef I (1848-1916). The movers and shakers of the revolution were the students and workers who tried, unsuccessfully, to force the enactment of a democratic constitution for Austria. They did achieve some social and political reforms. The trump cards of Glanz's pack are outspoken in their attacks on clergy, bureaucrats and police, all considered to have been part of reactionary forces. This pack is rare because so many were confiscated by the police.

There are fifty-four cards in the pack. The trumps are full-length with Roman numerals on both ends; the courts are double-ended. The pack was designed by Cajetan (Dr. Anton Elfinger) and printed from steel engravings. The cards are stencil colored, with some of the delicate facial features colored by brush. The tax stamp, printed in black and bearing a duty of 20 kreuzer and the date 1848, appears on the ace of hearts.

Glans Revolution of 1848 Tarock TOP ROW: ***Joker. I** depicts a man holding a leaflet saying, "Long live freedom!" The reverse end shows a student in shackles lifting a nightcap with his sword, thus revealing the light of rationalism. **II** shows an old police veteran standing by a gravesite. In his hand he carries a stick made of hazel wood—a* haslinger*—one of the favorite police weapons of that period and officially abolished by the revolution. The inscription on the headstone reads "Rest in peace you dear pigtail!" The pigtail, or* queue*, was a symbol of antiquated pedantry, red tape and pettifoggery. The lower inscription reads "Gone but not forgotten!", referring to the police truncheons. **III** depicts a conservative with a long* queue *who exclaims, "I'm willing to go along with some reforms, but I've had my pigtail for fifty years, and I don't intend to part with it!" **IIII** shows a university student ejecting a small dog from the campus. The dog is a spitz, an abbreviation for* spitzel *or "spy." The text reads "A small lesson which can do no harm." V depicts a student and a worker forging an iron called "constitution." The upper inscription means "A golden rule," while the lower reads "Strike while the iron is hot!"*

SECOND ROW: ***VI** shows Father Time with the pigtail of a conservative holding an infant who is blowing bubbles. The Latin inscription in the upper right,* variatio delectat! *means "variety delights." The lower inscription reads "Weak old times and immature new ones make for inept ministers who can't do the job." **VII**, titled "A liberal bureaucrat," shows an official who has cut off his pigtail. The lower inscription reads "Gentlemen, I hope my mustache will convince you how much I respect progress!" **VIII** has as its theme privacy of the mail. Strict censorship was a bone of contention at the revolutionary time. The lower text reads "Much knowledge causes headaches." **IX** caricatures unpleasant people who pretend to support revolutionary aims but who actually spend their time caterwauling. A cat carries a banner that says, "Only cat music," and the lower inscription reads "The end justifies the means." **X** points up the disunity which resulted because of constant arguments respecting German unification. "German unification" is shown on the flag while the lower inscription reads "Two voters anxious to unite." **XI** attacks the bureaucracy. The upper inscription reads "An old adage," the lower in Latin, "In wine there is truth."*

THIRD ROW: ***XII** shows a Jesuit priest putting on a woman's dress to hide his vestments. The top inscription reads "Metamorphism." The bottom inscription, in Latin, means, "All to the glory of God." **XIII** shows a shabby volunteer about to join his colleagues at the barricades. The lower inscription is the partial text of an old, soldier song. **XIV** depicts Diogenes, the Greek cynic philosopher, in his vain search for honest public servants. The inscription reads "I am searching for ministers." **XV** attacks the general corruption and lassitude of the period. The lower inscription reads "Man's fate rises and falls." **XVI** shows a dog—a spitz—preserved in a museum flask. Two soldiers hail it as "the last spy." **XVII** attacks the alleged low morals of the clergy.* Tartuffe, *the title of a Moliere comedy that attacked hypocrisy, appears at the upper right of the card. A priest with a wolf's head and paws says to one of his parishioners, "Have faith in your shepherd, my little sheep."*

BOTTOM ROW: ***XVIII** shows a priest who has changed into secular clothes, except for his collar. He has just informed his shocked housekeeper that effective immediately the priestly practice of celibacy is to be changed. **XIX** is yet another attack on the bureaucracy and shows a reactionary with pigtail repairing the damage to his garden wall. The inscription reads "Things will go bad for us unless we can repair this wall." **XX** depicts the nightmare of a censor. **XXI** titled "The true republican," shows Death standing on crowns and scepters, symbols of the monarchy and the clergy, reminding that death comes alike to kings and beggars.* ***King of spades. Ace of hearts.***

Collection of the author

Salzburger Tarock, 1983 reprint of circa 1850 deck In 1983 a reproduction of a fifty-four card tarock game originally made by Ignatz Preisinger of Salzburg was produced by Druckhaus Nonntal of Salzburg, Austria. The original maker's name is on the valet of clubs: *Ignatz Preisinger, Salzburg*. A tax stamp on the valet of clubs was valid in the Austro-Hungarian empire from 1859 to December 1881, but the deck was probably made around 1850. Ignatz Preisinger married Anna Maria Traunwiser, widow of a cardmaker, on February 6, 1817, and at that time continued the business of Joseph Traunwiser. All the cards are double-ended and the trumps II through XXI show scenes of Salzburg and environs, with titles in German for each scene. The suit cards have French suit signs, and the black suits have cards ten through seven, while the red suits have four through ace. The designs were engraved and stencil colored.

Encyclopedic Tarock, mid-nineteenth century Twenty-six cards remain from a seventy-eight-card tarock deck made by an unknown person, probably in Germany, in the mid-nineteenth century. The extant cards—twenty-one trumps, the "excuse" card and four knights—indicate that a previous owner apparently separated the rest of the cards from the deck to form a fifty-two-card French-suited deck. The trumps are an interesting mix of biblical, mythological and genre scenes. Each double-ended trump is numbered top and bottom in Arabic, and the cartouche displaying the number is different on each card. A few of the cartouches reflect the number of the card or the subject of the scenes on the card. Several variations of the deck were made, probably during the nineteenth century, and they contain similar types of scenes.

Classical Deities Tarock, mid-nineteenth century A seventy-eight-card tarock, crudely engraved and stencil colored by an unknown maker, has designs the same as those of the Classical Deities tarock packs published by LeQuart and B. P. Grimaud. However, these cards seem to date from the second or the third quarter of the nineteenth century, earlier than the LeQuart and Grimaud packs. This possible dating is based upon the lack of any tax stamps on this deck, whereas French decks after 1890 had tax stamps. Additionally, there are minor details present here that are missing on the other decks, probably due to wear of the plates. The faintness of detail could be due to light inking of plates. The cardboard used to make the deck is very rigid and brittle, although the cards themselves are hardly worn. The cards are printed in blue ink and have gold corners. Major Arcana cards depict Orientals and mythological sea monsters. The hard brush strokes on the pips are apparent on close examination.

Genre Tarock by Ritter & Cie, second half of nineteenth century A fifty-four-card pack published by Ritter & Cie, Prague, circa mid- to late nineteenth century, has trumps with double-ended scenes of rural life. Trump II depicts an eagle lacking a crown and without the usual *Industrie und Glück* message on the stone. The names *Ritter & Cie/Prague-Karlin* appear on the shields of the valets of clubs and diamonds. A tax stamp inscribed with *KOLEKZ HRACICH KARET 9 (4K)*, and the name of the maker with profile of rooster appear on ace of hearts. The designs are almost identical to tarocks published around the same time by Josef Glanz and Aug. Denk of Vienna. A genre tarock published later by Ferd. Piatnik & Söhne shows the same scenes drawn with more refinement.

Topsy-Turvy Tarock, 1982 reprint of circa 1854 deck A seventy-eight-card facsimile edition of a humorous animal tarock was published in 1982 by Edition Leipzig. The original designs date from around 1810 to 1820. The valet of clubs is marked with the name C.A. Müller of Berlin but the deck was first published after 1854 by Theodor Otto Sutor in Naumburg. The trump cards portray absurd situations of animals dressed as humans, going about everyday human activities. Another comic element is introduced by the roles the animals play, which conflict with their proverbial attributes.

Topsy-Turvy Tarock TOP ROW: ***Joker** is a paunchy clown in a harlequin costume. **I** is an ape shown as a birdkeeper playing pipes. **II** depicts a billy goat as a gardner, in spite of the fact that goats are notorious for digging up gardens. **III** portrays a tomcat playing a violin instead of yowling unharmoniously. **V** satirizes the "fool of fashion" by showing a turkey dressed as a fancy gentleman. **VI** plays on the proverbial stupidity of sheep by showing a ram as a scholar lecturing to sheep and rabbits.*

SECOND ROW: ***VII** illustrates a popular proverb that expresses scepticism: "When that happens, the ass will play the lute." Here, a hound accompanies the musician. **VIII** contrasts the gentleness expected of a nursemaid with a leopard, the animal known for savage ferocity, who is tending an infant. **IX** plays on the cat's fear of water by showing a cat carrying buckets of water from a pond. **X** shows a hound as a cook, against common wisdom that dogs are too greedy to be let into the kitchen. **XI** portrays a clumsy ox as a clockmaker. **XII** contrasts the watchfulness of a sentry with the stereotypical laziness and stupidity of a camel.*

THIRD ROW: ***XIII** satirizes the celibacy of monks by showing the rooster, which is known to be promiscuous in the barnyard, in monastic robes. **XIV** shows an owl lighting a lamp, in contradiction to the fact that owls are night birds. **XVII** portrays a stork dressed as a soldier with a trumpet. Storks were commonly considered symbols of harmony, not active, militant creatures. **XVIII** turns the fox from an animal of prey, who is especially fond of eating chickens, into a bird keeper. **XIX** makes the hunted the hunter, as a rabbit carries a gun and powder, and leads a hound on a leash. **XXI** is the strongest card of the deck, and illustrates the German proverb: "Death is the last doctor." A doctor with skeleton legs and a snake coiled on his shoulder pours a potion for a sick man.*

BOTTOM ROW: ***King of spades** holds a scepter topped with a cross and wears an ermine-trimmed robe. **Valet of clubs** carries a halberd and a shield that is emblazoned with the name of the maker of the deck:* C.A. Müller in Berlin. ***Queen of hearts** wears a dress with a long shawl draped over it. **Ace of hearts** features a German tax stamp reading:* BERLIN / ACHT S:GR: *(Silber Groschen). This stamp was valid around 1860 and shows the Prussian eagle. **Valet of diamonds** is shown in profile, holding a halberd. **King of diamonds** shows an oriental ruler. He wears a turban crown and carries a scepter surmounted by a crescent moon, as opposed to the cross on the king of spades' scepter.*

Collection of the author

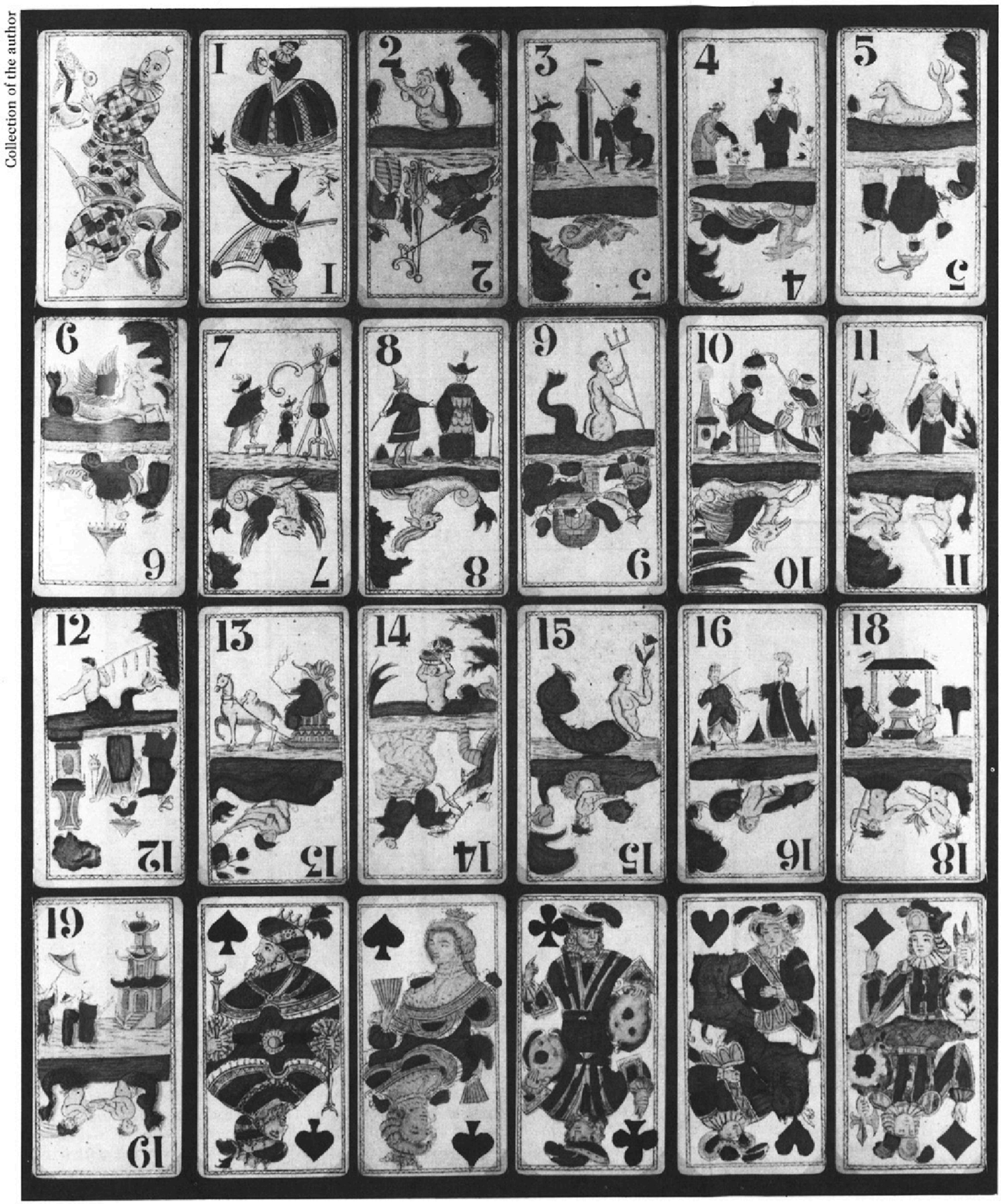
Collection of the author

Salzburger Tarock TOP ROW: ***Joker, with a typical picture of Harlequin holding a miniature man on the tip of his hat; I "Pagat" shows a small man in a parti-colored suit reaching for a cup of coffee on a table. II*** Wildbad-Gastein/Böckstein; ***III*** Pass-Klamm/Hof Gastein; ***IV*** Festung Werfen/Pass Lucy. SECOND ROW: ***XI*** St. Wolfgang/St. Gilgen; ***XII*** Salzburg/ Salzburg; ***XIII*** Mirabell vor dem Brande/Mirabell; ***XIV*** Lustsch. Klessheim/St. Johanns Spital; ***XV*** Lustsch. Hellbrun/ Leopoldskrone. THIRD ROW: ***XVI*** Vorstadt Mülln./ Gnigl u. Neuhaus; ***XVII*** Residenzplatz/Vorstadt Nonthal; ***XVIII*** Löchelplatz/Universitäts Platz; ***XIX*** Eingang in Aigen/Aigen; ***XX*** Grotte in Aigen/Kanzel in Aigen. BOTTOM ROW: ***XXI*** Maria Plain/Fürstenbrun; ***king of spades, valet of clubs, queen of hearts, knight of diamonds.***

Collection of Patrick Olgiati

Encyclopedic Tarock TOP ROW: *"Excuse" shows a mandolin player.* ***1*** *Harlequin/Doctor Faustus in his study.* ***2*** *Dancers/deer on the edge of the forest.* ***3*** *A peasant family carries food/a boy and girl stroll outdoors; the boy carries a sickle and a rake. The cartouches depict three stars.* ***4*** *Elephant/four cardplayers. The cartouches show squares surrounded by clovers.* SECOND ROW: ***5*** *Achilles drags the body of Hector around the walls of Troy/Mephistopheles and Doctor Faustus on Walpurgisnacht, with phoenixes in the cartouches.* ***6*** *Two scenes of Napoleon on horseback, with a crown enclosed in a six-pointed star on each cartouche.* ***7*** *David plays to King Saul/a troubadour.* ***11*** *A hunter shoots after a deer/a man shoots at a target.* ***12*** *A train/the boat "Der Taroc," with the cartouches showing clocks set at twelve o'clock.* THIRD ROW: ***13*** *A couple in the country/Absalom hanging by his hair. The cartouches, with their winged hourglasses that were sometimes used as a symbol of death, perhaps refer to the unlucky number 13 of the tarot deck.* ***14*** *A boat ride in the moonlight/a whale. The cartouches refer to the aquatic subjects by showing fish.* ***15*** *A bullfight/Daniel in the lion's den.* ***16*** *Children play on a seesaw/a couple dance in a park.* ***17*** *A sleighride/the Biblical characters Ruth and Boas.* BOTTOM ROW: ***20*** *Orpheus tames the fish with his song/Orpheus among the animals, with a lyre in each cartouche.* ***21*** *A man fishing/a bird fishing. Knight of spades. Knight of clubs. Knight of hearts.*

Collection of the author



Classical Deities Tarock *A seventy-eight-card tarock made in the mid-nineteenth century*

Collection of Agnes and Allan Ryan

Ritter Genre Tarock *A fifty-four-card genre tarock published by Ritter & Cie of Prague during the second half of the nineteenth century*

Military Tarocks by Joseph Glanz, 1854, 1858 and 1865 Starting in 1854, Joseph Glanz of Vienna issued several editions of the Military Tarock pack. Each of the editions vary from each other. Changes made on the cards incorporate historical events that occurred over the period in which the decks were printed. The court cards are double-ended and illustrate historical personages, for example, Karl VII on the king of spades.

Trump II of the first edition bears a likeness of Franz Joseph I as a twenty-four-year-old officer with a clean-shaven face. The deck originated in 1854, as evidenced by the stamp at the bottom of the ace of hearts, which reads, *Glanz/Joseph/Wien/1854.* The tax stamp on the ace of hearts was valid from November 1, 1850, until October 31, 1857, and carried a duty of 10 kreuzer. The full-length trumps are printed from engraved steel plates and stencil colored, except for the faces and hair, which were hand-colored. On trump XV, the signature of the engraver "J. Sürch" appears above the title, in the grass. Back design is repeating stars connected in a diamond pattern.

The second Military Tarock, issued in 1858, depicts Franz Joseph I with a small mustache on trump II. The identification stamp (upside down) on the ace of hearts reads *Glanz/Joseph/Wien/1858.* The tax stamp (also upside down) was valid from November 1, 1857, to around 1859, and is the so-called *Austria kopf,* or "Austria head," stamp. The number 60 at the bottom of the stamp indicates that the tax office was in Vienna.

The third Military Tarock pack issued by Joseph Glanz of Vienna bears the identification stamp *Glanz/Joseph/Wien/1865.* and the tax stamp of the imperial eagle in black, with the number 31 at the bottom indicating the stamping office. This stamp was valid from circa 1859 to September 30, 1877.

Between 1900 and 1912, Josef (with spelling of name changed from Joseph) Glanz reissued the Military Tarock pack of 1865. The tax stamp on the reissued deck in the author's collection is the double-headed eagle with the number 15 in the middle and the outside text reading *K.K. KARTENSTEMPEL 30.* The tax stamp was valid from 1900 to 1920. Josef Glanz worked until 1912.

Austro-Hungarian Tarock by Joseph Glanz, 1864 The hand-colored, full-length trumps from a fifty-four-card tarock published in 1864 by Joseph Glanz of Vienna depict engraved figures and scenes from the old provinces in the Austro-Hungarian empire and other places in Europe. Courts are double-ended. The initials "AE" appear on the belt of the man on card XV.

Hunting Tarock by Ferd Piatnik, 1856 A fifty-four-card pack engraved on copper and stencil colored by Ferd. Piatnik of Vienna, in 1856, shows humorous scenes of hunting. The hands, faces and hair were colored by brush. The name of the engraver, J. Sürch, appears at the bottom of the grass on trumps IIII and VII, and "J. Sürch 1856" is on trump XVII. Trumps II through XXI have full-length scenes. Large Roman numerals appear on both ends of the trumps. Court cards (not shown) are double-ended. Back design is a reddish-brown blotch pattern. The captions are in colloquial German.

Collection of the author

Brass Clock, circa 1890, and Viennese tarock rule book, circa 1888. *Trumps I, XXI and the Excuse cards, which form the support of the clock and appear on the cover of the book, are known in the game of tarock as* tous les trois. *The three cards are honors in the trump suit. A player with* tous les trois *in his or her first hand announces this at the end of the game and receives bonus points. The amount of points depends on the particular tarock game played. The book, titled* Illustrirtes Wiener Tarokbuch, *is by S. Ulmann, and was published in Vienna. The tarock cards illustrated in the text and on the cover of the book, and the cards formed by the clock, are typical Viennese genre tarocks of the nineteenth century.*

Collection of the author

Glans Military Tarock, 1854 TOP ROW: ***Joker with copyright notices on left and right; I Clown with a foil, a dead goose and a funnel hat; II*** Franz Josef I *as a young man; III* Die Rückkehr des Braven in seine Heimath *(The return of the brave to his home); IIII* Alte Bekanntschaft *(Old acquaintance); V* F. Z. M. B. Welden *was master of ordnance.* SECOND ROW: ***VI*** G. M. Benedek *was a major general in the Austrian army. VII* F. Z. M. B. Jellacic *was master of ordnance and a baron. VIII* Ein Verposten in Italien im Sommer 1848 *(A sentry in Italy in the summer of 1848); IX* Ein Verposten in Ungarn im Winter 1849 *(A sentry in Hungary in winter of 1849); X* Heldentod *(A hero's death); XI* Ein Bivouac *(A bivouac).* THIRD ROW: ***XII*** Der treue Komerad *(The loyal comrad); XIII* Ein Serreshaner Officier *(A Balkan officer); XIV* Hurra-Hoch dem Kriegerstande! *(Hurray for the life of a soldier!); XV* F. Z. M. B. Haynau *(master of ordnance Baron Haynau); XVI* Ein sterben der Soldat *(The death of a soldier); XVII* F. M. I. d'Aspre belohnt auf dem Schlachtfelde einen Tapfern *(Lieutenant Field Marshal d'Aspre decorates a valiant officer).* BOTTOM ROW: ***XVIII*** F. M. I. G. Schlick *(Lieutenant Field Marshal G. Schlick); XIX* Ein russischer Verposten in Ungarn *(A Russian sentry in Hungary); XX* F. M. Graf Radetzky *(Field Marshal Count Radetzky); XXI* Kosak *(Cossack); ace of hearts; back design.*

Collection of the author

Glans Military Tarock, 1858 *Several of the trumps have been changed to reflect historical events since the first deck of 1854. Trump V now shows* Erzh Albrecht *(Archduke Albrecht), but only the face of the figure has been changed with the addition of mustache and eyeglasses. Trump XVIII is now called* G.d.C. G. Schlick *(General of Cavalry G. Schlick) and the uniform of the figure, especially the hat, has been changed. Other comparisons are shown in the composite illustration showing cards from all three decks.*

Collection of the author

Glans Military Tarock, 1865 *On trump II of this third Military Tarock, Franz Joseph I has a full mustache and bushy sideburns. Different pictures appear on trumps VII, X, XIII, XVI and XVII, again reflecting historical changes since 1858. The horseman on trump XXI is changed slightly by the different helmet he wears. The text of trump cards V, VI and XV has changed. Trump V is changed to* Erzh. Albrecht F.M. *(Field Marshal Archduke Albrecht) and the figure has a smaller mustache and no sideburns. Trump X is completely different and now illustrates* Erstürmung des Königsberges *(Storming of Königsberg). Trump XIII shows* Schlacht by Oebersee *(Battle by Oebersee). XVI is also different and portrays* F. M. L. Freih von Gablenz belohnt die Tapfern *(Lieutenant Field Marshal Baron von Gablenz decorating the brave). Trump XVII is changed to show a battlefield* vor Fridericia. *XVIII depicts* G. M. Prinz Würtemberg *(Major General Prince Würtemberg). See composite illustration of cards from all three packs for additional changes.*

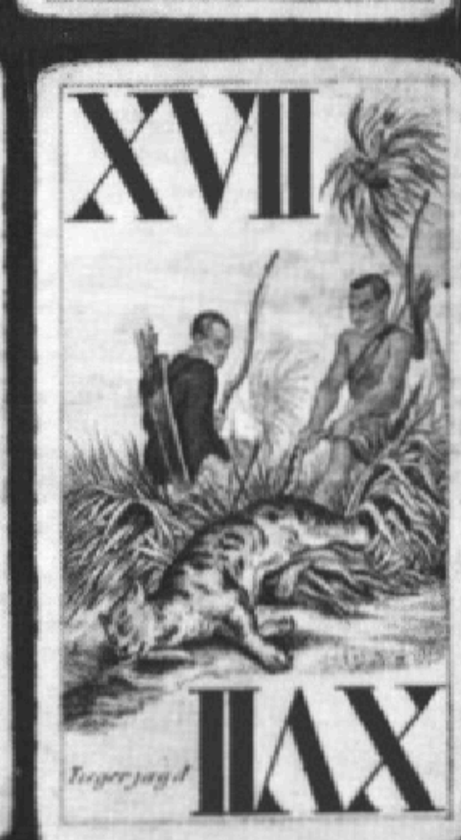
Collection of the author

Glanz Military Tarocks *Six cards from each of three different Military Tarocks, by Joseph Glanz, dating from 1854, 1858 and 1865. The two 1858 decks shown (second and third rows) are identical, with the exception of the tax stamps, one of which is numbered 60 while the other is numbered 61. Trump II of the first deck shows Franz Josef I as a young man; in the 1958 decks he has a thin mustache, and in the 1865 deck his mustache is thick and he has sideburns. His shoulders are slightly heavier in the 1865 version. VII shows* F.Z.M.B. Jellacic *in the 1854 deck; and* F.Z.M.Gr. Jellacic *in the 1858 decks. The 1865 deck is completely changed to show* Sturm auf Oberselk *(Storming of Oberselk). Trump XV changes the 1854* F.Z.M. B. Haynau *to* F.Z.M. Freih v. Hess. *XIX depicts a Russian sentry in 1854. The 1858 and 1865 decks show a cavalry charge on card XIX. Card XXI, in 1854, showed a cossack riding through a marsh. In 1858 the card was changed to show a Uhlane on horseback in the same scene, with the clouds around the moon slightly changed, and this scene remained in the 1865 deck, with a slight change in the soldier's helmet. Aces of hearts show the various tax stamps and the maker's stamps with dates.*

Collection of Agnes and Allan Ryan

Glans Austro-Hungarian Tarock TOP ROW: ***I*** *shows Harlequin and Columbine dancing around a wheel with the four suit signs of clubs, diamonds, spades and hearts.* ***II*** *The imperial family with their dog;* ***III*** Kärnthen und Krainl *(Carinthian and Carniolan);* ***IIII*** Serbien Militär Grenze *(soldier from the border of Serbia);* ***V*** Croatien *(Croatian).* SECOND ROW: ***VI*** Ober. Österreicher *(Upper Austrian);* ***VII*** Bukonvina; ***VIII*** Venedig *(Venice);* ***IX*** Schlosier; ***X*** Unter Österreicher *(Lower Austria).* THIRD ROW: ***XI*** Slavonien *(Yugoslavian);* ***XII*** Galizien *(Polish Galician);* ***XIII*** Triest; ***XIV*** Mährer *(Moravian);* ***XV*** Tyrol. BOTTOM ROW: ***XVI*** Böhmen *(Bohemian);* ***XVII*** Steirer *(Styrian);* ***XVIII*** Ungarn *(Hungarian);* ***XIX*** Salzburg; *king of hearts with two-headed heraldic eagle on his chest ribbon.*

Collection of Allan and Agnes Ryan



Austrian Scenic Tarock by V. Ferd Pittner, circa 1865 The full-length pictures on the trumps of a fifty-four-card scenic tarock show places of the Austrian province Carinthia. Titles identify the sites, and Roman numerals are on each end of the card. The court cards are double-ended figures wearing provincial costumes. The jack of spades confirms the cardmaker, *V. Ferd. Pittner*, and the jack of hearts, the city, *Fabricirt in Graz.*

Danish Scenic Tarock by Holmblads, circa 1870 A seventy-eight-card tarock pack was made from engraved plates by Laurits Peter Holmblads, who worked from 1837 to 1890. The maker's name and city can be seen on the valet of clubs: *L. P. Holmblads Fabrik i Kjøbenhavn* (L. P. Holmblads, cardmaker of Copenhagen). The trump cards feature double-ended scenes of Copenhagen and its environs, and both ends of the cards are the same. Roman numerals are used, but on trump IX the Arabic numeral 9 is also inserted. Cards II through XXI have beige backgrounds and are not colored, except for some details such as clouds and lakes that are highlighted in white. Court cards are double-ended. Card XXI (not shown) has its number band colored in lavender. Trump I, the court cards and the pips are stencil colored by hand. Ace of diamonds has a red tax stamp of a shield emblazoned with lions and topped with a crown, within a circle. This stamp was valid in Denmark from 1830 to 1890. The deck is gold-edged and printed on paper thinner than that used for most cards of the time. Back design is red dots in a swirling floral design on a white background. Many editions of this deck were made. One edition, by S. Salomon & Co. of Copenhagen, featured Arabic instead of Roman numerals, and showed different scenes on cards 2 and 5.

Waverly Tarock by Joseph Glanz, 1863 A fifty-four-card pack published by Joseph Glanz of Vienna shows, on the trumps, scenes from novels by Sir Walter Scott, the early-nineteenth-century Scottish writer. Most of the scenes are from the "Waverly novels," which expressed the need for social reform. The novels illustrated by the trumps include *Lady of the Lake, Kenilworth, Ivanhoe, Peveril of the Peak, Quentin Durward, Waverly,* and *Guy Mannering.* The court cards are double-ended and portray figures of British history. The ace of hearts bears a tax stamp valid in Vienna from circa 1859 to September 30, 1877. The ace of hearts also shows the stamp of the maker with the date 1863. The trump cards contain double-ended Roman numbers and full-length figures.

Piatnik Hunting Tarock TOP ROW: ***Joker. I*** *Dancers with tambourine and lute.* ***II*** Nur nit so hitzig a Gnad'n! *(Take your time, sir!) shows an elderly hunter, bundled up against the cold, shooting over the head of a rabbit while the dog sleeps nearby.* ***III*** Wo is denn Hunderl—Waldmanderl schön herrein, da, da! *(Where is my dog—the animal is over here—there! there!) shows a fox defiantly crossing the path of the hunter while the dog is nowhere in sight to challenge it.* ***IIII*** Gute Dressur *(A well-trained hound) eats the shot bird instead of retrieving it, while the hunter rushes furiously from the trees.*

SECOND ROW: ***V*** Ein hitziger Schütze *(Too quick on the trigger) results in a deer charging in front of a startled hunter, whose rifle fires aimlessly.* ***VI*** Im Schottischen Hochgebirge *(In the Scottish Highlands) depicts the hunter and his dog resting near their game.* ***VII*** Ausgang am Morgen *(Morning stroll) portrays a hunter, gun in his arm, strolling with his dog.* ***VIII*** Da hätt i do mein Kopf verwelt' dass däs an Ant'n wär! *(I could have sworn I hit a duck!) exclaims an irate and embarrassed hunter, who holds up a dead bat while the duck flies away overhead.* ***IX*** (O du grundgütiger Himel da komt das Best! *(Oh, good Lord, here comes the beast!) cries the hunter, with his foot caught in a trap, as a wolf dashes in front of him.*

THIRD ROW: ***X*** Heut' sieht me do wieder kan anzig'n Schnepf'n! *(Another day and not a snipe in sight!) says the hunter perching in a tree and gazing at the sky, while the birds fly by safely below him.* ***XI*** Im fremden Revier *(On strange hunting grounds) shows the hunter in a cabbage patch, confronted by an irate farmer who has grabbed away his rifle.* ***XII*** Am Anstand *(Always alert) describes the hunter who dozes after drinking some wine. A deer approaches, unseen.* ***XIII*** Da komt's her—da liegt die Sau! *(Come over here, where the boar lies!) the hunter yells to another hunter as he trips over the fallen animal.* ***XIV*** Auf der Parforcejagd *(Hunting with the pack) shows a hunter on horseback, ready to ride off with his hunting dogs.*

BOTTOM ROW: ***XV*** Ein unbethener Gast *(An uninvited guest) shows the hunter scrambling up a tree as a bear devours the picnic lunch.* ***XVI*** Der Wildschütze auf der Lauer *(A poacher on the lookout) shows a man with a rifle and a bag of rabbits.* ***XVII*** Tiegerjagd *(Tiger hunt) shows a tiger being dragged away by a native warrior, while another warrior looks on.* ***XIX*** Schlime Nachbarn *(Bad neighbors) are the two hunters who steal the game of another hunter who is asleep.* ***XXI*** *Franz Josef I portrays the young emperor of Austria posing near the woodgrouse, or* auerhahn, *that he has shot. The bird is the most prized fowl trophy in Europe. Later editions of this pack show an older Franz Josef I on trump XXI.*

Collection of the author

Pittner Austrian Scenic Tarock TOP ROW: ***Joker** wears a hat with cat ears and a capelet showing suit signs. An imp straddles his shoulder, pouring money into his hat. **I** depicts the dainty figures of Harlequin and Columbine dancing around an oval.* ***II*** Eggenberg, ***III*** Villa Kleinoscheg, ***IIII*** Maria Grün. SECOND ROW: ***V*** Tobelbad, ***VI*** Schloss Thal, ***IX*** Hilmerteich, ***X*** Elisabethstrasse, ***XI*** Graz v. Nicolaiplatz. THIRD ROW: ***XII*** Maria Trest, ***XIII*** St. Gotthard, ***XIV*** K. K. Reitschule in St. Leonhard, ***XV*** Circus, ***XVI*** Evangelische Kirche. BOTTOM ROW: ***XVII*** Rathhaus, ***XVIII*** K. K. Kad. Institut zu Liebenau, *valet of spades, queen of clubs, valet of hearts.*

Collection of the author

Holmblads Danish Scenic Tarock TOP ROW: ***"Excuse"*** *card shows a man playing a tambourine.* ***I*** *Harlequin wears a mask and bears a wooden sword.* ***II*** *L. P. Holmblads' card factory,* ***III*** *Hansen's observatory,* ***IIII*** *University of Copenhagen,* ***V*** *Holmblad's factory for making glue.* SECOND ROW: ***VI*** *Roskilde Cathedral,* ***VII*** *New Custom House,* ***VIII*** *government building,* ***IX*** *(9) Frederiksberg Castle,* ***X*** *a castle,* ***XI*** *National Bank.* THIRD ROW: ***XII*** *Thorvaldsens Museum (interior),* ***XIII*** *Exhibition Hall,* ***XIIII*** *Royal Theater,* ***XV*** *Thorlvaldsens Museum (exterior),* ***XVI*** *Royal Palace,* ***XVII*** *stock exchange.* BOTTOM ROW: ***XVIII*** *Rosenborg Castle,* ***XIX*** *Frue Church,* ***XX*** *Nikolaj Church, king of spades, valet of clubs, ace of diamonds.*

Collection of the author

Tarock Game Box *The Danish tarock game box from the second half of the nineteenth century is decorated on the inside cover with scenes from the trump cards, The Fool and I Pagat. The two rectangular boxes decorated with the knights of hearts and clubs each contain a seventy-eight-card Danish Scenic Tarock by Laurits Peter Holmblads. The square boxes at the four corners, decorated with one half of trump XXI and the queens of diamonds, hearts and clubs, contain chips. The rectangular center box is divided into two sections used to hold the ante. One section shows the king of spades and the other shows Pagat. The last trick of the game won with Pagat is called Pagat Ultimo and the player taking the trick wins the ante inside the half of the box for Pagat. Should the player unsuccessfully attempt to win the last trick using Pagat, the ante must be matched by the player. Similarly, when someone plays the last trick with the king of spades, called King Ultimo, the player takes the ante in the King Ultimo box if successful, or matches the ante.*

Waverly Tarock TOP ROW: ***Joker*** *is Wamba Hoffnarr, a character in* Ivanhoe *(not one of the Waverly novels), who was the quick-witted court jester to Cedric the Saxon, master of Rotherwood during the reign of Richard I. Wamba helped Cedric escape the Normans at Torquilstone Castle by dressing him in a priest's robe.* ***I Chalob,*** *with holes in the knees of his breeches, sneaks toward victuals on a block. He wears a pack to which a violin is attached.* ***II Das Fräulein vom See*** *(The Lady from the Sea) shows a man and a woman on a boat with two dogs in the foreground.* ***III Das Fräulein vom See*** *(The Lady from the Sea) shows the scene in which the minstrel prophet, Allan-Bane, gives the dying Roderick Dhu the impression that his rebel clans fought gloriously, whereas in reality they did not fight at all.* ***IV Kenilworth 1 Th.*** *depicts Amy Robsart, the wife of the earl of Leicester, imprisoned at Cumnor Place. Her maid, Janet Foster, is with her and will help her escape.*

SECOND ROW: ***V Kenilworth 2 Th.*** *shows Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, and his secret wife, Amy Robsart. On the side is a courtier, Richard Varney.* ***VI Ivanhoe 3 Th.*** *shows Lady Rowena and Ivanhoe. Lady Rowena ends up marrying Ivanhoe.* ***VII Ivanhoe 2 Th.*** *portrays Isaac of York and his daughter Rebecca, who befriend Ivanhoe.* ***VIII Ivanhoe 1 Th.*** *shows Rebecca fleeing from her persecutors, who have accused her of witchcraft. Ivanhoe's party rescues her.* ***IX Peveril*** *shows two men outdoors with a young woman.*

THIRD ROW: ***X Peveril*** *depicts a woman greeting a man in black, while another man is behind her.* ***XI Robin der Rothe,*** *from* Rob Roy, *shows Rob Roy, a Scottish outlaw, with his friend Frank Osbaldistone.* ***XII Quentin Durward*** *portrays Quentin Durward, a noble Scot, with Isabelle, the Countess de Croye, whom he marries after a series of trials.* ***XIV Die Gefängnisse von Edimburg*** *(The Prisoner of Edinburgh) shows a woman on her knees pleading with a man.* ***XV Die Gefängnisse von Edimburg 5*** *portrays a woman kneeling before a haughty woman who is accompanied by a woman and a man.*

BOTTOM ROW: ***XVI Wawerly 1 Th.*** *[sic] shows a sword fight in an inn.* ***XVIII Gui Manering 2 Th.*** *(Guy Mannering) shows a moonlit scene between Captain Brown, whose real name is Harry Bertram, and Julia Mannering.* ***Queen of hearts*** *is Maria (Mary) Stuart.* ***Ace of hearts*** *has the stamp of the maker and an Austrian tax stamp.* ***Ace of diamonds*** *shows the imperial eagle and the name and address of the maker:* Spielkarten Fabrik/des Joseph Glanz/Niederlage/in Wien Kohlmarkt No. 279.

Collection of Agnes and Allan Ryan

Viennese Types Tarock by Josef Glanz, circa 1866 to 1877 A fifty-four-card tarock pack published by Josef Glanz, Vienna, circa 1866 to 1877, is known as the "Viennese Types" tarock and as the *Tarock mit Wiener Ausrufern* (Tarock with Viennese Cryers). The copper engraved scenes are stencil colored except for the brush painted hands, cheeks and hair. Large Roman numerals are at both ends of the trumps. Court cards are double-ended. The ace of hearts contains the stamp of the maker and two tax stamps. The top tax stamp dates from approximately 1859 to 1877, and the bottom tax stamp, with a red eagle and blue text, dates from January 1, 1882, to December 31, 1899, or from January 1, 1900, to April 22, 1900. The spelling of the maker's name, "Josef," dates the deck to at least 1866, since previous to that Glanz spelled his first name "Joseph."

Glanz Viennese Types Tarock TOP ROW: ***Joker.*** I *A young urchin runs through the streets with a cigarette in hand and ladies' boots over his arm. Copyright notices by the publisher are at the left and right sides of the card.* **II Strassen Concert** *(Street Concert) consists of a man singing while an old woman plays a hurdy-gurdy.* **III Frau Sali vom Schanzl** *(Mrs. Sali at the Market) sells baskets of produce.* **IIII Bitte sehr bitte gleich** *(Please, please, just a moment) exclaims a frenzied waiter as dishes and food fall from his hands.*

SECOND ROW: **V Am Graben** *(Along the canal) shows a prostitute out for a stroll as two male followers ogle her.* **VI Nichts zu handeln** *(Nothing for sale) says an old man bearing various articles of clothing.* **VII Transport Gesellschaft** *(Transportation Society) suggests a fancy name for an old couple shoveling snow.* **VIII Kaufe Blechg'schirr** *(Pots and pans for sale) offers a street peddler as two dogs prance around him.* **IX Palast Cerberus** *(Palace Guard) is a heavy-set man bundled in an enormous coat and hat. The formidable man is called Cerberus after the three-headed dog of Roman and Greek mythology who stood guard at the gates of Hades. Thess types were often caricatured because of their self-importance.*

THIRD ROW: **X Fahr'n ma Euer Gnaden** *(A ride, your honor) a coachman offers, lifting his hat and opening the door of a carriage for his fare.* **XI Wächter der Sicherheit** *(Security guard), a policeman with sword, stands casually in front of a fence.* **XII Wäschermädl** *(Laundry woman) carries a heavy basket of laundry.* **XIII Ob Schön ob Regen** *(Come rain or shine) shows a sexy woman kicking her foot high in the air at a startled, well-dressed man.* **XIV Wenzel von Pane Ober Lieutenant** *(First Lieutenant von Wenzel) is a young boy—an officer's batman—dressed in a uniform and wearing a sword, standing with his dog in front of a guardhouse.*

BOTTOM ROW: **XV Lotterie Schwestern** *(Lottery Sisters) are three old women talking in front of the lottery.* **XVI Heisse Maron** *(Roast chestnuts) calls a street peddler.* **XVII Komm schon** *(Come on—open up!) depicts an old man wearing nightclothes and holding a lantern, trying to open a door with a key.* ***Knave or* unter *of clubs*** *bears the name and city of the maker.* **Ace of hearts.**

Collection of Allan and Agnes Ryan

Costume Tarock by Joseph Glanz, 1865 The figures of the fifty-four-card tarock pack published in 1865 by Joseph Glanz of Vienna wear romantic costumes of characters who were popular around *Faschingszeit,* or Mardi Gras. The beautiful and delicate designs are by J. Benedict, whose name appears on trump II of a pack from circa 1900, in the Cary Collection of Playing Cards. The name of the cardmaker and city of publication appear on the valet of hearts—*Josef Glanz in Wien.* The remaining valets carry the following text: (spades) *K:K: land: pr: Spielkarten* = (clubs) *Fabrik, Wieden Hauptstr. No. 59.* (diamonds) *Niederlage, Kohlmarkt No. 20.* The ace of hearts bears a tax stamp and the maker's seal: *Glanz/Joseph/Wien/1865.* The tax stamp was valid from 1859 to 1877 in Vienna, and shows the imperial eagle. The number at the bottom of the stamp designates the stamp office.

The beautiful designs of the Costume Tarock were successful, for around 1885, Josef Glanz of Vienna reprinted the deck. The reprint can be dated by the tax stamp: a red eagle numbered 12 (?) surrounded by a blue band with the text, *K. K. Kartenstempel/30.* This stamp was valid from April 15, 1881, to April 22, 1890, with a duty of 30 kreuzer in at least the year 1885. The cards are ornately engraved and hand-colored. Glanz's address changed since the 1865 Costume Tarock was printed, as can be seen by the writing on the valets: (on the valet of clubs) *Fabrik, Wieden Kleinschmiedg: 3.* (valet of diamonds) *Niederlage, Kohlmarkt No. 4.* (valet of hearts) *Josef Glanz in Wien.* The backs have no design.

Ferd. Piatnik & Söhne also reprinted the Costume Tarock using the steel engraved plates made by Josef Glanz in the late nineteenth century. Under the Piatnik horse on the ace of hearts, the date of printing is shown as 1914, two years after Piatnik acquired the Glanz firm. The ace of hearts shows the name and trademark of Piatnik: *Ferd. Piatnik & Söhne/Wien/Registrierte Schutzmarke* (Registered Trademark). Also on the ace of hearts is a tax stamp showing the imperial eagle in blue and the text, *K.K. Kartenstempel,* in red. Tax amount (at bottom) is 60 heller. This stamp was valid from April 23, 1900, to August 16, 1920. The name *Ferd. Piatnik & Söhne* is on the valet of diamonds, and the address *Wien, XIII/4 Hütteldorferstr. 229-231* is on the valet of hearts.

Collection of the author

Costume Tarock TOP ROW: *Valet of hearts, valet of diamonds, valet of clubs and ace of hearts from deck by Glanz, circa 1885.* BOTTOM ROW: *Valet of diamonds, valet of hearts, valet of spades and ace of hearts from reprint of Glanz's deck, 1914.*

Collection of the author

Glans Costume Tarock TOP ROW: **Jester** *with an imp on his shoulder and the four suit symbols on the breast shield of his costume; the words,* Mit Vorbehalt der Vervielfältigung *(All rights reserved), appear on the top right and bottom left sides of the card. I shows Harlequin and Columbine around a wheel depicting the four suit signs. II* Prince Carnaval *is a jester; III* Musquetaire de la reine *(Queen's musketeer); IIII* Folichonne *(Frolicker).* SECOND ROW: ***VI*** Postillon d'amour *(Messenger of love); VIII* Bohémienne *(Bohemian); IX* Bergere *(Shepherdess); XI* Ecossai *(Scottish man); XII* A la Pompadour *(in the style of the Marquise de Pompadour, who lived from 1721 to 1764).* THIRD ROW: ***XIV*** Hazardeuse *(Chance); XV* Troubadour; ***XVI*** Polonaise *(Polish woman); XVIII* Liliputains; ***XXI*** Marotte et Pantin *(Bauble and Puppet).* BOTTOM ROW: *Jack of spades; jack of clubs; jack of hearts; jack of diamonds; ace of hearts.*

Hungarian Tarocks, nineteenth century Hungarian tarocks (or tarokk) decks usually have forty-two cards: twenty-two trumps, sixteen court cards, a ten in each black suit, and an ace in each red suit.

Genre Tarock by Ludwig Jos. Jaeger, circa 1877 to 1881 The fifty-four-card Genre Tarock pack by Ludwig Jos. Jaeger of Vienna was printed from engravings and stencil colored by hand. A brush stroke is visible in the suit mark on the upper left of the queen of hearts. The tax stamp on the ace of hearts was valid in Vienna from October 1, 1877, to December 31, 1881, and shows a red imperial eagle in a blue border with the text *K.K. Kartenstempel/1.* The duty was 15 kreuzer. The trumps are double-ended with Roman numerals; the courts are also double-ended. The valet of clubs bears the inscription: *Ludwig Jaeger/ Spielkarten fabrikant in Wien/Fabrik/Landstrasse Ungarg. No. 47* and the valet of diamonds reads, *Niederlage bei/Fried Jakoby/I. B. Tuchlauben 18/Wien.* The ace of hearts shows the maker's name and city. Back design is a pattern of double gray crescents and swirling dots on a cream background. Card II is missing, but it probably showed the eagle perched on a rock carved with the message *Industrie und Glück,* as this deck is typical of the *Industrie und Glück* tarocks of the time.

Cancan Tarock by Ferd. Piatnik & Söhne, circa 1880 Full-length pictures on the trumps from a fifty-four-card pack published by Ferd. Piatnik & Söhne, Vienna, depict dancers and top-hatted partners in scenes from the popular French cancan dance. The deck was made around 1880. Large Roman numerals are on each end of the trumps. The deck was also called "Cavalier's Tarock." The maker's name is on the valet of spades and the ace of hearts. Back design is a blue pattern on a white field.

Patriotic Tarock by Fran Cebokli & Dr., circa 1882 to 1900 A nationalistic tarock was made in the late nineteenth century by Fran Cebokli & Dr. of Yugoslavia. The trumps and courts feature beautiful illustrations of people in folk costume, often celebrating festivals, some of ancient pagan origin. The trumps and courts are double-ended. Suits vary from the usual French suits for tarock, with suits of leaves, swords, spearheads and shields. The ace of shields shows the maker's name around a small, round picture of a warrior holding a shield emblazoned with a leaf. Above the suit sign are two tax stamps: one is Austrian and was valid from 1882 to 1900. The other, imprinted over the Austrian stamp, is possibly Yugoslavian.

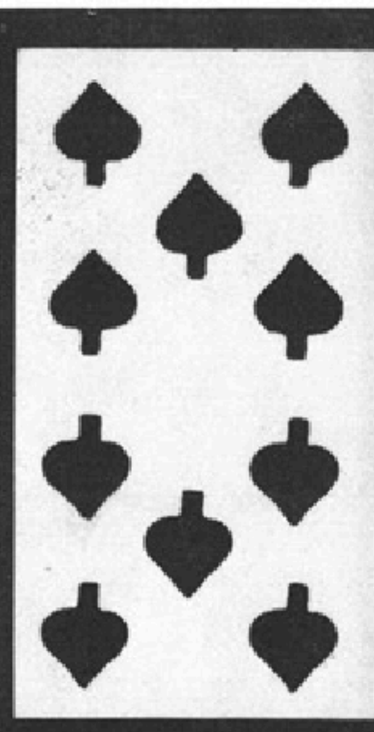
Hungarian Tarocks TOP ROW: ***Animal Tarock** by Karoly (Carl) Giergl, dating from the mid-nineteenth century. Double-ended trumps portray male and female animals and suits are spades, clubs, hearts and diamonds. On the shield of the jack of hearts (not shown) is the name and city of the maker:* Carl Giergl/in Pest.

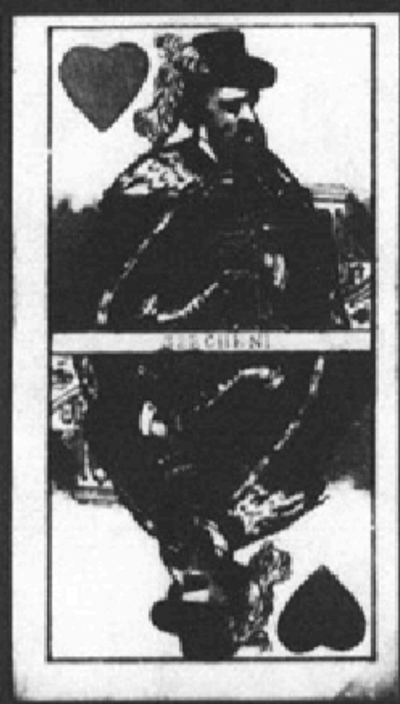
SECOND ROW: *(First three cards) **Hungarian National Tarock** made by Josef (Joseph) Wilner, circa 1858. Trumps depict various scenes of Hungary, and the court figures are dressed in national gala costumes. The first trump card is marked* Excises *and shows a man holding a ham and a decanter of wine. Trump XVI shows races, and the valet of hearts holds a shield reading,* Kiadja Josef Wilner/Pesten. *The cards were engraved by Tormasy and stencil colored. (Second group of three cards) **Scenic Tarock** by István (Stefan) Giergl, circa 1865. The full-length trumps show pictorial landscapes with Roman numerals on each end. Courts are double-ended. Trump XX shows a view of a village through an archway. Ace of hearts reads,* Aus der lten K.K. ausschl. privil./Spiel-Karten-Fabrik/des Stefan Giergl/in Pesth. *The knight(?) of diamonds looks rather sinister as he grasps a sword and glares over his shoulder. An eagle is on his helmet. Back design (not shown) is marbled crimson.*

THIRD ROW: *(First group of three cards) **Concordia Tarock** features trumps with full-length scenes of different people of Hungary. Trump I shows a horseback rider who resembles an American cowboy. Courts are double-ended and name Hungarian kings, statesmen, poets and other famous people. King(?) of hearts shows Szecheni. Ace of hearts reads,* Giergl István/elsö magy. Cs. K. Zsab:/Kártja Gyárábol/Pesten. *An Austrian tax stamp, valid from 1859 to 1881, is shown. Back design (not shown) is a garland pattern in green and light brown. (Second group of three cards, third row) **Scenic Tarock** has full-length scenes on trumps with Roman numerals on each end. The deck has fifty-four cards lithographed and stencil colored, and it was made by Elso Magyar Reszveny Kartya Gyar Tarsulat in Pest (First Hungarian Playing Card Factory). Trump XXI shows a traveler resting by his horse, a gun leaning on his leg. Queen of spades is a buxom woman holding a glass of spirits in her right hand and a mask in her left hand. Ace of hearts reads:* Leg finomabb magyar/Salon Tarok Kartya/Legujabb eredeti kiadas./Elso Magyar/Reszveny Kartya/Gyar Tarsulat/Pesten.

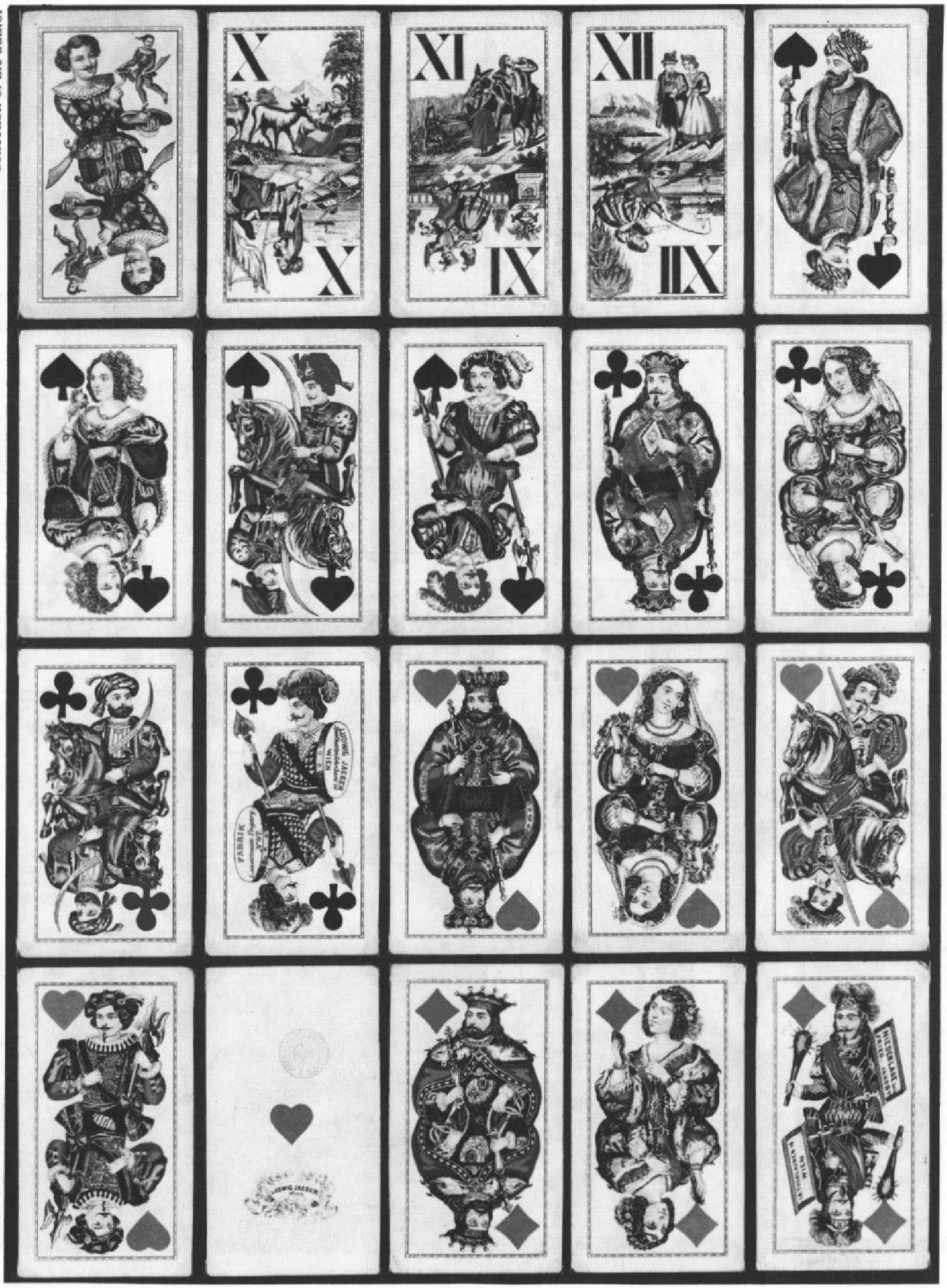
BOTTOM ROW: ***Scenic Tarock** by Elso Magyar Kartyagyar Reszveny Tarsulat, circa 1890. Double-ended stencil colored engravings on trumps show views of Hungarian cities. Trump IV shows Krasnahorka var, a castle on a hill, and Torna, also a mountainous place. XIX is of Sumegh and Matias Temper Buda. Jack of hearts holds a shield naming the city and maker in Hungarian and in German. Backs show stars on a dark green background.*

Collection of Ben Zsoldos





Collection of the author

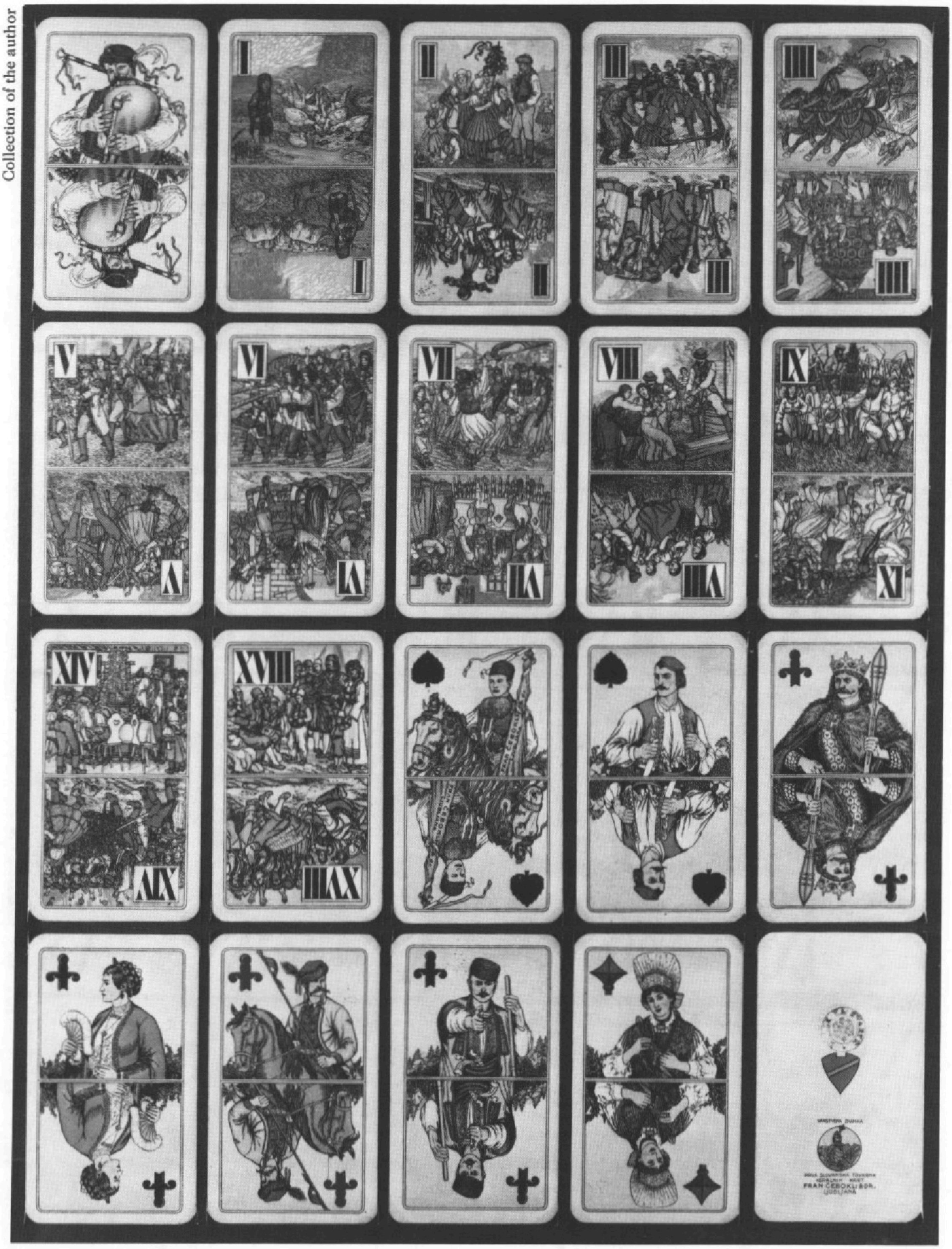


Jaeger Genre Tarock *This tarock, circa 1877 to 1881, is typical of the* Industrie und Glück *type, but trump II does not have the motto carved on the rock on which the eagle is perched.*

Collection of Agnes and Allan Ryan

Piatnik Cancan Tarock *Around 1880, Ferd. Piatnik & Söhne published the Cancan Tarock. The cancan dance became popular in the mid-nineteenth century, after originating in Paris in the 1830s.*

Collection of the author



Genre Tarock by Josef Glanz, circa 1882 to 1899 The fifty-four-card genre deck by Josef Glanz of Vienna was probably published between January of 1882 and August of 1899, judging by the tax stamp on the ace of hearts, which was valid for that period of time, and by the address, shown on the valet of clubs, where the maker had a factory in the last decade of the 1800s. The tax stamp was the first two-color stamp to be used in Austria and it shows the double-headed imperial eagle in blue and the text in red. The duty was 60 kreuzer, and the number 23, on the center shield, denotes the stamping office. The name and address of the maker appear on the valet of clubs: *K.k. land. privil./ Spielkarten—Fabrik/des/Josef Glanz/in Wien/V/1, Schlossgasse 18a/Niederlage:/I. Graben 17.* On the left and right is a small round seal reading *Schutzemarke* (trademark) and showing four suit signs. The maker's name and city also appear on the valet of diamonds and on the ace of hearts. The back design is a repeating red pattern of two concentric semi-circles, the larger circle closed by a dot, surrounded by swirling dots on a white field. On trump II, a crowned eagle with sword and scepter perches on a rock with the sign *Industrie und Glück* (Industry and Fortune). *Industrie und Glück* tarocks were printed in many variations by different publishers including Ludwig Jaeger, C. Titze & Schinkay, and Ferd. Piatnik & Söhne, all of Vienna.

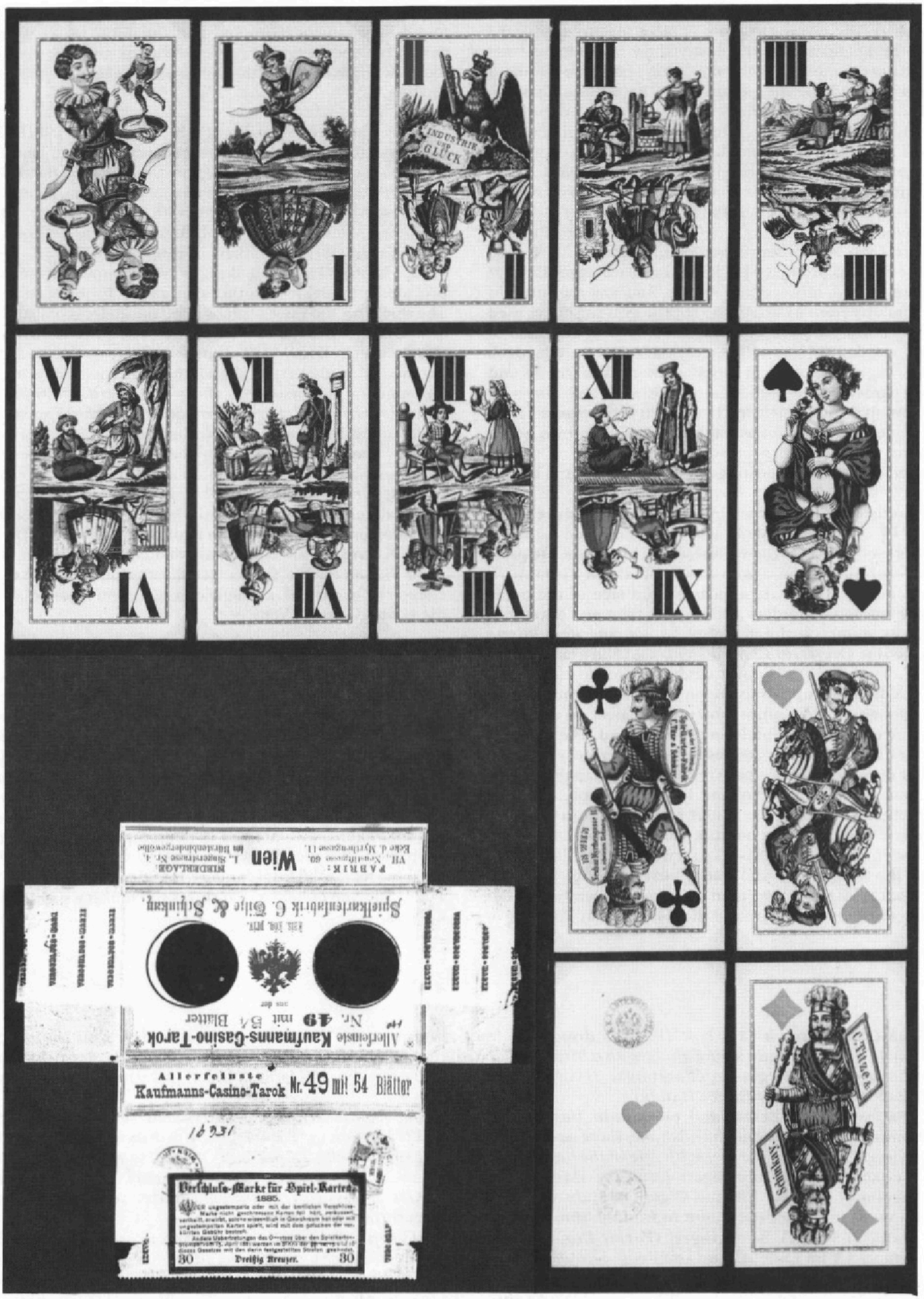
Genre Tarock by C. Titze & Schinkay, 1885 A fifty-four-card tarock pack with double-ended trumps showing genre scenes was published in 1885 by C. Titze & Schinkay. The original wrapper identifies the pack as *Allerfeinste Kaufmanns-Casino-Tarock Nr. 49 mit 54 Blätter* (with 54 cards). The addresses of the factory and the offices of C. Titze & Schinkay are given on the wrapper, also. Attached to the wrapper is a tax announcement warning of the penalties incurred for playing with or selling unstamped decks of cards. The law for the duty of 30 kreuzer went into effect in 1882, and the date given at the top of the wrapper is 1885. The tax stamp, shown on the ace of hearts, has a red eagle and blue script, and was valid until December 31, 1899. The name of the cardmaker appears on the valet of diamonds and on the ace of hearts, and the name and address of the cardmaker appear on the valet of clubs. The cards are engraved, colored by both stencil and hand, and polished. Back design is a repeating double crescent with swirling dots in black on a white field. The designs on the joker and on trump I are traditional for tarocks of the period. Trump II shows the imperial eagle with crown and scepter, and the motto *Industrie und Glück* (Industry and Fortune). The rest of the trump scenes mix European and Oriental imagery. Court cards are also double-ended. Titze & Schinkay published another deck which was very similar but had slightly cruder designs. An identical deck was published by Piatnik & Söhne in 1913 and 1915.

Patriotic Tarock TOP ROW: *Joker is a red-nosed man playing a bagpipe. A clay pipe is in the ribbon of his hat. I A goose girl wades in a stream. Several of the geese crane their necks toward a green frog on the bank. Reversed, a shepherd boy plays pipes, his dog at his feet. II Children prepare for a procession. One of the girls holds a pole hung with greenery, possibly mistletoe. A man smoking a pipe is talking with them. Reversed, a woman, several girls and a boy carry a straw effigy of a woman through the fields. III A person dressed in a bizarre, demonic costume—horned hat, mask with protruding tongue, and fur tunic—plows a snow-covered field. Two other men hold the plow, one of them wielding a whip toward the "demon." Reversed, a person dressed in a green robe and a tall mask of a ram dances in the snow, as several others look on. A cello is played for accompaniment. IIII Several people ride sleighs pulled by running horses. Reversed, spinning and flirting are carried on in a room warmed by a huge tile stove.* SECOND ROW: *V A procession is led by a man carrying a baton. He is followed by another man, who rides a caparisoned horse. Reversed, a blindfolded man wields a sword while another man gives him directions. On the ground is a chicken tied to a stake. VI A springtime festival takes place with music played on long horns. Reversed, a woman seems to be imploring a crowned man to spare the life of a man kneeling on the ground. Others fight with swords in the background. VII Men and women dance with sword and banner. Reversed, a feast, possibly a wedding, takes place by candlelight. On the cake are two crossed candles that a man is lighting. VIII A man throws water over a woman. Reversed, men chase women in a field. IX Men and women go out to harvest. They carry a man in a basket that is decorated with greenery. Reversed, villagers dance in a circle.* THIRD ROW: *XIV An indoor festival is celebrated with a decorated tree. Reversed, in the streets, villagers carry a pole decked with mistletoe. XVIII An old man plays an instrument. Reversed, a man and a woman dance together. Knight of leaves rides a beribboned horse. The banner he holds indicates the name and location of the maker of the deck. Valet of leaves, king of swords.* BOTTOM ROW: *Queen of swords, knight of swords, valet of swords, queen of spears, ace of shields.*

Collection of the author

Glanz Genre Tarock *The* Industrie und Glück *tarock published circa 1882 to 1899 by Josef Glanz of Vienna was typical of contemporary tarocks.*

Collection of the author



C. Titze & Schinkay Genre Tarock *Cards and wrapper from Genre Tarock by C. Titze & Schinkay of Vienna, made in 1885*

Classical Deities Tarock by LeQuart, late nineteenth century The trumps of the complete seventy-eight-card pack by LeQuart of Paris mostly show mythological sea creatures on one end, including Triton (card 9), a mermaid (card 15) and mermen (card 19). The other ends show Orientals engaged in various activities, a popular theme in nineteenth-century tarock decks. The unnumbered trump (top row) shows a clown holding a smaller clown on his hat, and card 1 depicts Harlequin of the commedia dell'arte playing a harp, with his sweetheart, Columbine, playing a tambourine. The deck lacks a tax stamp and was probably produced at the end of the nineteenth century, possibly just before 1890. An earlier version of this tarock, with Roman numerals, was produced by the French cardmaker Lefer at the end of the nineteenth century, and was reprinted in facsimile by France Cartes in 1986. The printing plates used by Le Quart were subsequently used by B. P. Grimaud of Paris, and Jacob Tsani of Budapest made a very similar deck at the beginning of the twentieth century. The trumps and court cards are double-ended and untitled; Arabic numerals appear on the upper left and lower right of the trumps. King of spades is a Turkish despot, with a turban crown and a scepter topped with a crescent. Back design is ornate shaded arches in a repeating pattern in brown and black.

Classical Deities Tarock by B. P. Grimaud, circa 1890 to 1917 B.P. Grimaud of Paris apparently used the same plates used for the LeQuart Classical Deities Tarock to print their own deck. The cardmaker's name, *B.P. GRIMAUD,* and country, *FRANCE,* appear on the face of the court cards, inside the borders at the upper right and lower left. The tax stamp on the ace of clubs, reading *Republique Francaise, Decret du 12 Avril 1890,* was valid from 1890 to 1917. The trump and court cards are double-ended and untitled; Arabic numerals are on both ends of the trumps. The designs on the trumps show mythological sea creatures on one end, and Orientals on the other end. The Oriental scenes in some instances resemble the imagery seen on other decks including a pack by Joseph Estel, published in Vienna in 1820 (see Volume I). For example, card 11 depicts an Oriental figure in long robes, holding a fan and a parasol, while a servant points a stick and holds a fly whisk. The scene on card 12 depicts a servant holding the parasol over the taller figure who stands next to a large pedestal, and card 14 shows two men on a rock or embankment while the man on the ground shoots an arrow. The king of spades is an Oriental ruler. Several more similarities can be found between the Grimaud and the Estel packs. Back design is a checkerboard pattern in black and white, with the upper right corner of the white squares shaded with grey squares.

Genre Tarock by Ferd. Piatnik & Söhne, circa 1900 A seventy-eight-card genre tarock was made by Ferd. Piatnik & Söhne at the end of the nineteenth century or in the early twentieth century. The pack is typical of its time, showing idyllic scenes of everyday life, with the people in folk costume. A few scenes are of Turks, perhaps reflecting Austria's support of Turkey during the Crimean War (1853–1856). The card designs were copied from or provided a model for another genre deck by Josef Glanz. The shield on the valet of clubs gives the address of Piatnik at the time the deck was made: *FERD. PIATNIK & SÖHNE/A.G./WIEN/XIII Hütteldorferstrasse 229-231.* The ace of spades shows the Piatnik trademark of a man mounted on a horse, with the words, *Ferd. Piatnik & Söhne, A.G./WIEN/Registrierte Schutzmarke.* The valet of diamonds bears a shield inscribed with the name of the maker. The jester holds a hat on which a small jester balances. Card I shows Harlequin and Columbine. A rock inscribed *Industrie und Glück* is on card II along with an imperial eagle clutching sword and scepter in one claw. The other end of card II shows a man gesturing toward *Theil der K.K.burg,* in Vienna, as identified on card VIII in the 1834 Vienna Scenic Tarock (see illustration earlier in this chapter). On card III, a couple emerges from a gondola on the Grand Canal of Venice.

Gigerl Tarock by Josef Glanz, circa 1900 The full-length scenes of the trumps in the deck published by Josef Glanz of Vienna at the turn of the century are taken from the life of a *gigerl,* or dandy, of the period. The artist, Berndt, whose name appears behind the young man of card I, satirizes people who must keep up on the latest fads. The pompous and ridiculous characters wear the most current styles of the time. Almost all the men sport monocles, no doubt following a trend. Court cards are double-ended, showing figures also dressed in contemporary fashions of the period. The ace of hearts has a tax stamp, with red eagle and blue text, valid from January 1, 1882, to December 31, 1899. The ace of hearts also shows the maker's name and address.

Glans Gigerl Tarock TOP ROW: (Fool) *is dressed in loud patterns, with an oversized boutonniere and an absurd monocle.* ***I*** *A young man struts along with a bird-headed walking stick and his gloves in the cuff of his pants; a dancing girl holds a fan and a glass of champagne.* ***II*** Gigerl zu Pferde *(Rider Dandy);* ***III*** Mamsell Gigerl *(Miss or Ladies' Dandy);* ***IIII*** Ball-Gigerl *(Ball or Dance Dandy).*

SECOND ROW: ***V*** Berg-Gigerl *(Mountain Dandy) in full hiking regalia;* ***VI*** "Auf Wiederschau" *("See you later!") accompanies an intricate handshake; these are Club Dandies;* ***VII*** Ungemein "Pshütt" *(Extraordinary "pshaw");* ***VIII*** Eis-Gigerl *(Dandy on the ice) with one in the background sliding on his belly;* ***IX*** See-Bad-Gigerl *(Dandy at the Beach).*

THIRD ROW: ***X*** Militär-Gigerl *(Military Dandy);* ***XI*** Studenten-Gigerl *(Student Dandy) wearing appropriately "bohemian" clothes;* ***XII*** Turf-Gigerl *(Dandy at the Races);* ***XIII*** Jagd-Gigerl *(Hunting Dandy) too busy looking fashionable to notice the rabbit in front of him;* ***XIV*** Sommer-Gigerl *(Summer Dandy).*

BOTTOM ROW: ***XV*** Salon Gigerl *(Parlor Dandy);* ***XVI*** Theater-Gigerl *(Theater Dandy) trying to spot trends in the audience;* ***XX*** Im Caffe! *(In a Cafe!) coffee house dandy with a barmaid who reflects the ideal "Gibson girl" after the sketches of the period by Charles Dana Gibson (1867–1944).* ***King of diamonds*** *shows the name of the maker* Josef Glanz Ku. k. pr. Spielkarten Fabrik v. in Wien. ***Ace of hearts*** *shows the tax stamp, and the name and address of the maker. The extra stamplike design is not a tax stamp, but rather a symbol similar to a trademark showing that Glanz was authorized to make cards.*

Collection of Allan and Agnes Ryan

Collection of the author

LeQuart Classical Deities Tarock *The Parisian cardmaker LeQuart produced this deck around the end of the nineteenth century.*

Collection of the author

Grimaud Classical Deities Tarock *Tarock deck published by B.P. Grimaud of Paris circa 1890 to 1917*

Collection of the author

Piatnik Genre Tarock Industrie und Glück *tarock made by Ferd. Piatnik & Söhne around the turn of the century*

Animal Tarock by G. Geûens-Willaert, circa 1910 A seventy-eight-card animal tarock pack printed by color lithography and surface polished includes full-length figures on the Major Arcana and court cards. The deck was made around 1910 by G. Geûens-Willaert of Bruges. Roman numerals are on both ends of the trumps. The background behind the animals is shaded in with fine lines. The name of the cardmaker appears on the jack of hearts with the inscription, *CARTES DU TAROT, GEÛENS-WILLAERT, BRUGES.* Back design (not shown) is tarotee design of crisscross red and black lines on tan ground. A previous owner of the deck inscribed several cards, including the king and knight of spades, with divinatory meanings in French for fortune-telling. The images on the trumps and court cards follow those of earlier animal tarocks by Mayer, Göbl, Vandenborre and others.

Chambéry Flowers Tarock, circa 1910 reprint of 1902 deck The deck, titled in French *Tarot à fleurs de Chambéry,* was originally made by Fossorier, Amar et Cie of Paris in 1902, in an edition of 1000 decks. The company, founded in 1902, hoped to break the monopoly on playing cards held by B. P. Grimaud, but was acquired by Grimaud in 1910, around which time this Grimaud edition of the deck was made. The name and city of the maker appear on the sides of the *Fou* and the court cards: *B. P. GRIMAUD/ PARIS—FRANCE.* The designs were executed by the engraver E. Hellé in art nouveau style. The book of instructions that originally accompanied the deck is called, *Règle du jeu de tarot français,* and was written by the *Club des Taroteurs du Grand Café Émile Coudurier* of Chambéry. The booklet, contrary to most tarock booklets, calls the trumps *tarots* instead of *atouts;* the card usually called *l'Excuse* is called *Fou,* and card 1 is called *baga,* for *bagatelle,* a popular name for the figure of the Magician or Juggler found on the first card of regular tarot decks. In 1984 a facsimile edition was published by Éditions Dusserre of Paris. All the trumps and court cards are double-ended.

Genre Tarock by J. Müller & Cie, circa 1910 The trumps of the seventy-eight-card tarock pack printed by lithography around 1910 by J. Müller & Cie feature genre scenes of the kind that were commonplace at the turn of the century. An earlier deck, circa 1865, by C. L. Wüst of Frankfurt, is very similar and this deck was obviously copied from Wüst's tarock. The scenes are the same as those on the Tarotrump and Tarock No. 4 pack currently published by AGMüller & Cie (see Volume I). In the circa 1910 edition, the numbers are centered at the top and bottom, instead of being in the upper left and lower right corners. Also, the Fool is unnamed in the circa 1910 edition, whereas in the current edition, the word "Excuse" appears on the face of the instrument played by the costumed figure. Indices appear in the current edition. The cards of the trumps are grouped in themes: cards 2 through 5 show occupations of people in four age groups; 6 through 9 depict four times of day; 10 and 11 show four different kinds of terrain; 12 through 15 show various pastimes; 16 through 19 illustrate the four seasons; 20 shows games: cards and skittle. The entire span is encompassed by folly, represented on trumps 1 and 21.

POW Tarock, circa 1914 to 1918 A tarock pack was hand-drawn in blue ink on cardboard by a Russian prisoner of war in Austria during World War I, reportedly at the request of the Austrian internment camp commander. Like Hungarian tarocks, the pack consists of only forty-two cards. The trumps and courts are double-ended and the corners of all cards have been clipped off.

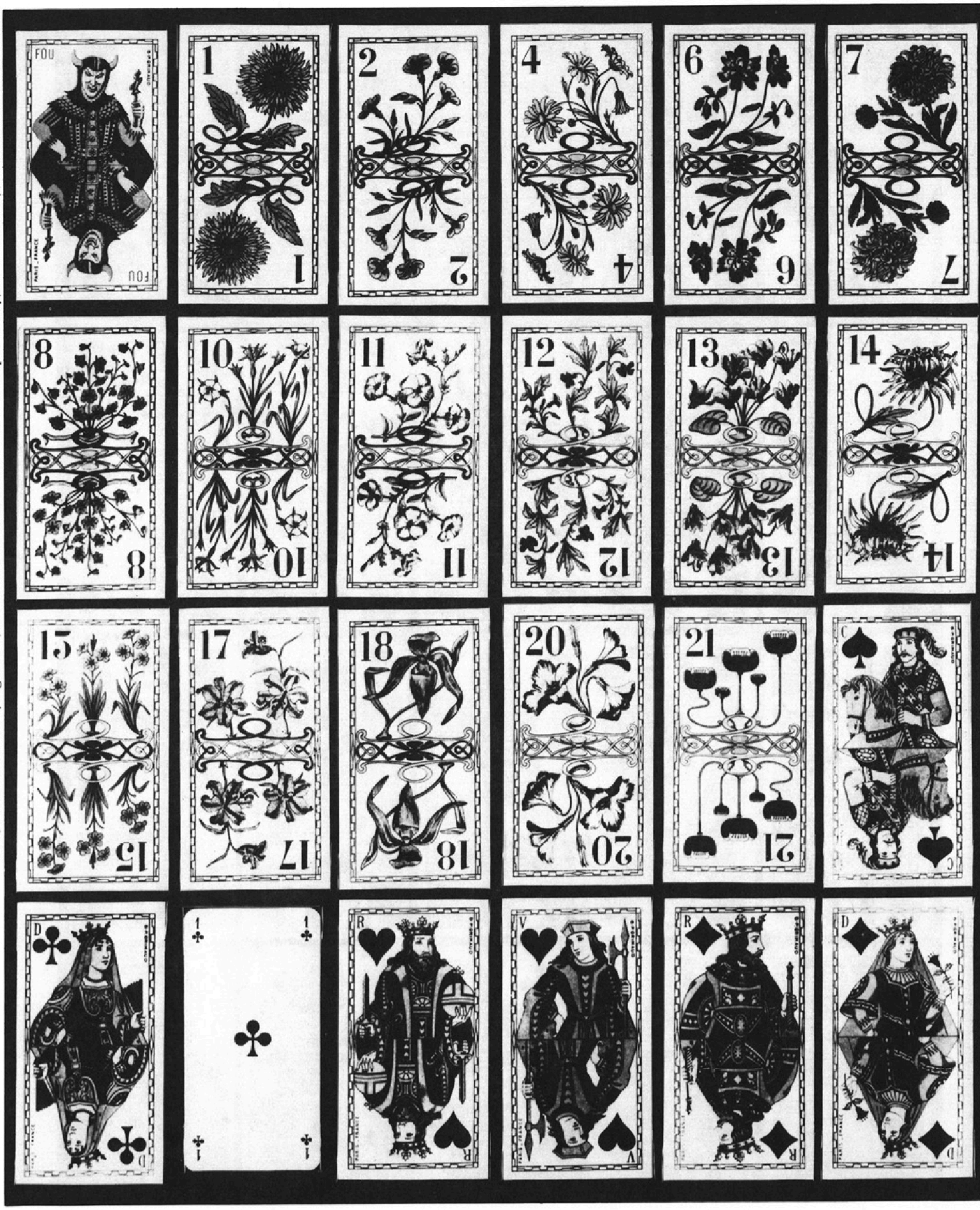
Green Spade Tarock by August Petrtyl & Son, 1922 The Green Spade Tarock, also called "The American Cards," took its theme from American Indian folklore and everyday life. The seventy-eight-card deck was published in 1922 by August Petrtyl & Son, Chicago. The artist is unknown. All the cards carry miniature cards, instead of indices, in the corners. Each of the trumps is numbered in Arabic top and bottom, and the pips are numbered in Roman on both ends, while the court cards are double-ended. The suits are a modified French system: green spades, black clubs, pink hearts and yellow diamonds. The court cards feature Indian chiefs as kings, American Indian women as queens, and white scouts as knights and valets.

Genre Tarock by Aug. Denk & Co., early twentieth century A fifty-four-card genre tarock deck with double-ended trumps was made by Aug. Denk & Co. of Vienna, as evidenced by the firm's name on the valet of clubs and the valet of diamonds. The court cards are also double-ended. Each suit comprises eight cards: the four courts (king, queen, knight and valet) with the black suits of spades and clubs numbering ten through seven, and the red suits of hearts and diamonds numbering four through ace. The deck is a slightly cruder copy of the deck made by Josef Glanz of Vienna in the 1890s. The designs were also copied in a finely engraved and colored Piatnik tarock of the early twentieth century. The ace of hearts has a logo at the bottom: a lilliputian, like the one shown on the unnumbered Joker (top row of illustration), stands on one foot and holds a large heart engraved with the initials *A.D.Co.* Beneath him the text reads, *Registrierte Schutzmarke* (Registered Trademark)/*Aug. Denk & Co. G. M. B. H./ Wien.* The tax stamp, with an illegible amount at the bottom of the text band, was valid either from 1920 to 1926, or from 1926 to 1934. It pictures a blue eagle with the band of text in red. The tax stamp dates the deck to the first quarter of the twentieth century. Trump II shows an eagle on a rock that says *Dem Vaterland die Treue* (Loyalty to the fatherland). The motto on the rock is changed from the usual *Industrie und Glück* found on tarocks of the nineteenth century. Note the contrast between the double-headed imperial eagle with sword and scepter of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which was dismembered in 1919, and the tax stamp's single-headed eagle, which clutches hammer and sickle. Back design shows a blue design of clover flowers and leaves arranged in a symmetrical pattern, with an engraved line background and a lacy border.

Collection of the author

Geüens-Willaert Animal Tarock *Animal tarock made in Bruges, Belgium, around 1910*

Cary Collection of Playing Cards, The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut



Chambéry Flowers Tarock *Circa 1910 reprint, by B.P. Grimaud of Paris, of a deck originally made in 1902 by Fossorier, Amar et Cie, of Paris. The artist, E. Hellé, created graceful art nouveau designs of flowers for the trumps.*

Collection of the author

J. Müller & Cie Genre Tarock *Deck printed around 1910 by J. Müller & Cie of Switzerland*

Collection of Fred G. Taylor

POW Tarock *A Russian prisoner of war in Austria made this tarock deck during World War I.* TOP ROW: ***The Fool,*** *designated in Arabic unlucky number thirteen for reasons unknown;* ***I*** *Saint Stephen's cathedral in Vienna;* ***II*** *giant ferris wheel at the Prater, an amusement park in Vienna;* ***III*** *monument to Prince Eugene of Savoy, eighteenth century leader of the Austrian army against the Turks;* ***IV*** *Charles Church in Vienna;* ***V*** *a couple outdoors;* ***VI*** *same couple, with the man holding hat in hand.* SECOND ROW: ***VII*** *A costumed lady;* ***VIII*** *a church;* ***IX*** *a sunset scene at a tropical beach;* ***X*** *a group of factories;* ***XI*** *winter mountain scene;* ***XII*** *winter landscape;* ***XIII*** *girl bathing.* THIRD ROW: ***XIV*** *Horse and carriage;* ***XV*** *traveler missing train;* ***XVI*** *houses;* ***XVII*** *houses and factory;* ***XVIII*** *view of Vienna;* ***XIX*** *grapevines and lantern;* ***XX*** *mermaid.* FOURTH ROW: ***XXI*** *Double faltboat on the Danube;* ***König*** *(king of spades);* ***Dame*** *(queen of spades);* ***knight of spades;*** ***Bube*** *(valet of spades);* ***ten of spades,*** ***König*** *(king of clubs).* BOTTOM ROW: ***Dame*** *(queen of clubs);* ***knight of clubs;*** ***Bube*** *(page of clubs);* ***ten of clubs;*** ***König*** *(king of hearts);* ***König*** *(king of diamonds);* ***ace of diamonds.***

Collection of Gene Hochman

Green Spade Tarock TOP ROW: ***Joker*** *portrays "Uncle Sam" holding the globe and wearing a rose in his lapel.* ***1*** *An Indian papoose.* ***2*** *A child drinks sap through a straw while pots at the foot of the tree gather sap.* ***3*** *A brave on horseback signals greetings to another.* ***4*** *A man holds a rattle and an arrow and a woman holds tobacco, as both dance.*

SECOND ROW: ***5*** *A rattlesnake lurks in the shade.* ***6*** *A raccoon hides in a tree, evading hunters.* ***7*** *In a medicine lodge a man in bearskin dances near a sleeping woman while another man plays a drum.* ***8*** *A scout crouches near a tree, a bow in his hand.* ***9*** *A Navaho woman serves food to a man sitting on a rug.*

THIRD ROW: ***10*** *An artist paints on an animal skin.* ***11*** *A dance class is held for young women.* ***12*** *A youth dreams of a magical deer.* ***13*** *An impoverished crone with a staff may represent Death, the thirteenth card in tarot decks.* ***14*** *A young woman receives gifts from suitors.*

BOTTOM ROW: ***King of spades*** *is a regal chief wearing a full headdress of eagle feathers.* ***Queen of spades*** *wears a hooded cape decorated with eagle feathers and holds a moccasin.* ***Ace of spades*** *shows the title and the publisher of the deck, along with a spade in which appears the portrait of an Indian chief.* ***Page of clubs*** *is a white explorer who is friendly to the Indians.* ***King of hearts*** *wears a bone breastplate and carries an ax.*

Collection of the author

Denk & Co. Genre Tarock *A fifty-four-card tarock deck was made by Aug. Denk & Co. in the early twentieth century*

Hermansen Tarock by Emil Jensen, circa 1939 to 1945 A seventy-eight-card tarock pack was designed by I. V. V. Hermansen and executed by Emil Jensen of Copenhagen. Jensen's name appears on *Skus*. The deck was produced in Denmark during World War II, when imports of playing cards ceased. Hermansen, an ardent tarock player, designed the inexpensive deck so as to be able to go on playing tarock. The trumps, which do not feature pictures, have an abstract four-bladed design, almost like a suit sign, in the center, and in the upper left and lower right corners with Arabic numbers. Suit signs are French, with clubs and spades slightly modified from their usual shape. Court cards feature the suit sign in the center of the cards, in the same fashion as aces. Ace of diamonds *(Es)* shows a tax stamp (upside down) of a shield emblazoned with lions, topped with a crown, all within a circle. The stamp was valid from 1918 to 1949.

Genre Tarock by Western Playing Card, circa 1940 Fifty-four cards comprise a deck made by Western Playing Card Company around 1940, as evidenced by a United States tax stamp on the two-piece sleeve box of a similar deck owned by another collector. The label on the box (lacking tax stamp) that accompanied the deck illustrated here reads, "Tarock Playing Cards/Made in U.S.A./Western Playing Card Co./Racine, Wis./Poughkeepsie, N.Y." The deck includes twenty-one trump cards, sixteen court cards and pips numbered ten through seven in the black suits and four through ace in the red suits. The double-ended trumps feature genre scenes. The deck is identical to another deck published in 1930 by the German cardmaker Altenburger und Stralsunder Spielkarten, whose name is printed on the ace of diamonds in that deck. The scenes were probably based on those of a deck originally published by C.L. Wüst of Frankfurt, and reprinted by J. Müller & Cie and others.

JMS Genre Tarock, circa 1960 The seventy-eight-card tarock deck designed by Jean-Marie Simon has double-ended trumps and court cards. Each trump is numbered at upper left and lower right corners. The upper right corner and the lower left corner each feature a picture of the ace card from each of the four suits, with the initials "JMS" underneath. The scenes on the trumps are modern genre scenes from the 1940s and 1950s. Some of the scenes are repeated on different cards; for example, the woman on the couch, with a cat on the floor, appears on cards 9 and 14, but the other ends of these cards are different from each other. Scenes shown include an accordionist accompanying a woman singer in a cafe (cards 3 and 16), a couple posing for a photographer on the beach (cards 4 and 15), a bar scene (cards 9 and 16) and cancan dancers (cards 14 and 17). The clothes and activities of the figures reflect the life style of the post-World War II period.

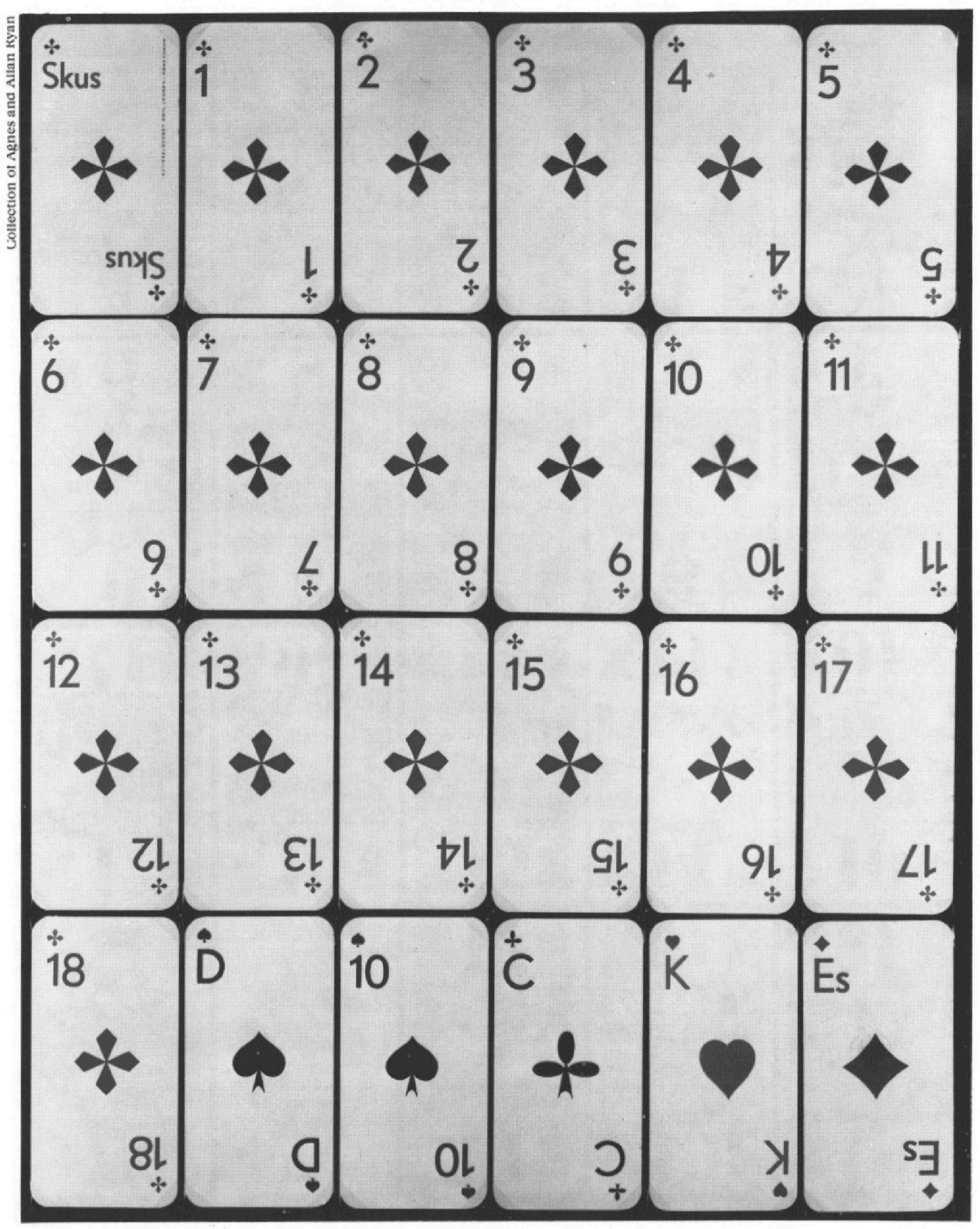
Catel & Farcy Genre Tarock, 1960s The name of the French maker of this seventy-eight-card tarock is deduced from the interlaced monogram "CF" that appears in the upper right and lower left of the double-ended Major Arcana cards. The deck was produced in the 1960s. The trumps depict genre scenes and the suits are spades, hearts, clubs and diamonds, with French indices R *(Roi)*, D *(Dame)*, V *(Valet)* and C *(Chevalier)*. The back is a tarotee design of red and green crisscrossing lines on a white ground. Around 1900, B. P. Grimaud made the tarock deck from which the designs for the Catel & Farcy deck were copied. In turn, Grimaud's deck was based on a German deck made by C. L. Wüst around 1865, which was also copied by J. Müller & Cie around 1910 (see illustration in this volume). All the copies of the original deck altered the details of the designs, but the basic themes remain the same. Cards 2 through 5 depict childhood, adolescence, adulthood and old age; cards 6 through 9 show different times of the day; 10 and 11 show four outdoor scenes of work and play, with card 10 in the Catel & Farcy deck altered to show an outdoor quarry, rather than a mine as in the previous designs; cards 12 through 15 show pastimes; cards 16 through 19 show the seasons; card 20 shows games of cards and skittle; and the whole series begins and ends with scenes of folly on cards 1 and 21. Several of the cards contrast city life with rural scenes; for example, card 12 shows a fancy dress ball, and the reverse depicts people in more simple costume dancing outdoors.

Tarocky 165, circa 1969 A tarock of fifty-four cards was published around 1969 by Obchodní Tiskárny Národní Podnik V. Kolínê of Prague, Czechoslovakia. The deck consists of twenty-two trumps and sixteen court cards plus pip cards numbered 10 through 7 in the black suits and 4 through ace in the red suits. Genre scenes are shown on the trumps. The deck has the same designs as the deck published after 1920 by Ferd. Piatnik & Söhne of Vienna, and engraved by J. Neumayer. The engraving *Industrie und Glück* has been erased from the stone and the inscription on the shield of the valet of clubs is changed to "O.T.K." The ace of hearts has the maker's trademark.

Alpine Tarock by Heraclio Fournier, S.A., 1977 A seventy-eight-card tarock deck was printed in full color by Heraclio Fournier, S.A., Vitoria, Spain, in 1977, in honor of the 600th anniversary of playing cards. The year 1377 is the date of the first record of playing cards, according to the flyer accompanying the deck, which also states that the game of tarock originated in the Alps in the fourteenth century. The trumps show Alpine flowers and the court cards depict people in folk costumes of different parts of the Alps. Spades represent Italy; clubs, Switzerland; hearts, Austria; and diamonds, France.

Walt Disney Tarock Junior by Grimaud Ducale, 1979 The fifty-five-card tarock published in 1979 by Grimaud Ducale of France depicts characters from Walt Disney's cartoons and movies. Trump cards and court cards are double-ended. The full-color deck is shortened from the usual seventy-eight cards by deletion of seven Major Arcana and the pip cards ace through four in all four suits. The court cards are designated R for *Roi* (king), D for *Dame* (queen), C for *Cavalier* (knight) and V for *Valet* (page).

Collection of Agnes and Allan Kyan



Hermansen Tarock, circa 1930 *When the game of tarock was threatened by an embargo on the import of playing cards into Denmark during World War II, I.V.V. Hermansen and Emil Jensen of Copenhagen issued this deck.*

Collection of the author

Western Playing Card Tarock *The designs on the trumps of the Western Playing Card Tarock were probably copied from the C. L. Wüst Genre Tarock, made circa 1865 in Frankfurt.*

Collection of Samjac S.A., Lausanne, Switzerland

JMS Genre Tarock *The scenes on the trump cards of the tarock deck made by Jean-Marie Simon, circa 1960, reflect the life style of post-World War II Europe.*

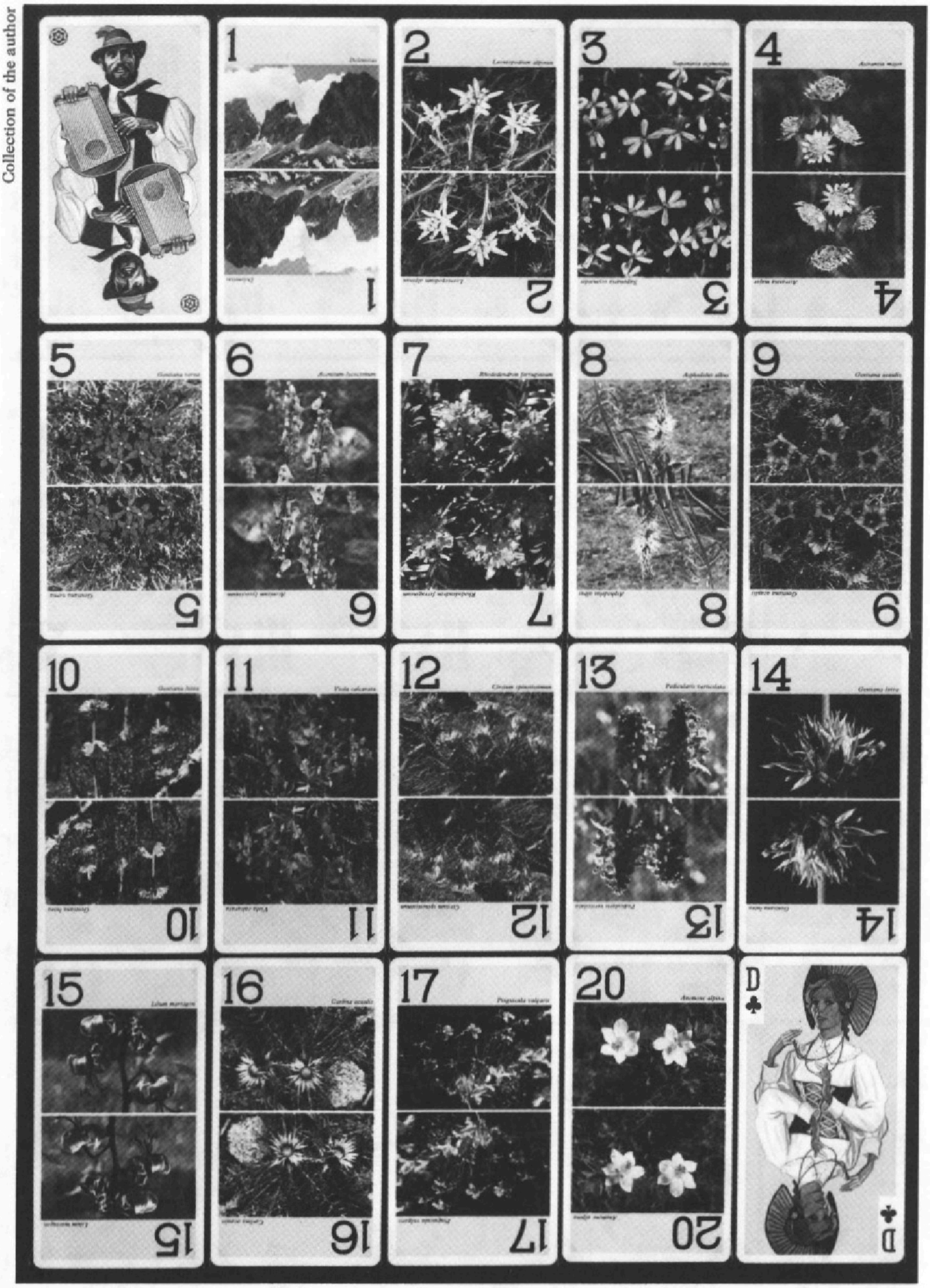
Collection of the author

Catel & Farcy Genre Tarock *The trumps on this tarock, published in the 1960s, are based on the popular images originally published by C.L. Wüst in Frankfurt, circa 1865.*

Collection of the author

Tarocky 165 *A tarock deck produced in Czechoslovakia around 1969 reproduces a deck published after 1920 by Ferd. Piatnik & Söhne.*

Collection of the author



Fournier Alpine Tarock TOP ROW: ***Joker** is a musician with a zither.* ***1*** Dolomitas; ***2*** Leontopodium alpinun; ***3*** Saponaria ocymoides; ***4*** Astrantia major. SECOND ROW: ***5*** Gentiana verna; ***6*** Aconitum lycoctonum; ***7*** Rhododendron ferrugineum; ***8*** Asphodelus albus; ***9*** Gentiana acaulis. THIRD ROW: ***10*** Gentiana lutea; ***11*** Viola calcarata; ***12*** Cirsium spinosissimun; ***13*** Pedicularis verticilata; ***14*** Gentiana lutea. BOTTOM ROW: ***15*** Lilum martagon; ***16*** Carlina acaulis; ***17*** Pinguicula vulgaris; ***20*** Anemone alpina; ***queen of clubs** wears a fan-shaped hat and a white blouse with a high girdle, in the traditional fashion of Swiss Alpine women.*

Collection of the author

Walt Disney Tarock Junior TOP ROW: ***1*** *Bambi and a friend with Thumper the rabbit/*Snow White and the Seven Dwarves. ***2*** *Merlin and the young Arthur from* The Sword in the Stone*/Dumbo, the flying elephant, with a crow.* ***3*** *A scene from Robin Hood/Elliot the dragon with his friend Peter.* ***4*** Snow White and the Seven Dwarves*/Pinocchio being lured to servitude with lies from two foxes.* ***5*** *Alice in Wonderland with the Mad Hatter and the White Rabbit/Winnie the Pooh with Tigger and Piglet.*

SECOND ROW: ***6*** *Peter and Elliot in the* The Rescuers*/a country mouse and a city mouse, with a dragonfly boatman and a large crocodile looming in the background.* ***7*** *Dumbo/Cinderella with her fairy godmother and four mice.* ***8*** *The three little pigs playing a fiddle, a piccolo and a piano/Lady, a cocker spaniel, and the Tramp, a shaggy mongrel.* ***9*** Pinocchio/The Three Little Pigs. ***10*** Cinderella/Peter Pan.

THIRD ROW: ***11*** Winnie the Pooh/Lady and the Tramp. ***12*** The Sword in the Stone/Peter Pan. ***13*** Robin Hood/The Jungle Book *showing Mowgli, the boy, dancing with an ape and a bear.* ***14*** The Jungle Book/The Rescuers. ***15*** Alice in Wonderland/Bambi.

BOTTOM ROW: ***King of spades*** *is Mickey Mouse.* ***Knight of spades*** *is Goofy.* ***Page of clubs*** *is Donald Duck.* ***Queen of hearts*** *is Minnie Mouse.* ***Page of diamonds*** *is Donald Duck.*

Collection of the author

Circus Tarock by Editions Glenat, 1980 Thirty-eight different artists collaborated to make the seventy-eight-card Circus Tarock. The deck was published in 1980 by Editions Glenat and given for promotional purposes to subscribers of the magazine *Circus*. The untitled cards are double-ended and numbered. The designs are based on scenes of the popular genre tarock by C. L. Wüst of Frankfurt originally published around 1865 and copied by B. P. Grimaud, J. Müller & Cie and Catel & Farcy. However, the scenes of the Circus Tarock often add a satirical twist. For example, the tranquil domestic scene on card 7 of the earlier decks has been transformed into a quarrel. Card 10 now shows prisoners working in a quarry, with one prisoner having just sent off the guard with his pickax, in contrast to the virtuous scene of hard work in the previous decks. Other scenes of the Circus Tarock show Egyptian characters and settings, with the same compositions as the corresponding cards of the previous decks.

Tahitian Tarock, circa 1980 The tarock designed by Michèle Feltrin and published around 1980 portrays black and white scenes of everyday Tahitian life on the double-ended trumps. The court cards show figures dressed in traditional Tahitian costume and the pips have French suits. The trumps are numbered and have no titles. A motif of Tahitian design in yellow runs at the top and the bottom of each card.

Gendarmerie Tarock by B. P. Grimaud, circa 1980 Seventy-eight cards for the game of tarock were published around 1980 in full color by B. P. Grimaud of France for the Fédération Française de Tarot. The trumps are double-ended and each features two photographs showing the work of the French police. The court cards are double-ended and show traditional figures.

Maxim's Tarock by B. P. Grimaud, circa 1982 A seventy-eight-card tarock was printed circa 1982 by B. P. Grimaud for the Parisian restaurant Maxim's. The genre scenes on the trumps are reprinted from the Grimaud deck of circa 1900, which was based on the deck originally created by Wüst of Frankfurt around 1865. On the edges of the court cards and the joker are the maker's name and country, *GRIMAUD/FRANCE*. The trumps are numbered in all four corners, and in the center of the top and bottom of each card is a monogram "BPG" for B. P. Grimaud. The suit cards also have indices in each corner. The back design shows the logo of Maxim's restaurant.

Louis Vuitton Tarock by Heron/Boèchat Fréres, circa 1982 A promotional tarock for Louis Vuitton luggage and accessories manufacturer was published by Heron/Boèchat Fréres of France around 1982. The designs are based on the designs created by Wüst, circa 1865, and copied by several other card makers. Trumps are double-ended and numbered, with the initials for Heron Cartes in the upper right corner. The court cards are also double-ended.

Lanvin Tarock by B. P. Grimaud, 1985 A seventy-eight-card tarock was published in 1985 by B. P. Grimaud of Paris to promote Lanvin, the Parisian perfume and fashion house. The faces of the trump cards have full-color, abstract designs, possibly based on textile designs, and are double-ended. Indices appear on all four corners of each card. The ace of clubs shows the maker's name: *Baptiste Paul Grimaud/Maitre Cartier/a Paris depuis 1848*. The back design, in black and gold, shows the Lanvin logo, a mother and child in silhouette.

Circus Tarock TOP ROW: ***Joker** is a man embarrassed by having no money. **1**, by M. Wasterlain, shows performances on stage. **2**, by P. Dumas, depicts children playing in the country and in the city. **3**, by M. Cabanes, shows strange creatures with natives of a desert area, and women in a Mexican village. **4**, by J. Solé, shows the artist as a child being spanked by his mother, and then as an adult in an office where his art is being evaluated.*

SECOND ROW: ***6**, by Piroton, portrays people farming, and a couple having tea. **7**, by C. Godard, depicts a couple quarreling with vulgar gestures, and a picnic in the country. **10**, by J. C. Denis, shows a goatherd conversing with a goat, and a convict sending off a guard with his pickax. **11**, by F. Walthery, shows a picnic, and a man and woman in a boat. **12**, by Will, shows an elegant ball, and a rustic dance.*

THIRD ROW: ***14**, by Tibet, portrays men hunting with beagles, and men fishing with nets and poles. **15**, by P. Wininger, shows ancient Egyptian scenes. **17**, by C. Rossi, shows people buying from a store window, and men working in a compound. **18**, by D. Ceppi, shows a man and two women threshing grain, and a marketplace, both scenes Egyptian. **19**, by P. Sanahujas, shows a man dragged along by two buxom iceskaters, and an old man having his long hair and beard spun into yarn.*

BOTTOM ROW: ***King of spades**, by C. Serre, is a goat with a scepter and harp, and a bearded skeleton. **Queen of clubs**, by R. Leloup, is a young oriental woman wearing a space suit, and wearing a kimono. **Valet of clubs**, by B. Dufosse, shows a man in a futuristic costume with science fiction weapons. **Valet of hearts**, by P. Gillon, is a robot holding a bizarre weapon. **Queen of diamonds**, by D. Herody, is a teenager wearing a coat and sweater.*

Collection of the author

Tahitian Tarock TOP ROW: ***Joker*** *shows a native dancer wearing a grass skirt, a feathered headdress and tassels at her wrists.* ***2*** *A family visiting/an outdoor fishmarket;* ***3*** *an open bus with passengers carrying pineapples/a group of men fishing with nets;* ***5*** *an outdoor food stand/men rowing an outrigger canoe under a draped tree;* ***6*** *a pool hall/a young woman weaving with straw.*

SECOND ROW: ***8*** *The excitement of a cockfight/a man getting a haircut;* ***9*** *three women/a family in a yard with a small piglet;* ***10*** *two men carving a dugout/a woman making bead necklaces;* ***11*** *the marketplace, where melons are sold/boys flying kites while a little dog looks on;* ***12*** *a shipyard/passengers dozing on a ferryboat.*

THIRD ROW: ***13*** *A spearfisher with an outrigger canoe/four friends singing and playing a guitar and a mandolin;* ***19*** *three boys outdoors pulling on long strings/a man carrying a straw basket in an outrigger canoe;* ***20*** *a solitary fisherman/a dry goods store.* ***Queen of spades*** *is dressed in lavish robes and fans herself with a feathered bone fan.* ***Valet of clubs*** *is dressed in ritual costume, with plant fronds on his head, a paddle and special markings painted on his body.*

Collection of the author

Gendarmerie Tarock TOP ROW: ***Joker** is a coat of arms. **1** shows three policemen in their office, and two policemen, one plain-clothed, talking with a citizen. **3** features two police transporting an injured person on a sled, and two mountain-climbing police. **4** shows motorcycle patrols. **5** depicts mounted police.*

SECOND ROW: ***6** shows police consulting a map, and a zeppelin. **9** takes place aboard a boat and on the highway. **10** shows scuba divers. **11** demonstrates target practice and martial arts. **12** shows the band practicing and performing.*

THIRD ROW: ***13** depicts a policeman chatting with a father and being guided down a tropical river. **14** demonstrates the ways in which a helicopter can be used by the police. **15** shows a pilot of a boat and the boat itself. **16** depicts a canine searching a car and being trained. **17** shows two different kinds of tanks.*

BOTTOM ROW: ***18** portrays paratroopers boarding a plane and landing with their chutes opened. **19** shows action in a mine. **21** depicts a drill and field training. **Queen of clubs** holds a medallion decorated with a club suit sign while pointing to it with her other hand. **King of diamonds** holds two scepters.*

Collection of the author

Maxim's Tarock *The tarock published by B. P. Grimaud in 1982 for the Parisian restaurant Maxim's used designs originally created by Wüst of Frankfurt around 1865.*

Collection of the author

Louis Vuitton Tarock *The tarock made by Heron/Boèchat Fréres of France around 1982 was based on the deck by Wüst of Frankfurt, circa 1865.*

Collection of the author

Lanvin Tarock *B. P. Grimaud published a promotional deck for the leading perfume and fashion house in 1985.*

XVII

CONCLUSIONS

SINCE THE EARLY SIXTIES, tarot has moved from being a relatively obscure interest to a popular phenomenon. For a time, many people considered tarot cards only as the property of occultists and fortune-tellers and wrongly associated them with gypsies, who usually prefer the simplicity of regular playing cards. The appreciation of tarot is now much more wide-ranging. Art lovers, occultists and game players, dilettantes and ardent collectors, historians and scholars of culture are fascinated by the colorful designs on the cards.

Playing cards made from woodblocks were among the first printed works known in the West, along with religious books and images. Only a few examples of printed decks from before the seventeenth century survive. While religious prints were more likely to be valued as relics and as works of art, playing cards were often banned by the church or government and players themselves probably discarded decks with worn or lost cards.

Tarot collectors and scholars are tantalized by the possibility that more antique tarocchi cards are hidden away by a zealous collector, or are even forgotten in an old family collection or museum archive. Duke Francesco Sforza's 1450 correspondence citing two packs of *carte de triumphi* authenticates the time, place and ownership for two decks of cards. These decks are otherwise unidentified, but Sforza's letters, and the heraldic devices on extant tarocchi cards from that time confirm the Milanese patronage of some of the early cards. New discoveries may uncover Renaissance tarocchi cards that bear not only the heraldic devices of the Visconti and Sforza, but perhaps also those of the d'Este, the Gonzaga and other important noble families.

Bonifacio Bembo is known to have been a favorite court painter of Francesco Sforza. However, the attribution of the hand-painted tarocchi cards, which are unsigned, to Bembo is not without some suspicion. No signed, documented art by Bembo has been found; therefore, there are no definitive samples of Bembo's work to compare to the extant cards. So far, no one has uncovered any fifteenth-century documents that directly link any artist with known, extant tarocchi cards. The future may reveal more clues to the artist of the cards.

The earliest known use of tarocchi cards was for a game that was popular among the nobility in Renaissance Northern Italy. The history of the Visconti and Sforza families, in Volume II of *The Encyclopedia of Tarot,* focuses attention on the milieu in which tarocchi cards were a diversion from the rigors of war and ducal responsibilities. The game of tarot or tarock has endured through waning and resurging interest in different locales through the centuries.

While acknowledging the use of tarocchi for a card game, it would be wrong to ignore the association between the imagery and symbolism on the cards and their application in divination. The sonnets written in 1527 by Merlini Cocai provide evidence that while the cards may not have been shuffled and spread for divination as practiced today, the imagery was used to understand and foretell events.

Tarot's initiation into the occult sciences probably dates to 1781, when Court de Gebelin's treatise "Le jeu du tarot" was published in his book *Le Monde Primitif.* Since then, the flames of interest have been encouraged by a host of imaginative writers including Etteilla, Eliphas Levi, Papus and Oswald Wirth. At the end of the nineteenth century, the founding of the Secret Order of the Golden Dawn in Great Britain gave further impetus to study of the esoteric nature of the cards. Many tarot packs have been issued during the twentieth century, especially during the past two decades, with a wide variety of designs depending on the talents and interpretations of artists of many countries.

One can also find a variety of art styles and subjects on tarock packs, especially those made in Austria during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Volumes I and II of *The Encyclopedia of Tarot* depict more than 100 different tarock packs. The imagery is as diverse as the cardmakers who made the cards—genre scenes, animals, mythological figures, occupations, scenic views, theatrical scenes, patriotic images, and military scenes. Both tarot and tarock packs are beginning to be recognized by collectors and historians as an important art form.

Tarot cards have survived more than five hundred years and today the cards flourish. The several thousands of books, articles and manuscripts in the bibliographies of Volumes I and II attest to the widespread interest in tarot and the history of playing cards. Some people find tarot and tarock challenging as a game. Others prefer to view the art for aesthetic pleasure or to search for deeper meanings hidden in the symbolism. It is hoped that *The Encyclopedia of Tarot* provides all readers with a reliable historical basis to view and understand the fascinating subject of tarot.

Collection of the author

Title page from Jeux de cartes tarots et de cartes numérales du quatorzième au dix-huitième siècle, *by La Société des Bibliophiles Français (Paris: Imprimerie de Crapelet, 1844).*

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

THIS COMPREHENSIVE LISTING comprises over one thousand three hundred books, incunabula, manuscripts and magazine articles not included in Volume I. The material is selected from published and unpublished works dealing with tarot cards and playing cards in their many aspects. Subjects include the origin, history, development, symbolism, art form, attributes, occult meanings and interpretations of tarot and playing cards from the fourteenth century to the present plus background material of the Italian Renaissance during the time the earliest extant tarocchi cards were prepared. The bibliography does not include books devoted to card tricks, card sharping, gambling and rules of card games with the exception of particularly interesting books or articles on these subjects. Also included are rule books which contain references to the history of playing cards plus a few noteworthy rule books for early card games and for tarock, tarocco and minchiate. Books designated with an asterisk (*) are from the private collection of the author; double asterisk (**) denotes a photocopy in the collection of the author.

A

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*ANONYMOUS. *"Historie na Kartách." T84* 2, no. 314. pp. 43-39. History of playing cards with illustrations.

ANONYMOUS. *Indian Card Reading, The Art of Fortune Telling by means of ordinary Playing Cards.* Blackpool, Engl., 1899. 8vo. 35 pp.

ANONYMOUS. *Jeu des tarots, ou le livre de Thoth, overt a la manière des Egyptiens, pour servir ici à l'interpretation de tous les rêves, songes*

et visions diurnes et nocturnes. Paris, 1788. 48 mo. 12pp. Possibly an extract from a larger work.

*ANONYMOUS. *Het Kaartspelen, (etc.)*. Amsterdam: J.C. Van Kesteren, 1821. 16mo. 210 pp. (cloth) Rules for card games including tarock.

*ANONYMOUS. "De Kashmir Tarot van Nicolaas Van Beek." *Bres 114* (October/November 1985). pp. 14-22. Article on the Kashmir Tarot. In Dutch. (See also Boot, Dam, de Ridder, Gillabel, Klautz, Ordelman, Van Thijn and Vinkenoog)

ANONYMOUS. "Kostbare Spielkarte." Stuttgart: Altenburg-Stralsunder, circa 1980. Game in which the history of playing cards is printed on large cards.

*ANONYMOUS. *The Law and Practice of the Game of Euchre*. Philadelphia: T.B. Peterson & Bros., 1862. 16mo. 135 pp. (cloth).

**ANONYMOUS. *Lenguage Secreto de los Taroquis del Ermitanno*. Buenos Aires: Pedro Tonini, Editor, n.d. Ill. 125 pp. Divination with the tarot. Illustrated with Piedmontese Tarot deck.

*ANONYMOUS. *Il Maestro dei giuochi*. Milan, 1879. 24mo. Ill. 280 pp. (cloth) Rules for different games, including tarocco.

*ANONYMOUS. *La Maison academique contenant les jeux*. Jacob van Elinckhuysen, 1702. 24mos. Ill. 96 pp. (cloth) Rule book for a variety of games, including *le jeu de taros*.

*ANONYMOUS. *La Maison academique*... (See also La Mariniere)

**ANONYMOUS. *Manuel du cartonnier, du cartier et du fabricant de cartonnages*. 1833. 264 pp. Describes the manufacture of playing cards.

*ANONYMOUS. *Meditation über die Grossen Arcana des Tarot*. Meisenheim am Glan, W. Germany: Verlag Anton Hain, 1972. 525 pp. Translation into German by Gertrud von Hippel of *Méditation sur les 22 arcanes majeurs du Tarot*.

*ANONYMOUS. *Meditations on the Tarot*. Warwick, N.Y.: Amity House, 1985. 8vo. Ill. 658 pp. (cloth) Translation into English by Robert A. Powell of *Méditations sur les 22 arcanes majeurs du tarot*. Illustrated with Tarot of Marseilles designs.

*ANONYMOUS. *Méditations sur les 22 arcanes majeurs du Tarot*. Paris: Editions Aubier Montaigne, 1980. 10mo. Ill. 774 pp. (paper) Delineates symbolism of tarot in the Christian hermetic tradition and the kabbalah along with philosophy. Illustrated with Oswald Wirth Tarot.

*ANONYMOUS. "Metodi di predizione." *L'Astrologo Moderno* 1, no. 1-17, 19-30. Milan. Series of articles on the tarot.

*ANONYMOUS. "Miss Pamela Colman Smith." *The Critic* XXXIV, no. 859 (January 1899). pp. 15-16. Short review of the works of Pamela Colman Smith, including photograph of the artist and reproductions of two of her illustrations, about 10 years before she drew the Rider-Waite Tarot deck.

*ANONYMOUS. *Mlle Lenormand, Instructions for the Fortune-Telling Cards of the Celebrated 19th Century Card Diviner*. Neuhausen, Switzerland: Müller & Cie, 1970. In English, French and German.

**ANONYMOUS. *Els Naips*. 4to. Ill. Describes and illustrates Spanish playing cards.

ANONYMOUS. *A New and Well Experienced Fortune Book*. Manchester, 1835. 12mo. 13 pp.

ANONYMOUS. *The New Card Fortune Book. Printed for the Running Stationers*. Circa 1760. 12mo. 24 pp.

**ANONYMOUS. "Occult Sciences: New Tarot Cards." *Minutescope*, November/December 1963. pp. 20, 21. Gareth Knight Tarot, with background of its creation and brief history of tarot.

*ANONYMOUS. *Old Gipsy Nan's Fortune Teller and Dream Book*. New York: Wehman Bros., 1903. 16mo. 111 pp. (paper) A variety of methods for divination, including regular playing cards.

*ANONYMOUS. *Per Chi Tarocca. Amanacco Critico-Istruttivo per l'anno 1794*. Milan: Luigi Veladini, 1794. 24mo. 108 pp. (paper) Rules of *tarocca* plus almanach at back of book.

ANONYMOUS. "Petite histoire des cartes à jouer." *Impact Medicin*, 1978. p. 69. Collecting playing cards.

*ANONYMOUS. "Playing Cards & Board Games from Bygone Days." *Antiques and The Arts Weekly*, July 6, 1984. pp. 1, 74-77. Ill. Article on the exhibition of games and playing cards from the 16th to 20th century at The New York Historical Society. Exhibition curated by David Greenwald.

*ANONYMOUS. *The Prediction Tarot Deck Instructions*. Wellingborough, England: Aquarian Press, 1985. 39 pp. Booklet accompanying the Prediction Tarot deck.

ANONYMOUS. *La raccolta delle stampe di Benedetto SIV Lambertini*... Bologna, 1970. Includes early makers of tarocchi cards.

*ANONYMOUS. *Regole Generali del Giuoco delle Minchiate*. Florence: Vanni e Tofani, 1781. 24mo. 70 pp. (paper) Rules for the game of minchiate.

**ANONYMOUS. "The Reincarnation of Adam and Eve." Unpublished manuscript, n.d. Mystical use of the tarot.

*ANONYMOUS. *Richman's Book of Luck*. New York: Robert Richman, 1970. 10mo. Ill. 192 pp. (paper) Includes chapter on fortune-telling with playing cards.

ANONYMOUS. *Rycerze Wielkiej Gry* (Knights of the Great Game). Poland, ca 1980. Novel about the Knights of the Templar, who use the tarot as their guide. One knight goes to Poland to save Europe from an invasion of the Mongols foreseen by the cards.

*ANONYMOUS. "Some Antique Playing Cards Were Early Visual Aids." *Journal of the Print World* 5, no. 1 (Winter 1982). p. 6. Exhibition of playing cards for education and amusement.

*ANONYMOUS. *Sposób do nauczenia sie gry w tarok i tarok-lombra* (A Way to Learn to Play Tarock and Tarock-Lombra). Warsaw, 1810.

ANONYMOUS. *Storia di Milano*. Milan: Fondazione Treccani, 1955. Contains brief information on Visconti and Visconti-Sforza tarocchi.

*ANONYMOUS. *Sztuka wrozenia z kart. Latwy i praktyczny samouczek ze zrodel asyrjisko-chaldejskich*. [The Art of Card Divination. An Easy and Practical Handbook from Assyrian and Chaldean Sources.] Privately printed, Poland, ca 1980. 10mo. 8 pp. (staple bound)

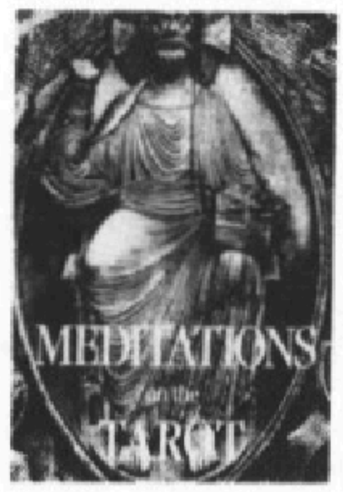
*ANONYMOUS. *Tabella dei Giuochi*. Milan(?), 1859. Decree noting games permitted in innkeeping, including *il tarocco*.

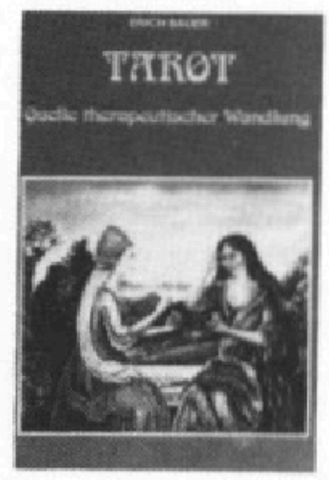
*ANONYMOUS. *Tarocco [Egiziano] tradizionale-marsigliese*. Milan, circa 1980. 23 pp. Booklet accompanying Tarot Egiziano deck.

*ANONYMOUS. *Il tarocco ossia giuoco della partita*. Bologna: Presso Luigi Priori Editore, 1872. 16mo. 55 pp. (paper) Rules for tarocco.

*ANONYMOUS. "Tarot Cards." *Antique Collector*, January 1982. pp. 70-73. Brief history of tarot.

*ANONYMOUS. *Tarot Lays*. Salamander Series, No. 2, 1980. Booklet on spreading the Rider-Waite Tarot.





ANONYMOUS. "A Touch of Tarot." Franklin Square, N.Y.: Tricky Business, circa 1980. Sleight of hand with tarot.

*ANONYMOUS. *Traite du jeu du wisth*. Paris: Nicolas et Boutonet, 1809. 16mo. 176 pp. (paper) Rules for the game of whist.

*ANONYMOUS. *Tutti i giochi*. Milan: Edizioni S.A.C.S.E., 1945. Ill. 237 pp. Includes history of playing cards.

*ANONYMOUS. *Unterricht über das Buch Thot*. Stuttgart, 1857. 24mo. Ill. 144 pp. + 78 plates. (cloth) Illustrates and describes Etteilla Tarot deck with German card titles.

*ANONYMOUS. *Valentina Visconti at the Festival of Asti, Tarot of*. New York: U.S. Games Systems, 1983. 10 pp. Leaflet in English accompanying Valentina Visconti Tarot.

*ANONYMOUS. "When You're Tired of Gin Rummy." *Attenzione*, November 1979. pp. 28, 29. Announcement of Franco Maria Ricci's book *Tarots: The Visconti Pack in Bergamo and New York*.

ANONYMOUS. *Wie is dat*. The Hague, Netherlands: M. Nijhoff, 1932. Dutch "Who's Who" contains entry on tarot scholar Dr. Gérard Abraham van Rijnberk.

**ANONYMOUS. *Wielka Etteilla*. Translation into Polish of booklet accompanying an Etteilla tarot deck.

ANONYMOUS. *Zbiór róznych wrózb*. Warsaw(?). Different methods of divination.

*ABATE, Tiziana. "Le carte della fortuna." *Ciga Hotels Magazine* 43. Article on playing cards and tarot cards from collections in Italy.

*ADAMS, Mary. *Keep on Counting*. Chicago: Aries Press, 1939. 12mo. Ill. 96 pp. Numerology and tarot. Illustrated with the B.O.T.A. deck.

*ALAN (pseudonym of Boldi Mauro). *I Tarocchi di Alan*. Trieste, Italy: Edizioni Modiano, 1981. 46 pp. Booklet accompanying the Exotic Tarot.

ALBA, Piera. *Scoprite il vostro futuro*. Turin: Editore AMZ Marietti, ca 1980. Cartomancy and palmistry, includes section on tarot.

*ALBANO, Frankie. *Tarot Cards*. Los Angeles: Tarot Productions, 1969. 32 pp. (paper, staple bound) Facsimile of extracts from *Pictorial Key to the Tarot*, by Arthur Edward Waite, to accompany Albano Tarot deck.

*ALBERTI, Giuseppe. *I Giuochi Numerici*. Naples: Presso Michele Morelli, 1814. 10mo. Ill. 197 pp. + 16 plates. (cloth) Number games plus legerdemain. Plates at the end of the book show various tricks, and demonstrate how trick cards can be made.

*ALEXANDER, J.J.G. *Italian Renaissance Illuminations*. New York: George Braziller, 1977. 4to. Ill. 119 pp. (paper) Provides background in Renaissance art similar to the fifteenth-century hand-painted cards, but no mention of tarot.

**ALEXANDER, Kevin. "The Modern Witch Tarot." Unpublished manuscript, 1982. Author's instructions and designs for divination with the tarot "based on the Witch beliefs."

*ALGERI, Giuliana. *Gli Zavattari*. Rome: De Luca Editore, 1981. 12mo. Ill. 104 pp. (paper) Attributes the Visconti and Visconti-Sforza tarocchi cards to the Zavattari family.

*ALLEGRI, M.E. *Introduzione al segreto massonico*. Privately published by Cura dell'Ordine Martinista, Venice. Ill. Includes illustrations of The Hermit card.

ALLI, Antero. *Angel Tech: A Modern Shaman's Guide to Reality*

Selection. Boulder, Colo.: Vigilantero Press, 1986. Ill. 380 pp. "A how-to manual for the actualization of the Multi-dimensional Self." Includes work with tarot and five of the author's original tarot designs.

AMBER. "Tarot Insights." *Castro Express*. Series of articles on tarot, starting with vol. 1, no. 1 (June 18, 1982).

***AMERICAN TAROT ASSOCIATION.** *The Spread*. Newsletter from the American Tarot Association.

AMIS DES ARTS. *Cartes et tarots*. Bulletin 27 of Amis des Arts, France.

****ANCROM,** Nancy. "A Lesson in Tarot." Unpublished manuscript, 1980. 7 pp. Brief background on tarot, including theories of history, and divinatory meanings of the cards.

****ANDERSON,** Harry and Leslie. "Illusion." Lecture notes, 1979. Tricks with playing cards including tarot.

****ANDRZEJEWSKI,** Jan. "Mowa Kart." Unpublished manuscript, 1945. Rewritten by C. Wladyslaw, Krakow, 1967. 83 pp. Esoteric symbolism including descriptions of tarot.

***ANEMA,** Piek L. *Initiation au Tarot*. Vol. 1 of *L'Encyclopedie du Tarot*. Privately published, 1977. 12mo. Ill. 149 pp. (paper) The origins, kabbalistic correspondences and different usages of the tarot.

***ANEMA,** Piek L. *L'Amoureux VI*. Vol. 9 of *L'Encyclopedie du Tarot*. Privately published, 1977. 12mo. Ill. 149 pp. (paper) Describes VI The Lovers card of the tarot.

***ANTHONY,** Piers. *Chaining the Lady*. New York: Avon Books, 1978. 16mo. 342 pp. (paper) Science fiction novel with tarot in the plot.

***ANTHONY,** Piers. *Cluster*. New York: Avon Books, 1977. 16mo. 254 pp. (paper) Science fiction novel with tarot in the plot.

***ANTHONY,** Piers. *Faith of Tarot*. London: Granada Publishing, 1980. 16mo. 271 pp. (paper) Science fiction novel with tarot in the plot.

***ANTHONY,** Piers. *God of Tarot*. New York: Jove Publications, 1979. London: Granada Publishing, 1980. 16mo. 256 pp. (paper) Science fiction novel with tarot in the plot.

***ANTHONY,** Piers. *Vision of Tarot*. New York: Berkley Publishing Corp., 1980. London: Granada Publishing, 1980. 16mo. 272 pp. (paper) Science fiction novel with tarot in the plot.

****ANZOLI,** Zuliano de. *Lancelot of the Lake (Codex Palatino 556)*. Manuscript in the collection of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrali in Florence, Italy. Circa 1446. Relates story of Lancelot of the Lake, with pen and ink illustrations attributed to Bonifacio Bembo.

****AQUARIAN CHANGES*** (See D.O.M.E.)

***ARETINO,** Pietro. *L'Aretin*. Paris: Mercure de France, 1922. 12mo. Ill. 342 pp. (paper) The works of Pietro Aretino translated into French. Includes "Le Dialogue du jeu ou les cartes parlantes."

***ARIENTI,** Vito. *Arienti Solleone Carte*. Milan. 10mo. Ill. (paper, staple bound) Catalog of Edizioni del Solleone, the Italian card publisher and distributor.

ARIENTI, Vito. "Notizie dalla 'Cartagiocofilia'." *Notiziario*. 1983. Column for people who collect cards.

***ARIENTI,** Vito. "Quattro secoli di xilografia nelle carte da gioco." *6a. Biennale Internazionale della Grafica d'Arte*, November/December 1978. pp. 53-67. Illustrations of woodblock printed playing cards including tarot.

***ARIENTI,** Vito. *Il Solleone*. Milan: Edizioni del Solleone, 1978. Folio. Ill. (paper) Illustrated retrospective volume of ten years of production by Edizioni del Solleone, from 1969 to 1978.

***ARIENTI,** Vito. "I tarocchi Viscontei della collezione Brambilla." *La voce del Collezionista* 17, no. 2 (March-April 1972). pp. 42-45. Ill.

ARIOSTO, Lodovico. *Orlando Furioso*. Circa 1530. Sequel to Boiardo's poem *Orlando Innamorato*. (See also Boiardo)

ARIOSTO, Lodovico. *Orlando Furioso*. London: 1634. Ill. *Orlando Furioso* translated into English heroic verse by Sir John Harrington. Includes 46 full-page copper engravings.

***ARNETT,** Patrick. *Le Tarot*. Paris: Solar, 1977. 16mo. Ill. 62 pp. (paper) Rules for the game of tarot.

ARRIEN, Angeles. *The Tarot Workbook*. Sonoma, Calif.: Arcus Publishing Co., 1984. Practical guide to the tarot.

****L'AS DE TREFLE.*** (See Association des Collectionneurs de Cartes et Tarots)

***ASHCROFT-NOWICKI,** Dolores. *First Steps in Ritual*. Wellingborough, England: Aquarian Press, 1982. 10mo. Ill. 96 pp. (paper) Rituals of different cultures including one that requires use of The Emperor from the tarot packs or the king of hearts from a regular playing card deck.

***ASSOCIATION DES COLLECTIONNEURS DE CARTES ET TAROTS.** *L'As de Trefle*. From January 1979. Bulletin of the Association des Collectionneurs de Cartes et Tarots, Paris. Contains articles on history of cards, reviews of new decks and information of interest to collectors.

***ASSOCIATION FRANÇAISE D'ACTION ARTISTIQUE.** *French Popular Imagery*. 12mo. Ill. 147 pp. (paper) Catalog of exhibition of French popular art at the Hayward Gallery, London, March 26 to May 27, 1974. Includes material on history of French playing cards.

****L'ASTROLOGO.*** Monthly magazine of astrology that also includes tarot. Issues from March and April 1981 feature tarocchi cards by Giorgio Tavaglione. (See also Merlino)

****L'ASTROLOGO MODERNO.*** Milan. Editrice Ripalta. 1967. Issues 1 through 30. Ill. Astrology magazine contains feature articles on symbolism and divination with tarot. Oswald Wirth Major Arcana cards are illustrated in the articles. The magazine covers depict illuminated tarot cards from Accademia Carrara and Lombardy I groups.

****AUGE,** Paul, ed. "Jeux de Société." *Encyclopédie Larousse Méthodique*, vol. 2. Paris: Librairie Larousse, n.d. pp. 1110-1112. Includes game of tarot.

AUSTIN, Leonard. "That's Your Card." *Linking Ring* 54, no. 3 (March 1974). Sleight of hand with tarot.

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***BAIGENT,** Michael, Richard Leigh and Henry Lincoln. *Holy Blood, Holy Grail*. New York: Delacorte Press, 1982. 10mo. Ill. 461 pp. (cloth) Theory concerning bloodline allegedly descending from Jesus Christ. Includes some statements concerning origin of tarot.

***BALDINI,** Jolena. *I Tarocchi di Gentilini*. Rome: Cigno Galleria e Stamperia d'Arte, 1975. Ill. 16 pp. Booklet accompanying the Gentilini Tarot deck.

***BALDINI,** Umberto. *The Visconti Uffiziolo*. Milan: Arti Grafiche Ricordi, 1964. Folio. Ill. 58 pp. (cloth) Leaves from the Visconti Book of Hours, with commentary. Translated from Italian by David Bennett.

BALDWIN, Margaret. *Fortune-Telling*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1984. 96 pp. Book on fortune-telling and tarot cards for children.

***BALIN,** Peter. *The Flight of the Feathered Serpent*. Wilmot, Wis.: Arcana Publishing Co., 1978. 12mo. Ill. 183 pp. (paper) Delineation of the Mayan Xultun Tarot deck by Peter Balin.

***BALIN,** Peter. *Der Flug der Gefiederten Schlange*. Basel, W. Germany: Sphinx Verlag Basel, 1981. 12mo. Ill. 173 pp. (cloth) *The Flight of the Feathered Serpent* translated into German by Elmar Gruber.

***BALIN,** Peter. *The Way of the Sorcerer*. Venice, Calif.: Wisdom Garden Books, 1977. 31 pp. (paper, staple bound) Transcription of talk by Balin on his deck, the Mayan Xultun Tarot, given at the E.S.P. Center, Phoenix, Arizona.

***BALIN,** Peter. *The Xultun Tarot Codex*. Wilmot, Wis.: Arcana Publishing Co., 1976. Ill. 16 pp. Booklet accompanying the Mayan Xultun Tarot deck.

BALLARD, Ronn. (See Sandbach)

BANDERA, S. "Persistenze tardogotiche a Cremona: Frate Nebidrio a altri episodi." *Paragone* 28, no. 323 (1977). pp. 34-72. Information on Bonifacio Bembo and his milieu.

BANNER, Moneca. "Quest for Understanding." Unpublished manuscript, ca 1980. Juvenile fiction based on Major Arcana.

***BARDON,** Franz. *Frabato the Magician*. Wuppertal, W. Germany: Dieter Rüggeberg Verlag, 1982. 12mo. Ill. 206 pp. (paper) An occult novel with tarot in the plot.

***BARDON,** Franz. *The Key to the True Quabbalah*. Wuppertal, W. Germany: Dieter Rüggeberg, 1975. 12mo. 270 pp. (cloth) *Der Schlüssel zur wahren Quabbalah* (1957) translated from German by Peter A. Dimai. Kabbalistic magic with mention of tarot.

***BARDON,** Franz. *Initiation into Hermetics*. Wuppertal, W. Germany: Dieter Rüggeberg, 1971. 10mo. 294 pp. (cloth) *Der Weg zum Wahren Adepten* (1956) translated from German by A. Radspieler. Detailed instructions for being a magician, the magician being described in terms of the tarot.

***BARDON,** Franz. *The Practice of Magical Evocation*. Wuppertal, W. Germany: Dieter Rüggeberg, 1975. Ill. 350 pp. (cloth) *Die Praxis der magischen Evokation* (1956) translated from German by Peter Dimai. Magical practices through the symbolism of The Magician card of the tarot. Illustrated with many sigils.

***BARGAGLI,** Girolamo. *Dialogo de' giuochi*. 1572, 1575, *1581. *Reprint. Siena: Accademia Sienese degli Intronati, 1982. 8vo. 255 pp. (paper) Reference to tarocchi, p. 107.

BARONI, C., and S. Samek Ludovici. *La Pittura lombarda del quattrocento*. Messina, 1952. p. 91. Bonifacio and Benedetto Bembo.

***BARRES,** Maurice. *Stanislas de Guaita (1861-1898)): Souvenirs*. Paris: Chamuel, Editeur, 1898. 10mo. 32 pp. (paper) In French. Memories about the occultist de Guaita, teacher of Oswald Wirth. Includes two portraits of de Guaita.

***BAUDOUIN.** *Le Tarots du non-être supreme*. Paris: Editions Baudouin, 1979. Folio. Ill. 27 pp. (paper, unbound) Sheaf of black and white tarot designs with descriptive text. Eastern themes.

***BAUER,** Erich. *Tarot: Quelle Therapeutischer Wandlung*. Munich: New Age GmbH, 1982. 12mo. Ill. 166 pp. (paper) Tarot used as a way to understand the self.

BAUER, Wolfgang. "Spiel des Lebens." *Unicorn* 6.

***BAUWENS,** Jan. *Aurelia Games Index*. Brussels: Aurelia Books, 1978. 10mo. Ill. (cloth binder) Comprehensive index of Belgian playing cards with detailed information on form, measurements, makers, methods of printing, etc.

****BAUWENS,** Jan. "The Flemish Tarock." Unpublished manuscript, 1979. Outline of booklet to accompany the Vandenborre Bacchus Tarot deck.

***[BAUWENS,** Jan.] *Flemish Tarot (Vanderborre Bacchus Tarot)*. Turnhout, Belgium: Carta Mundi, 1983. 48mo. Ill. 31 pp. (paper, staple bound) Booklet accompanying the Vandenborre Bacchus Tarot deck.

*BAUWENS, Jan. *Le monde fabuleux des cartes indiennes.* Brussels: Aurelia Books, 1979. 4to. 53 pp. (paper) Treatise on Indian playing cards.

*BAUWENS, Jan. *The Simplified Tarot Instructions.* Turnhout, Belgium: Carta Mundi, 1984. 31 pp. Booklet accompanying the Simplified Tarot.

**BAUWENS, Jan. "The Tarock of Transition or The Judgment of Osiris." Unpublished manuscript, 1979. 59 pp. Book describing the Tarot of Transition deck subsequently published by Carta Mundi, Belgium.

*BAUWENS, Jan. *The Tarot of Transition Instructions.* Turnhout, Belgium: Carta Mundi, 1983. 29 pp. Booklet accompanying the Tarot of Transition deck.

BAUWENS, Jan. (See also Tummers)

BAYLOT, Jean. *Oswald Wirth.* Paris: Dervy Livres, ca 1983.

*BECA, Lu. *La Creacion Perenne.* Buenos Aires: Editorial Kier, 1976. 12mo. Ill. 330 pp. (paper) Explains Egyptian symbolism of tarot.

BELL, Jackie. "The Magic Mirror of Tarot." *Psychic Guide* 1, no. 4 (March 1983). pp. 32, 33. History of tarot and interpretations of cards.

*BELL, R.C. *Board and Table Game Antiques.* Aylesbury, England: Shire Publications, 1981. 12mo. Ill. 31 pp. (paper) Illustrates and describes antique games, including playing cards and equipment for playing cards.

*BELLEIL, Gwen. *Tarot de Gwen.* Nice: Collection Belisane, 1979. 10mo. Ill. 111 pp. (paper) Esoteric interpretations of tarot accompanied by twenty-two Major Arcana cards designed by the author.

*BELLINE. *Grand Tarot Belline Instructions.* New York: U.S. Games Systems, 1983. 8 pp. English-language leaflet accompanying Grand Tarot Belline deck published by Ets. J.M. Simon of France.

*BELLINE. *Oracle Belline Instructions.* New York: U.S. Games Systems, 1983. Leaflet accompanying the Oracle Belline deck designed by Edmond and published by Ets. J.-M. Simon of France.

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*BELLONCI, Maria, Gian Alberto Dell'acqua and Carlo Perogalli. *I Visconti a Milano.* Milan: Cassa di Risparmio delle Provincie Lombarde, 1977. Folio. Ill. 297 pp. (cloth) Illustrated history of the Visconti of Milan, includes color plates of tarocchi cards.

*BELOTTI, Bortolo. *La Vita di Bartolomeo Colleoni.* Bergamo, Italy: Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche, 1923. Includes black and white engraving of a knight of coins, with the caption, *Ufficiale Visconteo.*

BELTRAMI, L. *Il castello di Milano.* Milan, 1894. Cites Bembo and his assistants in their work on chapels at Sforza castles.

*BENAVIDES, Rodolfo. *Tarot, o baraja egipcia.* Mexico: Editorial Universo, 1982. 14mo. Ill. 141 pp. + illustrations. (paper) Describes and interprets a tarot deck based in concept on the Egipcios Kier Tarot; cards printed on heavy paper at the back of the book to cut out and use as a deck.

*BENAVIDES, Rodolfo. *El tarot profetico y la gran piramide.* Mexico: Editore Mexicanos Unidos, 1976, 1979. 12mo. Ill. 366 pp. (paper) Egyptian symbolism in the tarot and how the tarot relates to the Apocalypse of the Bible.

*BENGE, David Philip. "The Chariot." *Aquarian Changes* 5, no. 2 (April 1983). pp. 4, 5.

*BENGE, David Philip. "Double Tarot." *The Domesday Book* 3, no. 3 (March 1980). pp. 15-18. Vision in which tarot figures appear.

*BENITA LA "BRUJA." *El arte de echar los cartas.* New York: Extasis Corp., 1973. Fortune-telling with Spanish playing cards.

**BENNETT, Alan. "The Order of the G.D." 1907. Handwritten manuscript of notes on the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn and tarot. Collection of the University of Texas, Austin, Texas.

*BEREND, Mihály. "Tarokk." *Kártyások Könyve.* Budapest: Sport, 1984. 16mo. 416 pp. (paper) Rules for game.

*BERKE, Roberta Elzey. *Sphere of Light.* London: Fire Books and Trigram Press, 1972. 10mo. Ill. 144 pp. (paper) Edition limited to 1000 copies. Book of poetry with original prints by the artist, some of tarot designs.

BERKHAM. *Playing Cards.* 1931. 4to. Ill. (cloth).

BERLOQUIN, Pierre. *Le Livre des jeux.* Paris, 1970. Includes description of the game of tarot.

*BERNARDI, Luigi. *Regole generali del nobilissimo gioco delle minchiate.* Rome, 1742. 24mo. Frontispiece. 164 pp. (paper) Rules for playing minchiate.

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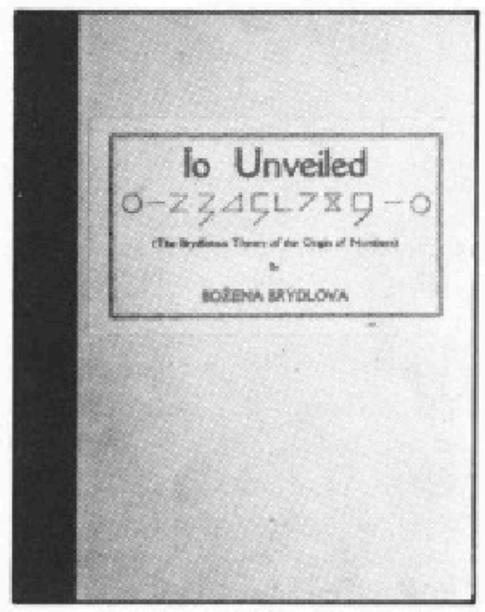

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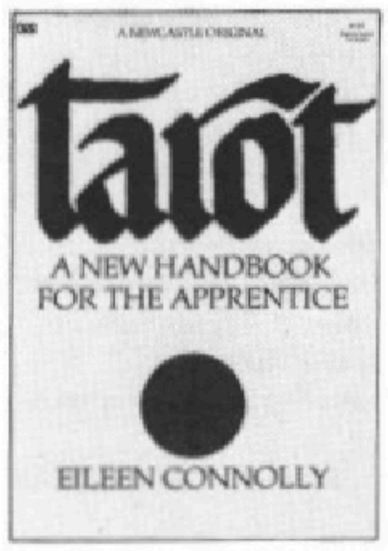

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*CROWLEY, Aleister. *Moonchild: A Prologue*. London: Mandrake Press, 1929. 10mo. 335 pp. (cloth) Occult novel, in which the author sometimes refers to his own works, *The Equinox* and *The Book of the Heart Girt with the Serpent*.

*CROWLEY, Aleister. *777 and Other Qabalistic Writings of Aleister Crowley*. New York: Samuel Weiser, 1975. 303 pp. (cloth)

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*CROWLEY, Aleister. *Tarot Divination*. Circa 1960. Paper bound. Reduced facsimile of Crowley's essay that originally appeared in *The Equinox*, vol. 1, no. 8.

*CROWLEY, Aleister. *Tarot Divination*. York Beach, Maine: Samuel Weiser, 1976. 12mo. 68 pp. (paper) Reprint of Crowley's essay on tarot which originally appeared in *The Equinox*, vol. 1, no. 8, autumn 1912. Written over twenty years before Lady Frieda Harris executed Crowley's Book of Thoth Tarot, the essay nevertheless gives the symbolic outline for Crowley's tarot pack, with some differences in the details of the images.

*CROWLEY, Aleister. *The Magical Record of the Beast 666*. Edited and annotated by John Symonds and Kenneth Grant. London: Gerald Duckworth and Co., 1972. 8vo. 326 pp. (paper) Aleister Crowley's diaries from 1914 to 1920.

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*D'ANCONA, P. "Carte da gioco italiane." *Emporium*. 1932. pp. 87-96. Early Italian playing cards.

*DANIELS, Kooch. *Matrix Tarot Reader*. 1985. Computer program that spreads and interprets tarot "cards."

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*DECKER, Ron. "Early Tarots: Copies and Counterparts." *Playing Card: Journal of the International Playing-Card Society* 9, no. 1 (August 1980). pp. 24-31. Points out the visual similarities of groups of fifteenth-century tarots.

*DEE, Nerys. *Fortune-Telling by Playing Cards*. Wellingborough, England: Aquarian Press, 1982. 10mo. Ill. 160 pp. (paper) Divination using regular playing cards. Includes information on tarot.

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*DEL POZO, Victorino. *Eulogy to the Book of Thot*. Madrid: Editorial Barath, 1980. 12mo. 21 pp. (paper) Translation into English of poems on

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*DENNING, Melita, and Osborne Phillips. *The Magick of the Tarot*. Minnesota: Llewellyn Publications, 1983. 12mo. Ill. 252 pp. (paper) Using the tarot to rule one's own destiny.

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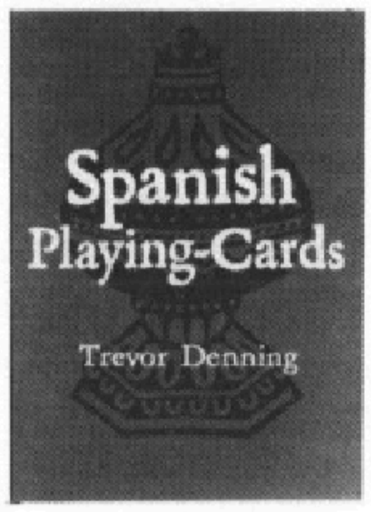

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*EILENSTEIN, Harry. "Tarot II." *Unicorn* III/82: 173-178. Bonn. Analysis of cards III The Empress, IV The Emperor, V The Hierophant, VI The Lovers, VII The Chariot, illustrated with cards from the Rider-Waite Tarot.

*EILENSTEIN, Harry. "Tarot III." *Unicorn* IV/83. Bonn. pp. 50-53. Analysis of VIII (sic) Justice, illustrated with Rider-Waite Tarot.

*EILENSTEIN, Harry. "Tarot IV." *Unicorn* V/83. Bonn. pp. 109-111. Analysis of VIII Strength, IX The Hermit and X The Wheel of Fortune, illustrated with cards from the Rider-Waite Tarot.

*EILENSTEIN, Harry. "Tarot V." *Unicorn* VII (Winter 1983). Bonn. pp. 192-195. Analysis of cards XII The Hanged Man, XIII Death and XIV Temperance, illustrated with cards from the Rider-Waite Tarot deck.

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*ERFURT, Birgit. "Hierophant." Copenhagen: Karma Music, 1982. Song on rock music album *Boline.*

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*ERTE, Asta. *Tarot Bogen.* Copenhagen: Sphinx Forlag, 1983. 12mo. Ill. 80 pp. Describes and interprets the Rider-Waite Tarot.

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*FAIRFIELD, Gail. *Choice Centered Tarot.* Privately published, *1981. Revised and expanded edition, *1982. 10mo. 153 pp. (paper) Van Nuys, Calif.: Newcastle Publishing Co., *1986. Ill. 160 pp. (paper) Tarot interpreted through psychology of the new age.

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*FARRAR, Stewart. *What Witches Do: The Modern Coven Revealed.* New York: Coward, McCann and Geoghegan, 1971. 10mo. Ill. 211 pp. (cloth) Revised edition. Custer, Wash.: Phoenix Publishing Co., 1983. 10mo. Ill. 184 pp. Modern witchcraft, with chapter on tarot.

*FATHMAN, George. *The Royal Road.* 1951. Reprint. Mokelumne Hill, Calif.: Health Research, 1977. 10mo. Ill. 252 pp. (paper, spiral bound) Analysis of tarot using Egyptian images, astrology, anatomy, Masonic ritual, the Bible, numerology, mythology, etc. Major Arcana cards illustrated in book are modified designs from Egyptian Tarot deck.

*FEINDURA, Helmut. "German Tax Stamps." *Playing Card: Journal of the International Playing-Card Society* 9, no. 1 (August 1980). pp. 31-32.

*FENTON, Sasha. *Fortune-Telling by Tarot Cards.* Wellingborough, England: Aquarian Press, 1985. 10mo. Ill. 160 pp. (paper) Book on tarot illustrated with Prediction Tarot cards created by Bernard Stringer and Peter Richardson.

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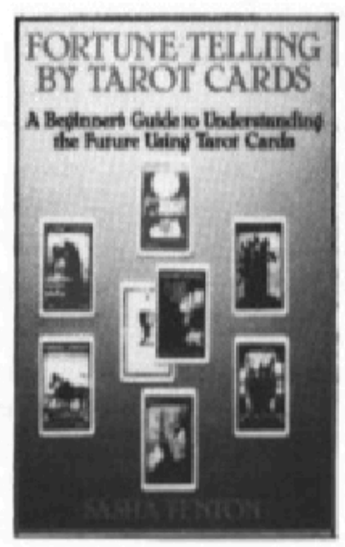
**FERRARI, Maria Luisa. "Il 'Salterio' riminese di Bonifacio Bembo." *Paragone* 9, no. 3 (March 1959). pp. 40-45. Riminese psalter attributed to Bonifacio Bembo.



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*FESLIKENIAN, Franca, and Maristella Picollo. *El Futuro revelado por el Tarot.* Barcelona: Editorial De Vecchi, S.A., 1981. 12mo. Ill. 150 pp. (paper) Divination with the tarot; includes Piedmontese-style Major Arcana in back section of book suitable for cutting out.

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*FIELD, George A. (Albert). "Playing Cards: Striking Designs for Games." In *The Encyclopedia of Collectibles*. New York: Time-Life Books, 1979. 6vo. Ill. 160 pp. (cloth) pp. 44-53. Information on collecting and identifying playing cards, with page on tarot.

*FINN, Edouard. *Tarot, Gestalt et Energie*. Quebec: Editions de Mortagne, 1980. 8vo. Ill. 217 pp. (paper) Tarot and gestalt therapy. Illustrated with the Tarot Ideographique du Kebek by Yves Paquin.

*FISH, Mary. "Morphological/Mythological: A Reflection on Relationships Between Plant Systems and the Tarot." *Corona* 2 (1981) Montana State University. pp. 70-75. Ill. Association between the author's activities of watching the life cycle of the flowers in her garden and of spreading the tarot cards. Illustrated with Aquarian and Rider-Waite decks and the author's own delicate renderings of flowers, laid out in spreads.

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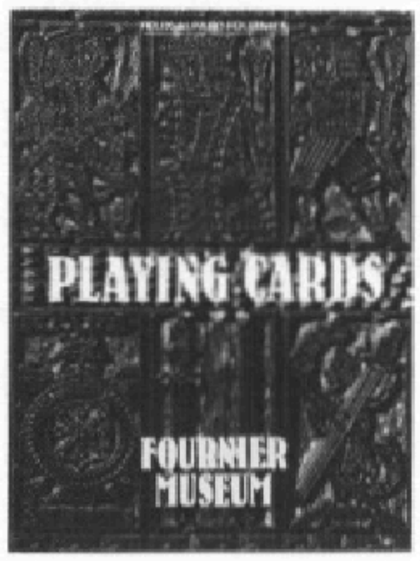

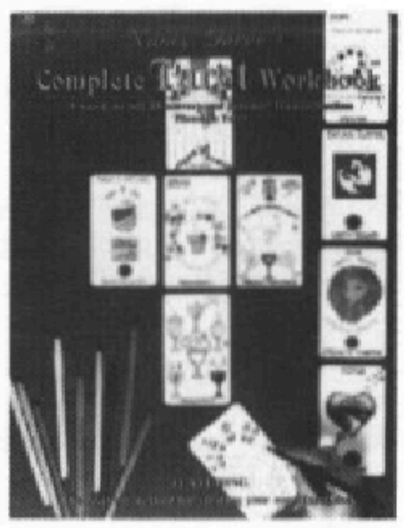

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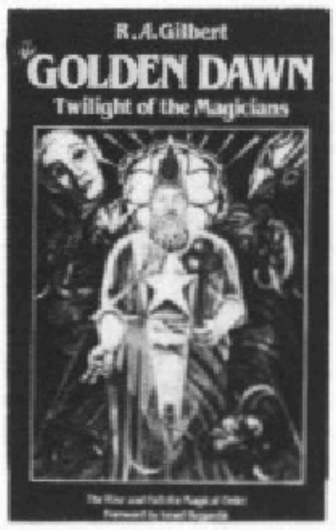

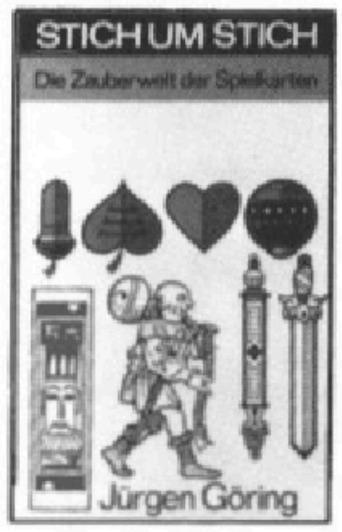

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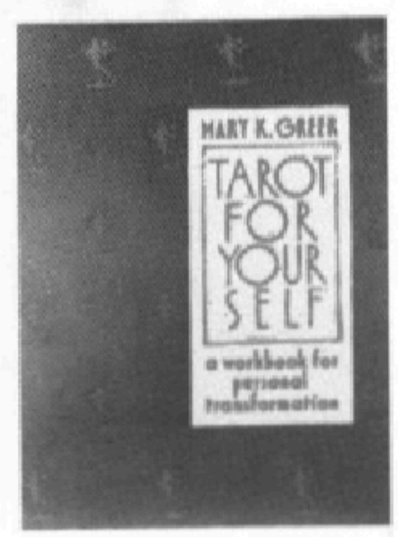

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*GRIMAUD, B.P. *Tarot of Marseilles.* Paris: B.P. Grimaud/J.-M. Simon/France Cartes, 1969. 48 pp. Booklet accompanying Tarot of Marseilles.

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*GROSSINGER, Richard. *Early Field Notes from the All-American Revival Church.* Analysis of the tarot included in chapters, "The Chariot," and "The First Horizontal Row."

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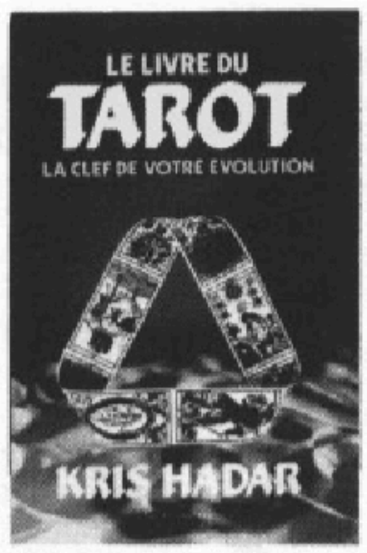

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*HALL, James. *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art.* London: John Murray, 1974. 345 pp. Source book on symbolism in art.

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*HALUZA, J.L. "Cztery elementy w trygonie znaków zodiaku" (Four elements in the trines of the signs of the zodiac). In *Polski Kalendarz Astrologiczny 1929.* Bydgoszcz, 1928. Astrological correspondences of the tarot.

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*HARRSEN, Meta, and George K. Boyce. *Italian Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library.* New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1953. 4to. Ill. 79 pp. plus 78 plates. (paper) Brief data about the thirty-five Visconti-Sforza tarocchi cards owned by the Pierpont Morgan Library.

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*HICKLIN, Frances. *Playing Cards.* London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 1976. 24mo. Ill. 12 pp. (paper) Brief history of playing cards.

*HILLIARD, John Northern. *The Greater Magic Library.* 5 vols. New

York: A.S. Barnes and Co., 1938. 10mo. Ill. 993 pp. total. (cloth) Sleight of hand magic tricks. Volume I includes brief history of playing cards.

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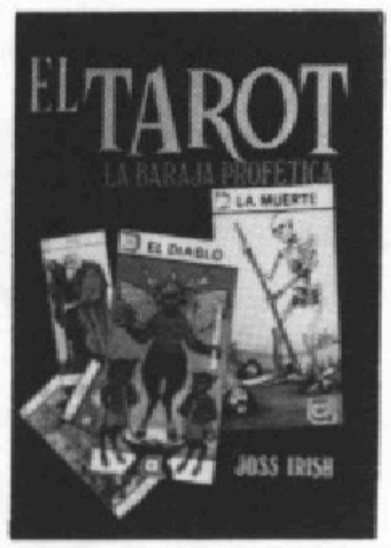

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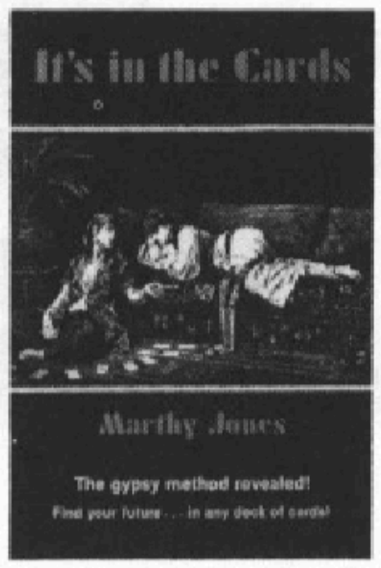

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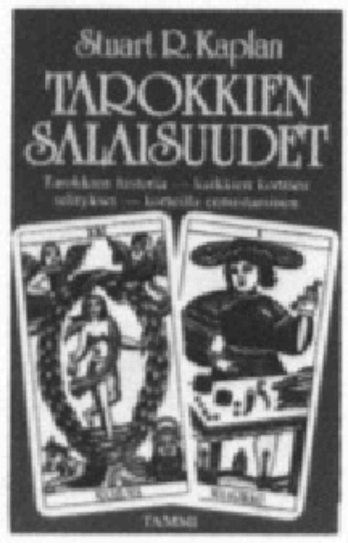

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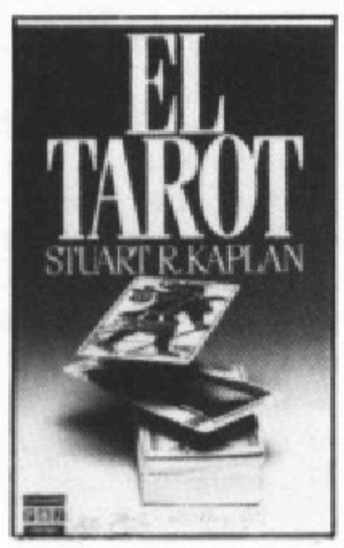

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*KOPP, Sheldon. *The Hanged Man.* London: Sheldon Press, 1974. 12mo. Ill. 254 pp. (paper) Psychological and spiritual insight through the tarot. Illustrated with the Rider-Waite Tarot.

*KORENY, Fritz. "Unknown Woodcuts for the Playing Card Pack of Erhard Schoen." *Playing Card: Journal of the International Playing-Card Society* 11, no. 2 (November 1982). pp. 57-58. Schoen is the cardmaker who also made a woodcut calendar with images that resemble the Major Arcana.

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**KOSTOLOWSKI, Andrzej. "Eliphas Levi: mag jako artysta." *Interpretacja dziela sztuki.* Warsaw, 1976. Artistic interpretation of the illustrations by Levi in his writings. States that Levi painted several decks of tarots which were known in Poland.

*KOSTOLOWSKI, Andrzej. "Izyda Jednak Odslonieta." *Studia Muzealne* IX (1972). National Museum of Poznan, Poland. Article on pre-Raphaelite painter Dante Gabriel Rossetti, with picture of ace of cups from Tarot of Marseilles as illustration of the Holy Grail.

*KREMMERZ, Giuliano. *I Tarocchi dal punto di vista filosofico.* Milan, 1944. Reprint. Rome: Edizioni Paganitas, 1980. 12mo. (paper) 172 pp. Using tarot for hermetical and magical purposes.

*KRISTELLER, Paul. *Kupferstich und Holzschnitt in vier Jahrhunderten.* Berlin: Verlag von Bruno Cassirer, 1921. 8vo. Ill. 601 pp. (cloth) Includes brief history of early engraved playing cards.

KUNST GEWERBE MUSEUM DER STADT ZURICH. (See Hans Hurlimann)

*KUYKENDALL, Karen. *Cat People and Other Inhabitants of the Outer Regions.* Phoenix: Desert Diamond Co., 1979. 10vo. Ill. 60 pp. (paper) Designs on which the Tarot of the Cat People is based.

*KUYKENDALL, Karen. *Tarot of the Cat People Instructions.* New York: U.S. Games Systems, 1985. 62 pp. Booklet accompanying the Tarot of the Cat People deck.

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*LACROIX, Paul. *Manners, Customs and Dress During the Middle Ages and During the Renaissance Period.* London: Chapman and Hall, 1876. 4to. Ill. 554 pp. (cloth) Translation into English of *Moeurs, usages et costumes au moyen age et à l'époque de la Renaissance.* Brief reference to playing cards.

*LAFFONT, Robert. *Jeux du temps passé.* 4to. Ill. 51 pp. (paper) Instructions for games from times passed, including a game of divination using numbers.

*LA FONTAINE, Jean de. *Fables of La Fontaine.* Secaucus, N.J.: Chartwell Books, 1982. 4to. Ill. 479 pp. (cloth) Translated from French by Walter Thornbury. The illustrations by Gustave Doré make this edition an interesting way to research the La Fontaine tarock decks that were published during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Nothing on tarot and tarock.

*LAGERBERG, Guy de. "Playing Cards: Playing Cards Lore." *Hobbies,* March 1950. Brief history of playing cards.

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*LA MARINIERE, D. *La Maison Academique.* Paris, 1659. 24mo. Frontispiece. 240 pp. Includes rules for games of cards, but not for tarocchi, tarot or triumphs.

LANDERS, Stewart. "The Tarot Beat." Unpublished manuscript, 1981. Relation between tarot and everyday life.

*LANGUIRAND, Jacques. "Introduction." In *Le Tarot Ideographique du Kebek.* Ottawa, Canada: Editions de Mortagne, 1979. 24mo. Ill. pp. 11-28. Chapter in booklet accompanying the deck Tarot Ideographique du Kebek by Yves Paquin.

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LASENIC, P. *Tarot.* Praha, 1938.

*LAURENCE, Theodore. *El Tarot Sexual.* Barcelona: Ediciones Martinez Roca, 1981. 12mo. Ill. 186 pp. (paper) Translation into Spanish by Hernán Sabaté of *The Sexual Key to the Tarot.* Illustrated with the Rider-Waite Tarot.

*LAURENT, Claude-Marcel. *Le Jeu de tarots: Règle et pratique.* Paris: Editions Bornemann, 1975. 12mo. Ill. 87 pp. (paper) Rules and strategy for playing game of tarot.

*LAWLER, Richard. *Sacred Geometry.* New York: Crossroad Publishing Co., 1982. 4to. Ill. 112 pp. (cloth) No information on tarot. Used as reference by Peter McDonald in study on numbering of tarot cards.

*LAWRENCE, Russell L. "This Was Once a Card-Manufacturing, Card-Playing Town." *Philadelphia Inquirer,* April 1965. Article on how Philadelphia was once the leading city in the United States for playing card manufacturing.

*LEARY, Timothy. *The Game of Life.* Culver City, Calif.: Peace Press, 1979. 4to. Ill. 288 pp. (paper) Includes eclectic, tongue-in-cheek exposition of the tarot as a method to discard societal conditioning.

*LEEK, Sybil. *The Sybil Leek Book of Fortune Telling.* Toronto: Macmillan Co., 1969. 10mo. Ill. 152 pp. (cloth) Different methods of divination, including fortune-telling with tarot cards and regular playing cards.

*LE GETTE, Bernard Spencer. *The Rational Tarot: How to Use It, Why It Works.* London: Arthur Baker, 1976. Modern interpretation of the tarot, relating it to the physical sciences.

**LE GRAND, Madame J. *La Cartomancie devoilée. Simplifiée et Perfectionnée.* Brussels, 1840. Ill. 158 pp. Cartomancy.

*LEHANE, Brendan, and the editors of Time-Life Books. *Wizards and Witches: The Enchanted World.* Alexandria, Va.: Time-Life Books, 1984. 4to. Ill. 143 pp. (cloth) Richly illustrated storybook-style work on the occult, including section on tarot and cartomancy plus illustration of Satan taken from old Italian tarot decks (p. 58).

*LEHNER, Ernst and Johanna. *A Fantastic Bestiary.* New York: Tudor Publishing Co., 1969. 4to. Ill. 192 pp. (cloth) A profusely illustrated book on imaginary and mythological beasts, some of which have made an appearance in the tarot. Nothing specifically about tarot cards.

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tarot based on ancient philosophies, illustrated with cards from Rider-Waite Tarot, Oswald Wirth Tarot and Tarot of Marseilles.

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*LENORMAND, Mlle. *Grand Lenormand.* Paris: B.P. Grimaud/J.M. Simon/France Cartes, 1977. 64 pp. English and French booklet accompanying Grand Lenormand Astromythological Practices fortune-telling deck.

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*LENSI, Alfredo. *Bibliografia italiana di giuochi di carte.* 1892. Reprint. Ravenna: A. Longo Editore, 1985, edition limited to 699 copies. Bibliography of Italian books on playing cards.

*LEO. *Frown Strong.* Putney, England: Cobwebs Press, 1977. 10mo. Ill. 80 pp. (paper) Initiations in the form of vignettes, often alluding to the symbols of the tarot without actually naming them.

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*LEUENBERGER, Hans-Dieter. *Schule des Tarot: Das Rad des Lebens.* Freiburg, W. Germany: Hermann Bauer Verlag, 1981. 10mo. Ill. 318 pp. (cloth) Study of the Major Arcana of the tarot. Illustrated with the Rider-Waite Tarot with German titles.

*LEUENBERGER, Hans-Dieter. *Schule des Tarot: Das Spiel des Lebens.* Freiburg, W. Germany: Bauer, 1984. 12mo. Ill. 303 pp. (cloth) Practical esoteric work with the tarot.

*LEVI, Eliphas (pseudonym of Alphonse Louis Constant). *The Book of Splendors.* 1973. Reprint. Wellingborough, England: Aquarian Press, 1981. 10mo. 191 pp. (paper) English-language edition of *Le Livre des splendeurs.* Correspondences between kabbalism, numerology and tarot.

*LEVI, Eliphas (pseudonym of Alphonse Louis Constant). *Geschichte der Magie.* 2 vols. Basel: Sphinx Verlag, 1983. Translation into German of *Histoire de la Magie.*

*LEVI, Eliphas (pseudonym of Alphonse Louis Constant). *The Great Secret.* Wellingborough, England: Aquarian Press, 1975. 10mo. 188 pp. (paper) Translation into English of *Le grand arcane.*

*LEVI, Eliphas (pseudonym of Alphonse Louis Constant). *Letters to a Disciple.* Wellingborough, England: Aquarian Press, 1980. 10mo. Ill. 128 pp. (paper) Translation into English by Bertram Keightley of Levi's letters to his disciple Baron Nicholas-Joseph Spedalieri. Introduction by Christopher McIntosh. Includes references to tarot.

*LEVI, Eliphas (pseudonym of Alphonse Louis Constant). *The Magical Ritual of the Sanctum Regnum Interpreted by the Tarot Trumps.* 1896. Facsimile reprint. London: Crispin Press in association with Thorsons Publishers, 1970. 16mo. Ill. 108 pp. (cloth) Translation into English from French by W. Wynn Westcott.

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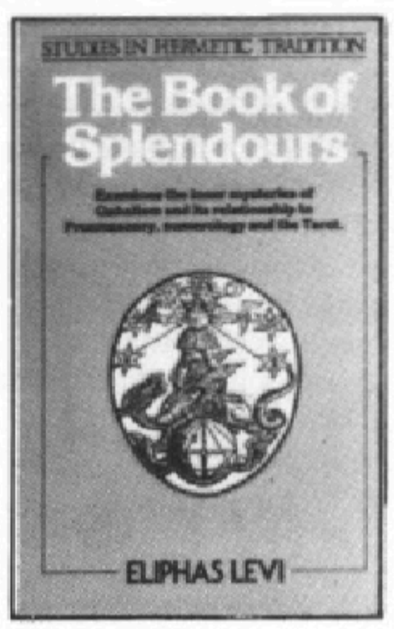

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*LEYDEN, Rudolf von. *Spielkarten-Bilder in persischen Lackmalereien.* Vienna: Ferd. Piatnik & Söhne, 1981. Ill. 59 pp. (paper) Playing card images of Persian lacquerwork.

*LEYDEN, Rudolf von. *Die Welt der indischen Spielkarten.* Vienna: Wilhelm Braudmüller, Universitäts-Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1981. 8vo. Ill. 160 pp. (paper) Playing cards of India.

*LHOTE, Jean-Marie. *Tarot de Louttre B.* Paris: J.M. Simon/France Cartes, 1981. 8 pp. Leaflet accompanying Louttre B. Tarot deck.

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LHOTE, Jean-Marie. (See also George Gorse)

LINCOLN, Henry. (See Michael Baigent)

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*LOBEL, Anita. *On Market Street.* New York: Greenwillow Books, 1981. 8vo. Ill. 40 pp. (cloth) Children's alphabet book that shows playing cards for letter P, with an illustration of a king composed of cards.

LOGAN, Jo. *Fortune-Telling by Tarot Cards.* Poole, England: Blandford Press, 1985. 10mo. Ill. 160 pp. (paper) Divination with the tarot by the editor of *Prediction* magazine.

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LONG, Max Freedom. Articles on tarot appeared in issues of *Huna Research Bulletins* (1948-1957), *New Horizons* and *Huna Vistas* (1959-1970).

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LUDOVICI, Sergio Samek. *La Miniatura Rinascimentale.* Milan, 1966. 158 pp. Ill. Includes several Visconti-Sforza tarocchi cards.

LUDOVICI, Sergio Samek. (See also C. Baroni)

*LYNCH, John, ed. *The Coffee Table Book of Astrology.* New York: Penguin Books, 1976. 6vo. Ill. 326 pp. (paper) Basic book on astrology, including medieval illustrations of the signs of the zodiac which sometimes resemble the pictures of tarot cards. No mention of tarot.

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*M.A. *Traite du Jeu de Tarots.* Besançon, 1902. 24mo. 54 pp. (paper) Rules of tarot adopted by the Cercle Granville de Besançon.

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*MACBETH, John. "Tibetan Tarot." Unpublished manuscript, 1960. 21 pp. Description of the Neti-Neti cards which incorporate Eastern theology into the tarot.

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*MACKENZIE, Kenneth R.H. "Philosophical and Cabbalistic Magic: A Narrative." *The Rosicrucian and Red Cross Journal,* May 1873. pp. 27-34. Account of the author's meeting with Eliphas Levi, with whom he discussed tarot and Levi's manuscript on the subject.

MACLEOD, Pat. "Zola: How to Gain Control of Your Life." Unpublished manuscript, 1985. Divination with playing cards.

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*MAGRINI, Gabriella. "I Grandi arcani per giocare col destino." *Annabella.* Ill. pp. 87-94, 109-112, 133-136, 143-150. Describes the Annabella Tarot deck created by Giancarlo Carloni.

*MAHAMUDRA. "Tarot-Symbolik und Initiation." *Unicorn* 6 (Winter 1983), Bonn.

LA MAISON ACADEMIQUE... (See La Mariniere; Anonymous, *La Maison Academique)*

MAJOCCHI, R. *Codice diplomatico-artistico di Pavia dall'anno 1330 all'anno 1550.* Pavia, 1937. Includes transcriptions of documents concerning Bonifacio Bembo's work.

*MALAGUZZI-VALERI, Francesco. *La corte di Lodovico il Moro.* Milan, *1929. Reprint. 4 vols. Liechtenstein, W. Germany: Kraus Reprint, *1970, 6to. Ill. (cloth)

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MALATESTA, Ant. *La Sfinge.* Florence, 1683. Includes list of minchiate cards.

MALORY, Sir Thomas. *Le Morte d'Arthur.* London: Everyman Library, 1967.

**MANKIEWICZ, Tom. *Live and Let Die.* Eon Productions, 1972. Screenplay of James Bond movie, *Live and Let Die,* produced by Albert R. Broccoli and Harry Saltzman, based on the book by Ian Fleming. A medium plays a role in the movie, using the Tarot of the Witches (formerly called the James Bond 007 Tarot deck) as a prop.

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*MANN, Sylvia. "'At the sign of...' Italian style." *Playing Card: Journal of the International Playing-Card Society* 13, no. 2 (November 1984). pp. 52-55. Italian cardmakers' identifications on playing cards.

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*MANN, Sylvia. "German Tax Stamps after 1878." *Journal of the Playing-Card Society* 6, no. 3 (February 1978). pp. 82-86.

*MANN, Sylvia. "In Defense of Discontinuity." *Playing Card: Journal of the International Playing-Card Society* 10, no. 2 (November 1981). pp. 68-69. Tarot development—Italy and France.

*MANN, Sylvia. "In Search of Standard Patterns." *Journal of the Playing-Card Society* 7, no. 4 (May 1979). pp. 78-81. Swiss and German card designs.

MANN, Sylvia. (See also Suma)

*MANNERS, Gerald, and Colin Robinson. "Two Fat Years—Then Comes the Lean Future." London: The Times, November 19, 1984. p. 14. Article about British coal strike with five satirical Major Arcana tarot cards by Peter Brookes.

*MARGARY, Harry. "The Photography of Engraved and Woodcut Playing Cards." *Playing Card: Journal of the International Playing-Card Society* 9, no. 4 (May 1981). pp. 121-122.

*MARITXU DE GULER. *The Tarot of Marseille Instructions.* Victoria, Spain: Heraclio Fournier, circa 1980. 43 pp. Booklet accompanying Fournier's Tarot of Marseilles deck.

*MARITXU DE GULER. *Tarot Mitico Vasco.* Vitoria, Spain: Heraclio Fournier, 1982. 68 pp. Booklet accompanying Basque Tarot deck.

*MARIUS, Docteur. *Destiny Revealed by the Tarot.* Trieste, Italy: Arti Grafiche Modiano, 1975. 40mo. Ill. 80 pp. (paper) English translation of instruction booklet for Cagliostro Tarot deck.

*MARIUS, Docteur. *Divining Cards "Suits of Love."* Trieste: Modiano Graphic Arts, 1950. 48mo. Ill. 70 pp. (paper) Booklet accompanying Divining Cards deck.

*MARKS, Paul and Sunny. *Stained Glass Astrology and Tarot Card Designs.* Sugarloaf, N.Y.: Sugarloaf, circa 1980. Coloring book with tarot designs.

*MARLE, Raimond van. *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting.* 15 vols. The Hague: Nijhoff, 1923-1938. 8vo. Attributes tarocchi cards to Zavattari family or student of the family.

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*MARTIN, Kevin. *Telling Fortunes with Cards.* New York: A.S. Barnes and Co., 1970. Reprint. New York: Collier Books, 1971. 16mo. Ill. 159 pp. (paper) Divination with regular playing cards.

MASINO, Marcia. *Tarot Workbook.* San Diego: ACS Publications, 1984. (paper)

*MASON, Sophia. *Card Reading for Astrologers.* Parma, Ohio: Aquarian Cancerian Publications, 1977. 12mo. 60 pp. (paper, staple bound) A supplement to Carolyn R. Dodson's book, *Card Reading for Astrologers.*

*MASSAR, Phyllis Dearborn. *Presenting Stefano della Bella: Seventeenth-Century Printmaker.* New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1971. 4to. Ill. 141 pp. (cloth) Includes illustrations of the pack of educational cards made for King Louis XIV of France, devised by Jean Desmarets de Saint-Sorlin and executed by della Bella.

**MATAWEILL. *The Game of Snymbols.* Privately published, 1963. Ill. 63 pp. Game of symbolism and divination based on tarot.

*MATHERS, S.L. MacGregor, and J.W. Brodie-Innes. *The Sorcerer and His Apprentice.* Edited by R.A. Gilbert. Wellingborough, England: Aquarian Press, 1983. 10mo. 224 pp. (paper) Previously unknown hermetic writings of Mathers and Brodie-Innes, with sections on the tarot.

*MATTHEWS, John. *The Grail.* New York: Crossroads Publishing Co., 1981. 4to. Ill. 96 pp. (paper) Nothing specifically on tarot, but includes illustrations from the *Codex Palatino 556* (see also Anzoli) attributed to Bonifacio Bembo.

**MATTHIAS. "The Taromancer: A Sensitive's Light Guide." Unpublished manuscript, 1981. 137 pp. Psychic's guide to the tarot.

*MATUSZCZAK, Tadeusz. "Ikono-twórcze oddzialywanie wyobrazeń z kart tarota na sztuke XIX i XX wieku" (Icono-creative influences of the images of the tarot cards on 19th- and 20th-century art). *Studia Muzealne*, 1980.

*MAURO, Boldi. (See Alan)

*MAXWELL, J. *La Divinazione*. Bari: Gius. Laterza & Figli Editori, 1932. 10mo. 200 pp. (paper) Divination including section on cartomancy.

*MAXWELL, Joseph. *I Tarocchi*. Milan: Armenia Editore, 1976. 12mo. 236 pp. (paper) Italian translation of *The Tarot*.

*MAYER, Elisabeth. *Das Salzburger Tarock*. Salzburg, Austria: Druckhaus Nonntal, 1983. 12mo. Ill. 132 pp. (paper, bound in box with cards) Booklet accompanying the Salzburg Tarock includes history of tarock and provides detailed descriptions of scenes on the Salzburg Tarock.

*MAZZINI, Franco. (See Renzo Chiarelli)

*MAZZOCCA, Fernando. "Figurative Innovations in Early Nineteenth Century Milanese Playing Cards." *Journal of the International Playing-Card Society* 9, no. 4 (May 1981). pp. 116, 117.

McALESTER. (See Oksanen)

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*McCULLOCH, Lew. "It's All in the Cards." *Popular Bridge* 15, no. 4 (August 1982). Ill. pp. 24, 25. Collecting playing cards.

*McCULLOCH, Lou W. *Paper Americana: A Collector's Guide*. San Diego, Calif.: A.S. Barnes and Co., 1980. 4to. Ill. 183 pp. (cloth) pp. 149-151. Section on playing cards and tarot cards.

*McCULLOCH, Lou W. "Playing Cards." *Rarities* 3, no. 4 (July-August 1982). Ill. pp. 44-49. Collecting playing cards.

**McDONALD, Peter. "The Trees of Eternity: Essays Toward Understanding the History of the Tarot." Unpublished manuscript, 1983.

*McINTOSH, Christopher. *The Rosy Cross Unveiled*. Wellingborough, England: Aquarian Press, 1980. 10mo. 160 pp. (cloth and paper) History, mythology and rituals of Rosicrucianism including chapter on the Golden Dawn.

*McLAREN, Iain. "Astro Cards." Unpublished manuscript, 1982. Applies the regular playing card deck to divination through astrology.

*McLAUGHLIN, E. *Nashota Review* 15 (1975). Article on the androgynous iconography of Christ.

McLEAN, Adam. (See *Hermetic Journal*)

*McLEOD, John. "Piedmontese Tarocchi with 54 Cards—A Link between Bologna and Belgium?" *Playing Card: Journal of the International Playing-Card Society* 10, no. 4 (May 1982). pp. 109-117.

McNAUGHTON, Duncan. "The back fence/the ancient Celtic Cross." In *A Passage of Saint Devil*. Talonbooks, 1976. Poetry inspired by the tarot.

MEBES, Gregory Ossipowitch. (See G.O.M.)

*MEES, G.H. *The Book of Battles*. Vol. II of The Revelation in the Wilderness. Deventer, Netherlands: N. Kluwer, 1953. 8vo. Ill. 348 pp. (cloth, paper) pp. 96-161. Mystical book, including interpretration of the tarot using biblical, pagan, astrological and Eastern sources.

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*MEES, G.H. *The Book of Stars*. Vol. III of *The Revelation in the Wilderness*. Deventer, Netherlands: N. Kluwer, 1953. 8vo. Ill. 354 pp. (cloth, paper) Mystical book.

*MEFFERDT, Pieter. *Antiquariaat Pieter Mefferdt: Catalogue of Playing Cards*. Amsterdam, 1979. 4to. 51 pp. (spiral bound) Auction catalog of playing cards.

*MELTON, J. Gordon. "Tarot: Book Review." *Fate* (April 1982). pp 96, 98. Review of Michael Dummett's book *The Game of Tarot*.

*MELVILLE, Jennie. *Tarot's Tower*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1978. 224 pp. Romantic suspense novel, in which tarot cards play a part.

*MENEGAZZI, Osvaldo. *"Guida all'interpretazione delle Conchiglie Divinatori di Osvaldo Menegazzi*. Milan: Edizioni Il Meneghello, 1975. 8 pp. Booklet describes Seashell Tarot by Osvaldo Menegazzi.

*MENEGAZZI, Osvaldo. *Guide to the Reading of Il Tarocchino*. Milan: Edizioni Il Meneghello, ca 1983. (paper flyer) Divination with tarot cards, accompanies decks by Menegazzi.

*MERCURIOUS and Eleusis. Ca 1860-1890. 169 pp. Dedicated to Edgar Bonner. Handwritten manuscript excerpts from works by Eliphas Levi, P.L. Jacob, and others, translated from French. Excerpts were chosen with concern to tarot cards.

*MERLINO. "I tarocchi per correspondenza." *Astrologo*. Column in monthly magazine in which brief readings for queries are given.

*MERTZ, Bernd A. *Kartenlegen*. Niederhausen: Falken Verlag, 1985. 12mo. Ill. 288 pp. (cloth) Reference work on divination with tarot, skat cards, Mlle Lenormand and fortune-telling cards, plus esoteric and mundane interpretations of cards.

*MILANO, Alberto. *Carte da gioco milanesi dal XVth al XXth sec.: Storia, fabbricanti, curiosita*. Milan, Italy: Il Meneghello; Lissone, Italy: Il Solleone, 1980. Ill. 56 pages. (paper) Catalogue of exhibition of playing cards and tarot, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, Milan, Italy, from September 22 to September 30, 1980.

*MILANO, Alberto, *Carte milanesi da gioco nell'ottocento*. Mantova, Italy: Gianluigi Arcari Editore, 1978. Ill. 45 pp. (paper) Edition limited to 1000 numbered copies. Catalogue of Gianluigi Arcari exhibition in Mantova, December 16, 1978, to January 16, 1979. Illustrations include tarot and back designs.

*MILANO, Alberto. "Financial Legislation on Tuscany Playing-Cards from the Beginning of the 17th Century to the Unification." *Playing Card: Journal of the International Playing-Card Society* 10, no. 3 (February 1982). pp. 102-106.

*MILANO, Alberto. "Tax Stamps Used in Lombardy." *Journal of the Playing-Card Society* 6, no. 4 (May 1978). pp. 105-110.

*MILLER, Arthur J., ed. *Ad Astra: Florida Institute of Technology Yearbook, 1980*. Melbourne, Fla. The Rider-Waite deck is used as a theme throughout the school yearbook.

*MINCH, Stephen. *Tarot Trickery*. Calgary, Alberta, Canada: Micky Hades International, 1974. Sleight of hand with tarot cards.

*MINETTA. *Card-Reading: A Practical Guide*. London: William Rider and Son, 1913. Ill. Occult use of cards for divination with a section on tarot that uses the Rider-Waite Tarot deck as an example. Some card titles in the text are different than those on the cards themselves, for example, 11 The Muzzled Lion, 16 The Blasted Tower.

*MOKUSEIOH, Alexandria (pseudonym of Junya Suzue). *How to Do Tarot Divination* (in Japanese). Tokyo: Nihon Bungei-Sha, 1976. 16mo. Ill. 286 pp. (paper)

*MOKUSEIOH, Alexandria (pseudonym of Junya Suzue). *The Secret of the Tarot* (in Japanese). Japan, 1983. 16mo. Ill. 156 pp. (paper)

*MOKUSEIOH, Alexandria (pseudonym of Junya Suzue). *The Secret Reading of the Tarot*. Tokyo: Tairiku-Shobo, 1980. 16mo. Ill. 276 pp. (paper) Illustrated with several tarot decks, including Crowley's Book of Thoth deck and Prediction Tarot.

*MOKUSEIOH, Alexandria (pseudonym of Junya Suzue). *Tarot Books and Cards* (in Japanese). Japan, 1980. 16mo. Ill. 271 pp. (paper) History of tarot and description of popular decks.

*MOKUSEIOH, Alexandria (pseudonym of Junya Suzue). *Tarot Divination* (in Japanese). Tokyo: Oizumi Shoten, 1977. 16mo. Ill. 230 pp. (paper)

*MOKUSEIOH, Alexandria (pseudonym of Junya Suzue). *Tarot Fortune-Telling* (in Japanese). Japan, 1980. 16mo. Ill. 188 pp. (paper) Survey of popular tarot decks. Includes packet of New Wave Tarot cards in jacket.

MONGERI, G., and G. d'Adda. "L'arte del minio nel ducato di Milano." *Arte storica lombardia* XII. pp. 330-356, 528-557, 760-795.

*MONTREAL Y TEJADA, Luis. *Historia en Naipes*. Vitoria, Spain: Heraclio Fournier, 1981. 4to. Ill. 15 pp. (paper) Christmas publication from Fournier illustrates cards from the Fournier Museum.

*MONTALBAN, Madeline. *The Prediction Book of the Tarot*. Edited by Jo Logan. Poole, England: Blandford Press, 1983. 10mo. Ill. 127 pp. (paper) Symbolism of the tarot and divination by a contributor to *Prediction* magazine.

MONTALBAN, Madeline. "The Tarot." *Prediction*. Column begun in early 1950s in which each card from the tarot pack is analyzed in a constructive manner.

*MOORNE, Dr. *La suprema arte egizia per la divinazione con le carte*. Milan: Casa Editrice Bietti, 1972. 8vo. Ill. 277 pp. Divination with the tarot, using the Egiziano Tarot pack.

*MOOSLEITNER, Peter, and P.J. Blumenthal. "Wie man beim Kartenlegen die Zukunft deutet." *P.M.*, October 1980. p. 60. Divination with tarot using the Rider-Waite with German titles.

MORDEN, Robert. "Middlesex Playing Card Map." Circa 1676.

*MOREAU, Adele, and A. de Para d'Hermes. *L'Avenir dévoilé dans le nouveau grand jeu chiromancie*. Paris: B.P. Grimaud, 1963. 69 pp. Booklet accompanying the Palmistry deck.

*MOREAU, Adele, and A. de Para d'Hermes. *The Future Revealed through the New Great Game in Palmistry*. Paris: B.P. Grimaud, 1963. 69 pp. Translation into English of *L'Avenir dévoilé dans le nouveau grand jeu chiromancie*.

*MORETTI, Ugo. *The Tarot by Andrea Picini*. Bergamo: Galeria d'Arte l'Antenna, 1978. Ill. 94 pp. Translation by Chama Armitage of *I tarocchi di Andrea Picini*. Describes the Picini Major Arcana.

*MORGAN, Frederick. *The Tarot of Cornelius Agrippa*. Sand Lake, N.Y.: Sagarin Press, 1978. 10mo. Ill. 52 pp. Meditation on the meaning of the Major Arcana of the tarot in the form of stories. Illustrated with cards from the Mitelli Tarocchini deck.

*MORGAN AND MORGAN. *Morgan-Greer Instruction Book*. Dobbs Ferry, N.Y.: Morgan and Morgan, 1979. 12 pp. Booklet accompanying Morgan-Greer Tarot deck.

*MORIONDO, Margherita Lenzini. (See Chiarelli)

MORNIEUX, Victor. *Methode moderne du jeu de Tarots*. Oullins, France, 1952.

*MORRIS, William. *Excerpts from the Work of The Press of the Woolly*

Whale. New York: Press of the Woolly Whale, 1935. 8vo. Ill. 8 pp. (paper) An insert prepared for Archiv für Buchgewerbe und Gebrauchsgraphic, Leipzig. Includes joker from Yankee Division playing card deck.

MORY, Christian. *Le Livre du tarot, Clef de votre évolution*. Quebec: Edition Louise Courteau, 1985.

*__DE MOULIDARS__, T. *Grand encyclopédie des jeux et des divertissements de l'esprit et du corps*. Paris, circa 1800. 8vo. Ill. 796 pp. (cloth) An extensive section on card games does not include tarot; a game *La Triomphe* is played with a deck of piquet cards.

*__MUCHERY__, George. *Trattato pratico di magia*. Viareggio, Italy: Edizioni Rebis, ca 1980. 10mo. 232 pp. (paper) Translation of French work *Practical Treatise on Magic*, into Italian. Contents of book do not concern tarot, but cover of book features design of the tarot card The Magician, by Pier Luca Pierini R.

*__MUCHERY__, George. *Votre destin par le tableau astral: L'Horoscope par les noms*. Paris: Editions du Chariot, 1966. 98 pp. Instruction booklet for use with Muchery's astrological cards.

*__MUIR__, Dorothy. *A History of Milan Under the Visconti*. London: Methuen and Co., 1924. 10mo. 254 pp. (cloth). The Visconti family, but no mention of tarocchi cards.

*__MUKANDA__, Uma. *Le Sacré*. Merignac: Boéchat-Héron, 1980. 16 pp. Booklet accompanying Mukanda Cartomancy deck.

*__MUKANDA__, Uma. *Les taches d'encre symbolisme*. Editions Uma-Mukanda, 1980. 10mo. Ill. 127 pp. (paper) Explains the Rorschach-type Mukanda Cartomancy deck.

*__MULAZZANI__, Germano. *I Tarocchi viscontei e Bonifacio Bembo*. Milan: Shell Italia, 1981. 4to. Ill. 111 pp. (cloth) The Visconti tarocchi and Bonifacio Bembo.

*__MULLEN__, Dikki-Jo. "Tarot Calendar." Published by the author, 1981. Instructions on the tarot for each month of the year.

MUMFORD, Lewis. *Herman Melville*. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1929. pp. 225, 226. Reference of the androgynous iconography of Christ which George Wald relates to XXI The World card.

*__MUNZGALERIE MUNCHEN HANDELSGESELLSCHAFT MBH & CO.__ *Spielkartenangebot* Ill. Auktion I, November 22, 1980; Auktion II, November 21, 1981. Spielkartenangebot III, 3/82; IV, 10/82; V, 8/83; VI, 4/84; VII, 10/84; VIII, 4/85. Auction catalogs offering antique playing cards.

*__MURPHY__, Joseph. *How to Pray with a Deck of Cards*. Beverly Hills, 1958. 24mo. 28 pp. (paper, staple bound) Spiritual symbolism of regular playing cards.

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*__MUSEE DES ARTS DECORATIFS__. *Un rêve de collectionneur*. 44 pp. Ill. Catalog of an exhibition in Paris of antique playing cards including tarots and minchiate from October 24, 1981, to January 4, 1982.

MUSEE PAUL DUPUY DE TOULOUSE. *La carte à jouer en Languedoc des origines à 1800*. Toulouse, 1971. Catalog of an exhibition.

MUZZIOLI, G. (See Mario Salmi)

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**__NAROLEWSKI__, T.M. "Karty" (Cards). *Arkady*, no. 2 (1930). Poland. Historical cards, mostly Polish, in connection with art.

*__NATIONAAL MUSEUM VAN DE SPEELKAART__. *Goal! Sport en Kaarten*. Turnhout, Belgium: Nationaal Museum van de Speelkaart, 1985. Folio. Ill. 45 pp. (staple bound) Catalog for exhibition on playing cards (including tarock deck) with sports as motifs.

*__NATIONAAL MUSEUM VAN DE SPEELKAART__. *Kaarten als Speelgoed en Kijkstuk*. Turnhout, Belgium: Nationaal Museum van de Speelkaart, 1984. Folio. Ill. 40 pp. (paper) Catalog for exhibition on cards as art.

*__NATIONAAL MUSEUM VAN DE SPEELKAART__. (See also E. Van Autenboer)

*__NEBEHAY__, Christian M. *Aquarelle, Zeichnungen & Graphik: 16. -20. Jahrhundert*. Vienna, 1980. Ill. 46 pp. Catalog 80 for auction house Christian M. Nebehay Ges., with playing cards offered on pages 40 to 42.

*__NEBEHAY__, Christian, M. *Katalog XXX*. Vienna: Christian M. Nebehay, ca 1970. 8vo. Ill. 51 pp. (paper) Auction catalog featuring playing cards on the last page.

*__NEBEHAY__, Christian M. *A Selection of Books, Manuscripts and Autograph Letters of Special Interest & Rarity*. Vienna: Christian M. Nebehay, ca 1950. 8vo. Ill. 96 pp. (paper) Includes sale of uncut sheets of rare German cards plus complete deck of Proverb Tarot by Andreas Benedictus Göbl.

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*__NELSON__, H. Maurice. *Elksinger's Perfected Tarot*. Privately published, 1983. Explication of the author's tarot, Elksinger's Perfected Tarot.

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*__NEVIN__, Bruce. *Astrology Inside Out*. Rockport, Mass.: Para Research, 1982. 8vo. Ill. 300 pp. (paper) Astrology, with sections using tarot for meditation on the signs and planets, illustrated with the Rider-Waite Tarot.

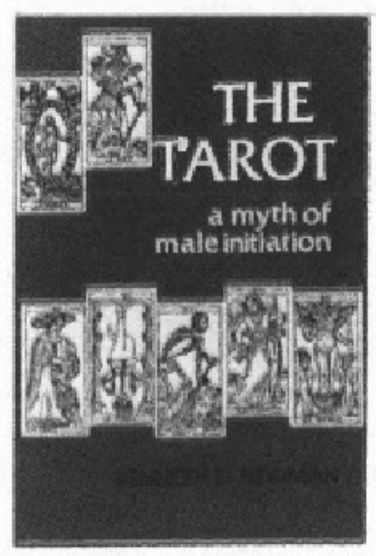
NEW DAWN CENTER. "The Spiritual and Mystical Path of the Tarot." Home study course on tarot. Features original designs for tarot Major Arcana and four aces of Minor Arcana.

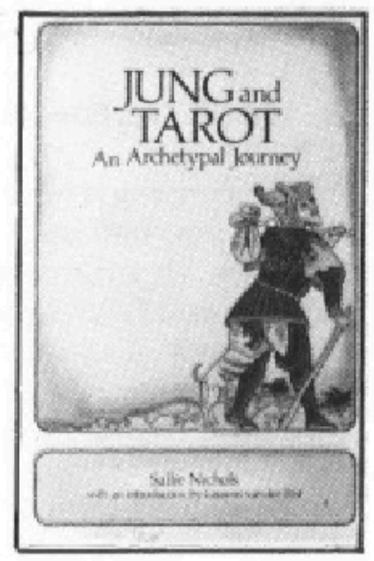
*__NEWMAN__, Kenneth D. *The Tarot: A Myth of Male Initiation*. New York: C.G. Jung Foundation for Analytical Psychology, 1983. 10mo. Ill. 152 pp. (paper) The tarot as it relates to psychic development and psychology, from a Jungian standpoint. Illustrated with Tarot of Marseilles cards.

*__NICHOLS__, Cecilia Fawn. "Did Judas Hang Himself?" *Fate* 31, no. 3 (March 1978). pp. 128-129. Contends that the true meaning of XII The Hanged Man is "treachery," as opposed to the interpretation of Waite, which portrays the Hanged Man as a martyr.

*__NICHOLS__, Cecilia Fawn. "How to Predict the Future Through the Ancient Art of the Tarot." Unpublished manuscript, 1982. 48 pp. Demonstrates the use of Etteilla Tarot Egyptien deck.

*__NICHOLS__, Sallie. *Die Psychologie des Tarot*. Interlaken, Switzerland: Ansata-Verlag, 1984. 10mo. Ill. 492 pp. (cloth) Translation into German by Wulfing von Rohr and Agnes Klein of *Jung and Tarot: An Archetypal Journey*.





*__NICHOLS__, Sallie. *Jung and Tarot: An Archetypal Journey*. York Beach, Maine: Samuel Weiser, 1980. 10mo. Ill. 393 pp. (cloth, paper) Detailed interpretation of the tarot in terms of Jungian psychology.

*__NIGG__, Edwin J. *Wahrsagen mit Tarot-Karten*. Niederteufen, Germany: Schellen-Verlag, 1979. 12mo. Ill. 112 pp. (cloth) History of tarot and analysis of Swiss 1JJ Tarot deck, based on *Tarot Cards for Fun and Fortune Telling* by Stuart R. Kaplan.

*__NIPPON YUGI-GANGO CO__. *Tarot Cards Catalog* (in Japanese). Ill. Catalogs from Japanese company, also includes playing cards.

*__NOBLE__, Vicki. *Motherpeace: A Way to the Goddess Through Myth, Art, and Tarot*. San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1982. 10mo. Ill. 276 pp. (paper) Feminist interpretation of the tarot, drawing from scholarly research of ancient beliefs. Describes and illustrates the Motherpeace Round Tarot.

NOBLE, Vicki. *Motherpeace Cassettes*. Berkeley, Wingbow Press, 1986. (60 minutes) Noble leads exercises and workshops in Motherpeace Tarot.

NOBLE, Vicki, and Jonathan Tenney. *The Motherpeace Tarot Playbook*. Berkeley: Wingbow Press, 1986. 6to. Ill. 208 pp. (paper, spiral bound) In-depth instructions for reading Motherpeace Round Tarot and developing psychic skills. Second part of book links the Motherpeace Tarot with astrology.

NOBLE, Vicki. (See also Karen Vogel)

NONO, Nuria. (See Nuria Schoenberg-Nono)

*__NORDHOFF__, Charles. *History of Playing Cards*. Buffalo, N.Y.: Hillside Press, 1977. Miniature. Ill. 48 pp. (cloth) Nordhoff's article first appeared as "Cards and Dice" in January 1863 issue of *Harper's Magazine*.

*__NORDIC__, Rolla. *Rolla Nordic Tarot Deck Instructions*. New York: U.S. Games Systems, 1981. 52 pp. Booklet accompanying Rolla Nordic Tarot.

*__NORMA__, Mlle. L. *La Véritable Cartomancie*. Paris: Editions Delarue, 1935. Reprint. Paris: Guy Le Prat, 1977. 32mo. Ill. 152 pp. (paper) Divination with regular playing cards.

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NOVAK, Marika. *Prevedere con le carte*. Milan: Giovanni De Vecchi, circa 1980. 165 pp. Cartomancy with sections on tarot.

NOVATI, Francesco. "Carte da giuoco dei secoli XV, XVI e XVII rinvenute

nel Castello Sforzesco." *Bullettino dei Civici Musei Artistico ed Archeologico di Milano,* anno III (1908). pp. 17-20. Article about the playing cards found at the Sforza Castle.

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OKSANEN, Olkkonen, Piirtola, Pylkki and McAlester. *SIE 8.* Helsinki, Finland: WSOY kouluosasto, 1983. English textbook with section on fortune-telling, illustrated with the Rider-Waite Tarot deck.

****OLIVER,** Alfreda. "Symbolic Interpretation of Tarot's Minor Arcana." Unpublished manuscript, 1976. 125 pp. Detailed descriptions and interpretations of the Minor Arcana cards.

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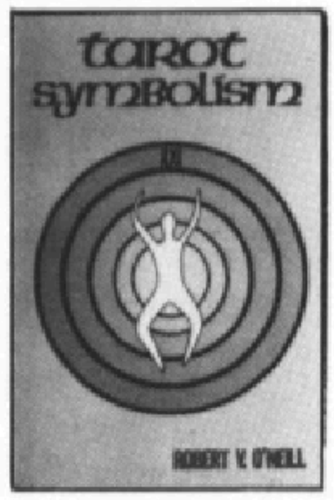

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OMWAKE, John. *Playing Cards.* Cincinnati, 1922. 4to. 40 pp. By the former president of U.S. Playing Card Company.

****O'NEILL,** Robert V. "The Tarot: A Child of Renaissance Neoplatonism." Manuscript, 1981. 532 pp. Ill. Renaissance philosophy and its influence on the formation of the tarot, subsequently revised and published under the title, *Tarot Symbolism.*

***O'NEILL,** Robert V. *Tarot Symbolism.* Lima, Ohio: Fairway Press, 1986. 12mo. 392 pp. (paper) Comprehensive book on the symbolism of tarot, positing that the tarot was originally a "cosmograph," a pictorial representation of the universe, designed to present a profound mystical philosophy to the common people.

***O'NEILL,** R.V., and R.H. Gardner. "Quantitative Iconography of the Tarot." *Playing Card: Journal of the International Playing-Card Society* 11, no. 1 (August 1982). pp. 15-23.

***ONO,** Masao, ed. *Tarot* (in Japanese). Mainichi Simbun-Sha, 1978. 4to. Ill. 140 pp. (paper) History of tarot. Includes tarot illustrations unpublished elsewhere.

***OPHIEL** (pseudonym of Edward Peach). *The Art and Practice of Astral Projection.* New York: Samuel Weiser, 1978. 12mo. Ill. 117 pp. (paper) Includes image of The Moon based on Rider-Waite design.

***OPHIEL** (pseudonym of Edward Peach). *The Art and Practice of Clairvoyance.* New York: Samuel Weiser, 1978. 12mo. Ill. 133 pp. (paper) Includes image of The Star for meditation.

***OPHIEL** (pseudonym of Edward Peach). *The Art and Practice of Getting Material Things Through Creative Visualization.* 1967. Reprint. New York: Samuel Weiser, Inc., 1976. 12mo. Ill. 111 pp. (paper) Occult practice outlined in the book does not include tarot. However, the frontispiece is a reproduction of the ten of coins from the Rider-Waite Tarot deck, with different coloring used.

***OPHIEL** (pseudonym of Edward Peach). *The Art and Practice of the Occult.* York Beach, Maine: Samuel Weiser, 1967. Third edition, revised. 12mo. Ill. 160 pp. (paper) Mind training for occultism. Frontispiece of VII The Chariot.

***ORDELMAN,** Tom. "De Hogepriesteres," in "De Kashmir Tarot van Nicolaas Van Beek." *Bres 114* (October/November 1985). p. 15. Interpretation of The High Priestess in the Kashmir Tarot.

***ORNSTEIN,** Raphael. *Man Know Thyself.* San Rafael, Calif.: San Francisco Medical Research Foundation, 1980. 4to. Ill. 20 pp. Alchemical essay on the tarot, illustrated with cards from Crowley's Book of Thoth Tarot, the Rider-Waite Tarot and the Royal Fez Moroccan Tarot.

***ORSINI,** Julia. *Tarot egyptien grand jeu de l'oracle des dames.* Merignac, France: Boéchat-Héron, circa 1980. Instruction booklet accompanying Tarot Egyptien deck.

***OSBORNE,** Julia. "The Fortunetellers." *Columbus Monthly* 6, no. 10 (October 1980). pp. 192-194, 196, 198. Fortune-tellers in New York City, including those who use tarot cards.

***OTTLEY,** William Young. *A Collection of Fac-Similes of Scarce and Curious Prints of the Italian, German, and Flemish Schools.* London: privately published, 1826. Folio. Ill. 100 pp. (cloth) Includes ornately engraved illustrations of fifteenth-century playing card deck made by the South German Engraver.

***OUSPENSKY,** P.D. *The Symbolism of the Tarot.* 1913. Facsimile reprint. Sydney: View Productions, 1985. 4to. Ill. 59 pp. (cloth)

***OWENS,** Walter. "It's All in the Playing Cards...Symbols Vary on International Packs." *Collectors News* 21, no. 4 (August 1980). pp. 1, 14. Ill. Descriptions of various decks throughout the centuries.

***OWENS,** W.H. "Playing Cards for the Collector." *Collector's Editions Quarterly* 7, no. 4 (fall 1979). pp. 27, 28. Article in which the origin of cards is attributed to Venice.

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***PALLAS-AQUARIANA LTD.** *The Q Directory.* London: Pallas-Aquariana, 1980. 16mo. Ill. 116 pp. (paper) Directory of occult, pagan and New Age services and publications, mainly in the United Kingdom.

***PAPUS** (pseudonym of Dr. Gerard Encausse). *The Qabalah.* Wellingborough, England: Aquarian Press, 1977. 10mo. Ill. 384 pp. (paper) Translation into English of *La Kabbale.*

***PAPUS** (pseudonym of Dr. Gerard Encausse). *I tarocchi.* Rome: Roberto Napoleone, 1978. 12mo. Ill. 165 pp. (paper) Translation into Italian of *Le Tarot Divinatoire.*

***PAPUS** (pseudonym of Dr. Gerard Encausse). *El tarot de los Bohemios.* Buenos Aires: Editorial Kier, 1974. Ill. 293 pp. (paper) Spanish translation of *Le Tarot des Bohemiens.*

***PAPUS** (pseudonym of Dr. Gerard Encausse). *Tarot der Zigeuner.* Schwarzenburg, Switzerland: Ansata Verlag, 1979. 8vo. Ill. 318 pp. (cloth) Translation into German by Agnes Klein of *Le Tarot des Bohemiens.*

***PARMENTER,** Ross. *The Awakened Eye.* Middleton, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1968. 10mo. Ill. 352 pp. (cloth) Book on visual appreciation of images, including a chapter on the author's in-depth examination of the court cards of a regular playing card pack through history.

***PARR,** Louisa. "The Follies of Fashion: Card-Playing." *Pall Mall Magazine* 1897. Ill. pp. 207-220. History of gaming with cards in Europe. Illustrated with prints of card players.

***PARRISH,** Maxfield. (See Louise Saunders)

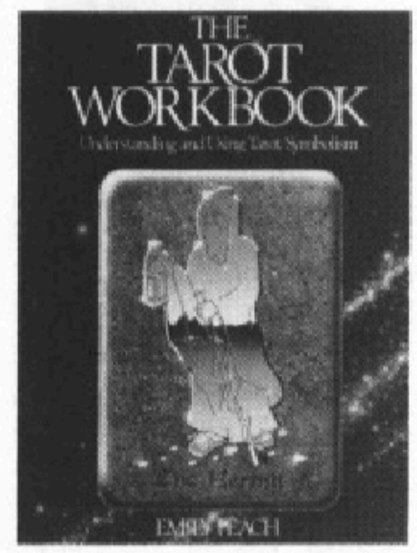
***PARTRIDGE,** Eric. *Adventuring among Words.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1961. 10mo. Ill. 70 pp. (cloth) Includes chapter on etymology of the word *tarot.*

***PASSAVANT,** J.D. *Le Peintre-Graveur.* Leipzig: Rudolf Weigel, 1860. 10mo. Ill. Reprint. New York: Burt Franklin, circa 1980. History of engravings, with reference to cardmakers as among the first to engrave on wood.

***PASTEUR,** Claude. "D'Ou viennent les cartes à jouer?" *Mirois de l'Histoire.* pp. 41-46. History of playing cards.

***PATER,** Walter. *The Renaissance: Studies in Art and Poetry.* London: Macmillan and Co., 1922. 10mo. 239 pp. (cloth) Background of Renaissance, nothing specifically on tarot.

***PAWESKA,** Beata. "Tarot—Droga Ku Mandali." *Pismo: Literacko-Artystyczne,* no. 12 (1984). Ill. pp. 204-228. Discusses the history of tarot including occult significance and meanings of the Major Arcana. Illustrations from the Sheridan-Douglas Tarot deck.



PEACH, Edward. (See Ophiel)

PEACH, Emily. *Manual practico del tarot.* 1985. (paper) Translation into Spanish by Rafael Lassaletta of *The Tarot Workbook.*

***PEACH,** Emily. *The Tarot Workbook.* Wellingborough, England: Aquarian Press, 1985. 10mo. Ill. (paper, spiral bound) Use of tarot for divination.

****PELAUDI,** Luigi. *Attreverso le vie di Bergamo scomparsa.* Bergamo, Poligrafiche Bolis. pp. 212, 213. Includes account of Count Baglioni and his purchase of the Visconti-Sforza Tarocchi cards.

***PELTON,** Robert W. *Ancient Secrets of Fortune-Telling.* South Brunswick and New York: A.S. Barnes and Co., 1976. 6to. Ill. 281 pp. (cloth) Fortune-telling with a variety of methods including playing cards.

***PELZ,** Bruce. *The Fantasy Showcase Tarot Deck.* Privately published, 1980. 24 pp. Booklet accompanying the Fantasy Showcase Tarot deck.

PEROGALLI, Carlo. (See Maria Bellonci)

PERSON, Jean. "Le Guide de l'amateur: Les Cartes à jouer." *Arts* 768 (March 30-April 5, 1960).

PESENTI, F.R. "Per una nuova interpretazione di Bonifacio Bembo." *Arte Antica e moderna* 7, no. 21 (1963). pp. 36-46.

*PETTENGILL, Peletiah. *Pettengill's Perfect Fortune-Teller and Dream-Book*. New York: Dick and Fitzgerald, 1860. 16mo. 144 pp. (cloth) Pocketbook includes section on "turning cards," or cartomancy.

*PETULENGRO, Gipsy Xavier. *Book of Mystery*. London: Methuen and Co., 1937. 12mo. 57 pp. (cloth) Divination by various methods, including regular playing cards, and how to get a wish by cutting a deck of cards.

PEUCER, Caspar. *Commentarius de praecipius divinationum generibus*... Frankfurt, 1593. Early work on divination, but does not mention tarot or tarocchi.

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*PHILLIPS, Osborne. (See Melita Denning)

*PIANTANIDA, Donato. *Magia dei tarocchi*. Rome: Edizioni Mediterranee, 1978. 12mo. Ill. 209 pp. (paper) Esoteric and divinatory tarot, with original designs by the author.

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*PICARD, E. *Manuale sintetico e pratico del tarocco*. Italy: Casa Editrice "Atanor" di Todi, 1923. 10mo. Ill. 106 pp. (paper) Reprinted in 1978. Interpretation of the tarot.

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PIIRTOLA. (See Oksanen)

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*PIOTROGRODZIE, G.O.M. *Wiedza Tajemna*. Cieszyn, Poland: Drukarnia Henryka Nowaka W Cieszynie, 1921. 181 pp. Ill. (paper) Occult work includes section on tarot illustrated with sketches of a few Rider-Waite Tarot cards and The Fool from Oswald Wirth, with titles deleted.

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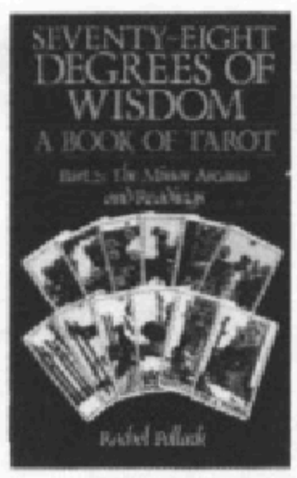
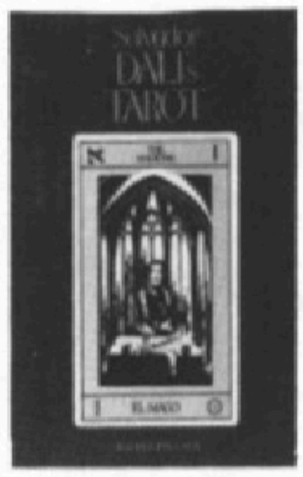
*PIROVANO, Sandro. (See Caizzi)





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*POLLACK, Rachel. *Salvador Dali's Tarot*. Salem, N.H.: Salem House, 1985. 10mo. Ill. 175 pp. (cloth) Illustrates and interprets Salvador Dali's Universal Tarot.

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*POLLACK, Rachel. "The Tarot According to Dali." *New Age Journal*. July 1985. Ill. pp. 40-47. Describes cards from Salvador Dali's Universal Tarot.

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*POTTS, Billy. *A New Women's Tarot*. Woodstock, N.Y.: Elf and Dragon Press, 1978. 12mo. Ill. 54 pp. (paper, staplebound) Feminist interpretation of the tarot.

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**PRISM*. Seattle, Washington. Monthly occult magazine that includes articles on tarot.

**PROKOPIUK, Jerzy. *Zorza*, from September 1982 to circa May 1983. Ill. Series of articles on tarot in a Catholic weekly. Illustrated with Tarot of Marseilles Major Arcana.

*PROVENZANO, Ferdinando. "Spigolando su 'I Tarocchi Viscontei'." *La voce del collezionista* 17, no. 3 (May-June 1972). pp. 27-28.

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*RAGG, Ernst R. "The House of Piatnik." 1979. History of Ferd. Piatnik & Söhne and other Austrian playing card makers.

**RAGGHIANTI, C.L. "Studi sulla pittura lombarda del Quattrocento," II.

Critica d'arte, series III, 8 (1949). pp. 288-300. Includes information on Bonifacio Bembo.

*RAMAN, Dio. *Der praktische Tarot*. Freiburg, W. Germany: Hermann Bauer Verlag, 1979. 10mo. Ill. 111 pp. (cloth) Translation from Dutch into German by Johannes Werres of *De Praktische Tarot*. Explication of tarot, includes set of twenty-two Major Arcana in back of book to be cut out and used.

RAMER, Andrew. (See Cunningham)

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*RATHER, John C., and Walter Goldwater. *According to Hoyle... 1742-1850*. New York: University Place Book Shop, 1983. 10mo. 18 pp. (paper, staple bound) Bibliography of editions by or based on the writings of Edmond Hoyle.

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*REHMUS, E.E. "The Mysterious Origin of the Tarot." *Verbatim* 3, no. 1 (May 1976). pp. 9-10. Discusses origin of the word *tarot*.

*REISIG, Otto. "Kartenmacherliste aus Altenburg." Leinfelden-Echterdingen, W. Germany: Deutschen Spielkarten-Museum, 1981. (bound photocopy) Handwritten list of German and Austrian cardmakers from the 15th to 20th centuries.

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*RHINE, J.B. *Extra-Sensory Perception*. London: Faber and Faber, 1935. Study of ESP including records of experiments using ESP cards.

*RIGEL PRESS. *Reading Tarot Cards*. 48mo. Ill. 26 pp. (paper, staple bound) Booklet on divination with tarot. Illustrates cards from Royal Fez Morrocan Tarot.

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*ROBERTS, Richard. (See Campbell)

*ROBERTSHAW, Ursula. "Cards for Collectors." *Illustrated London News*, Christmas 1977. pp. 53-54. Brief article on cards citing Stanley Gibbons' second auction of playing cards.

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*RODENKO, Paul. *De Tarot*. BZZToH [sic], 1979. 10mo. Ill. 56 pp. (paper) Series of poems on the tarot illustrated with block prints by André Kerkhoven.

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*ROMANESE, Silvano. *Storia delle carte da gioco*. Triest: Gradisca d'Isonzo, 1968. 8vo. Ill. 19 pp. (paper, staple bound) Catalog for an exhibition of playing cards from September 29 to October 24, 1968.

*ROSE, Donna. *The Tarot*. Hialeah, Fla.: Mi World Publishing Co., ca 1980. 10mo. Ill. 15 pp. (paper, staple bound) Divinatory meanings and layout of tarot.

*ROSENFELD, Hellmut. "The Cultural-Historical View of the Origin and Evolution of Playing-Cards and Their Suit-Signs and Illustrations." *Playing Card: Journal of the International Playing-Card Society* 11, no. 1 (August 1982). pp. 30-31.

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*ROYLANCE, Dale. " 'As Variously Beautiful as a Curator Could Wish.' " *Yale Alumni Magazine* 36, no. 5 (February 1973). pp. 14-19. Ill. Article on exhibition of the Cary Collection of Playing Cards at the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.

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*SCIUTO, Giovanni. *Les Tarots en 10 leçons.* Paris: Hachette, 1978. 12mo. Ill. 182 pp. (paper) Divination with tarot, illustrated with B.P. Grimaud's Tarot of Marseilles, Le Grand Etteilla Tarot and Le Grand Jeu de Mlle Lenormand.

*SCOTT, Henry Joseph. *Foretell the Future.* New York: Bantam Books, 1968. 24mo. Ill. 95 pp. (paper) Divination, including chapter on card reading.

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*SEPHARIAL. *The Art of Card Fortune Telling.* London: W. Foulsham and Co., 1958. 12mo. Ill. 155 pp. Divination with playing cards and tarot cards, including chapter on the history of playing cards.

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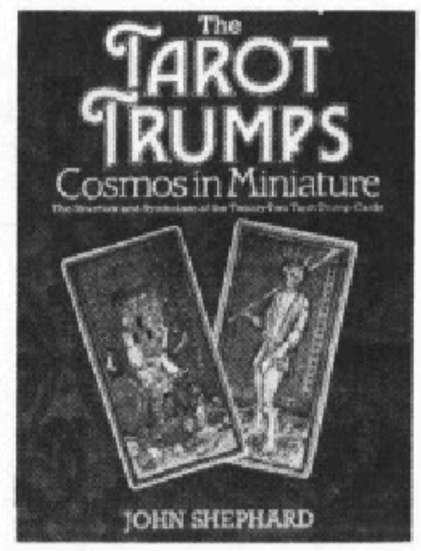

*SEXSON, Lynda. *"The Game of Tarot from Ferrara to Salt Lake City and Twelve Tarot Games:* Book Review." *Parabola* 6, no. 3 (Summer). pp. 121-122, 124-125. Reviews of Dummett's two major books on tarot.

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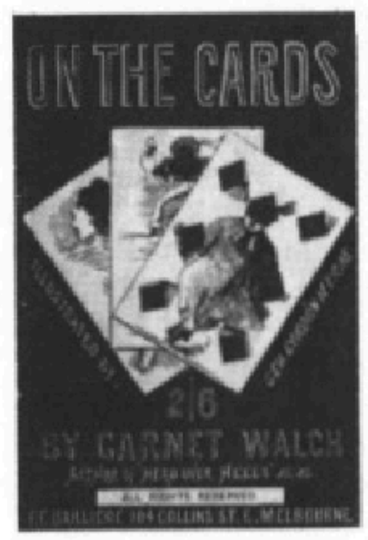

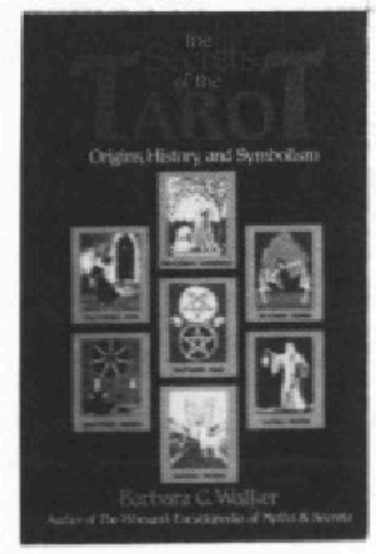

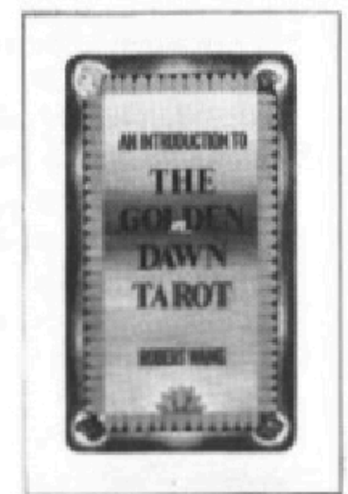

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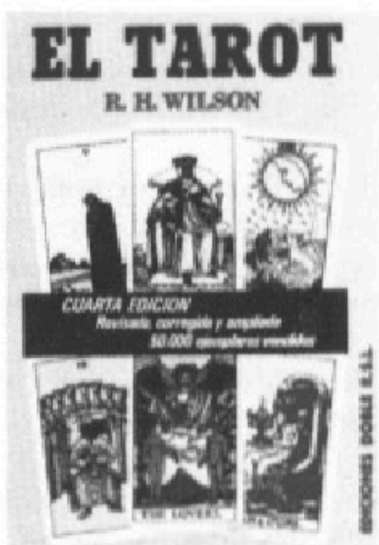

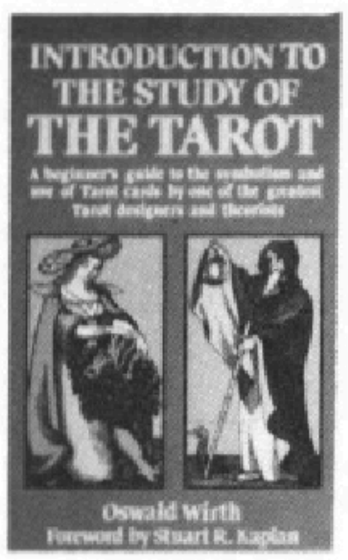

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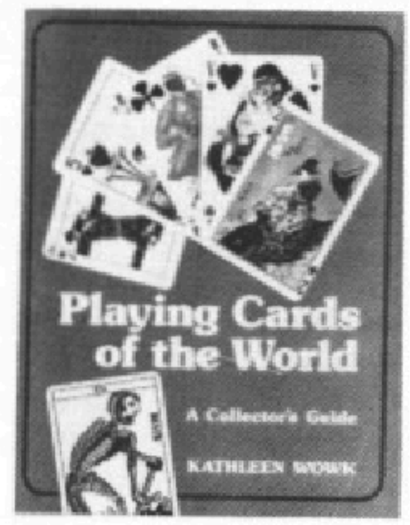

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